

THE OPEN COURT

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VOLUME XXVI.

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A CHINESE MADONNA.

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Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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THE CHINESE MADONNA IN THE FIELD MUSEUM.

BY BERTHOLD LAUFER.

WHEN I was traveling through China in search of relics of the past, I was always on the lookout for an opportunity to discover ancient remains of Christianity. In 1901, I had the good fortune in Peking to come upon two scrolls painted in watercolors originating from the Jesuit school of artists engaged in the court-studios of the emperors K'ang-hi and K'ien-lung during the eighteenth century. Both represent madonnas with a background of palace buildings in Italian Renaissance style. Both these pictures, with a number of others, are published in a paper by the present writer entitled "Christian Art in China" (*Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen*, Berlin, 1910).

The beginnings of Christian painting in China coincide with the arrival of the great Jesuit missionary, Matteo Ricci, in 1583, who deeply impressed the minds of the Chinese with wood-engravings brought from his home in Italy. The Chinese art-historians themselves connect with his name the introduction of the European method of perspective drawing and date from his time the foreign influence exerted on indigenous art. We know that one famous artist at the close of the Ming period, and a contemporary of Ricci, Tung K'i-ch'ang or Hsuan-Tsai (1555-1636), was indebted to the Jesuits for a number of European subjects which he copied with his brush and left to us in a remarkable album.

Early in 1910, I was surprised to find in the mansion of an official in Si-ngan fu a Christian madonna holding a child in her arms. It was painted in the Chinese style of watercolors on a large paper scroll (measuring 1.20×0.55 m.) and is reproduced

as the frontispiece of this issue. The most striking feature of this representation is that, while the Virgin evidently betrays her European origin, the child is conceived of as a Chinese boy with a small tuft of hair on his head, clad in a red coat with green collar and holding in his left hand a Chinese book with brown wrapper on which is pasted a paper slip for the title of the work. From this we may infer that the artist was not one of the foreign Jesuits, but some Chinese painter.

The madonna, exhibiting a Byzantine style, if I am not mistaken, is limned in a light-yellowish brown set off from the darker brown of the background, the nimbus and the bodice being dark-red in color. Her pallium is flowing down in many elegant folds, without covering her feet. The face is somewhat schematic, but the hands are admirably treated. When I was shown this painting, my first impression was that it also had emanated from the school of the eighteenth century Jesuit painters headed by Joseph Castiglione and Jean-Denis Attiret. But several Chinese experts living in Si-ngan fu came forward to inform me that this picture could not come down from the K'ien-lung epoch (1736-1795), but could only be a production of the later Ming period (sixteenth century). Their verdict was judiciously based on a technical feature. Chinese scrolls are usually mounted on silk, two broad rectangular pieces framing the picture on the upper and lower borders, and two narrow oblong strips surrounding the lateral margins. The textures of these silks under the Ming and previous dynasties were distinctly different from those woven under the present Manchu dynasty, and an experienced connoisseur can make a clear distinction between the productions of the two periods. This diversity holds good also for the silks on which the paintings are made, so that a Ming picture on silk can always be told from one of a later date. However, it is customary to remount pictures because the ancient silk mountings decay rapidly. Thus the painting of the madonna had been mounted anew about a year before I received it; but the art-experts who rendered me this service assured me that they had seen it in its original state, that the silk on which it had been mounted was the characteristic product of the Ming period, and that accordingly the work itself belonged to that time. There was no reason to discountenance this judgment. The men whom I consulted were not concerned in the transaction and were old friends of mine of many years' standing who know that I am only a seeker for truth, without any inclination to make things older than they are. Nevertheless, I made a search for any scraps that might have been left of the

former silk mounting but—as any one familiar with Chinese conditions may anticipate—without success. Such remains wander into the waste-basket of oblivion, instead of being preserved as relics. Collectors of ancient scrolls may draw a lesson from this case. They should see to it that if any are remounted some samples of the old textile should be preserved which may eventually serve as important documentary evidence in making out the period of the picture in question.

I then took my madonna over to the mission of the Franciscans in Si-ngan fu of whose hospitality I retain the most pleasant remembrances. The bishop, Monseigneur Gabriel Maurice, a man of as noble and fine a character as of wide scholarship, expressed his admiration for this picture, saying that he had never seen a similar one during his lifelong residence in the city. He also summoned the Chinese fathers to view this singular discovery, and amazement and joy were reflected in their keen intelligent eyes. I asked them what they thought of it, without telling them of my experience reported above. They arrived at the conclusion that it was executed by a Chinese, not a European artist, in the Wan-li period (1573-1620) of the Ming dynasty. On inquiry whether it would not be possible to connect the work with the Jesuits of the eighteenth century, they raised a lively protest against such a theory, and asserted that the style and coloration of the painting would decidedly refer to the end of the Ming period, while the madonnas of the later Jesuit school bear an entirely different character. This judgment is deserving of due consideration, and is in fact justified by a comparison of the present madonna with those collected by me formerly which are attributed to the eighteenth century.

There now remained another mystery to be solved in this painting. In the left lower corner there is a white spot (it shows but faintly in our reproduction) containing two Chinese characters which read T'ang-yin. T'ang-yin or T'ang Po-hu is the name of an artist whom the Chinese regard as the foremost master of the Ming epoch. He was a contemporary of Raphael and lived from 1470 to 1523. As I succeeded in gathering five of his original works and more than a dozen copies made after his paintings, I am able to form an idea of his style and handwriting. His signature and mode of writing are so characteristic that on this evidence alone I should not hesitate for a moment to pronounce the verdict that the signature on this painting, which really attempts to imitate the artist's hand, is a downright forgery. Further inspection disclosed the fact that another signature or seal must have previously occu-

pied this place, but it was subsequently erased, as is plainly visible from the white spot, to give place to T'ang-yin's name.

To settle this question at the outset, it is manifest that T'ang-yin cannot have painted this or any similar Christian madonna, since in his time there was no trace of Christianity in that country. Otherwise we must have recourse to an artificially constructed theory that, for instance, the Franciscans of the Mongol or Yüan period under the distinguished Johannes de Monte Corvino (1247-1328) may have left behind a painting of the madonna which might have survived the ravages of time until the Ming dynasty and then have fallen by chance into the hands of T'ang-yin to serve as a model for the present work. There would be no convincing force, or but little, in such a hypothetical speculation, against which the forgery of the signature would seriously militate. Notwithstanding, there is a certain indefinable something in the chiaroscuro of this painting that reminds me of the color style of T'ang-yin, and this may have induced some one to introduce his name. This explanation of course is not sufficient to reveal the psychological motive prompting the act of forgery, but it only accounts to some degree for the forger's choice of T'ang-yin's name rather than another one.

I discussed these observations with my Chinese friends, and they perfectly concurred with me in the same opinion. I then consulted the official in whose family the picture had been kept. He agreed with me in looking upon the signature as of a later date, but was unable to furnish any explanation as to how it had been brought about. He assured me that it had been handed down in his family for at least five or six generations which would carry us back to the middle of the eighteenth century, and that the signature of T'ang-yin, according to his family traditions, had always been there, and must have been added at least before the time when it came into the possession of his family. He was not a Christian himself, but appreciated the picture merely for its artistic merits. How well tradition is preserved among the Chinese, is brought out by the fact that in Si-ngan fu all concerned were aware of the representation being the *T'ien-chu shêng mû*, "the Holy Mother of the Heavenly Lord." The latter term has been chosen by the Catholics as the Chinese designation of God. It is therefore out of the question to presume that the Chinese could have ever mistaken this subject for a native deity, say, e. g., the goddess of mercy, Kuan-yin. Moreover, this means that the perpetrator of the forgery had not had in his mind any expectation of material gain. He could not have made this picture a T'ang-yin in the hope of passing it off as such and realizing

on it the price due to a T'ang-yin, since nobody with ordinary common sense would have fallen a victim to such an error. Indeed the price which I was asked to give for it was so low that it would not even secure a tolerably good modern copy of a T'ang-yin, and the broker who had transacted the business between the official and myself, knew me too well to venture to insist for a moment on this dubious authenticity; in fact, he did not dare to speak of it nor to contradict me when I branded the signature as a counterfeit. I merely mention these facts to dispel the impression possibly conveyed to uncharitable critics of mine, that I had become the victim of a mystification and this fraud had been committed for my own benefit.

The net result of my investigation which I think it is fair to accept is that this makeshift was conceived long ago, and, as I presume, for reasons to be given presently, in the period of Yung-chêng (1723-1735), the successor of K'ang-hi. In searching for a plausible reason, we must exclude any personal selfish motives on the part of him who brought about the alteration of the signature. We must keep in mind that Christian pictures have suffered a curious fate in China, that most of them have been annihilated in Christian persecutions and anti-foreign uprisings, and that only a few have survived. In describing one of the madonnas of the eighteenth century, I called attention to the fact that portions of that painting had been cut out by a vandal hand and subsequently supplemented; thus, the head of that madonna with her Chinese features is inserted as a later addition. I am now inclined to think that this is not an act of vandalism, but was done intentionally by the owner as a measure of precaution to insure protection for his property. An infuriated anti-Christian vandal would have mercilessly destroyed the entire scroll and not taken the trouble to remove carefully only the head of the madonna. The original head was in all probability one of European design and was replaced by one with a Chinese countenance to save the picture from destruction or its Christian Chinese owner from detection or persecution, since he was then enabled to point out that the figure was merely intended for a Chinese woman.

I believe that the former owner of our madonna was piously actuated by a similar motive. The far-reaching persecution of the Catholic faith under the emperor Yung-chêng is well known. Let us suppose that the original legend under the picture would have referred to the subject, giving a title like "The Holy Mother" or "The Heavenly Lord," as Matteo Ricci had headed the wood-engraving of the madonna *Nuestra Señora de l'Antigua* in the cathe-

dral of Seville which I formerly published. Then the owner was justified at the time of the great anti-missionary movement in fearing lest this testimony plainly confessing Catholicism might betray him, or, if he was not baptized himself, might lead to an anathema of the picture which for some reason was dear to him. So he had recourse to this subterfuge, eradicated the suspicious title, and not unwittingly substituted the magic name of T'ang-yin for whom all Chinese evince such a deep reverence that it acted sufficiently as a protecting talisman. And it is due to this wonder only that the painting has been preserved to the present day.

Perhaps the name of a painter living at the end of the sixteenth century was originally written there, but such a name was treacherous too, as the Wan-li period was too well known in the memories of all people as the time of the first Catholic propaganda. But T'ang-yin had lived far beyond that period and could not be suspected of being a Catholic or having indulged in the art of the foreigners. Thus his distinguished name was in every respect a charm and amulet which saved the life of this memorable painting. It is the only painted madonna extant of the early period of Christian art in China, and as a venerable relic of the past takes the foremost rank among the Christian works produced by the Chinese. It was presumably painted after the model of a picture brought to China by Matteo Ricci himself.

THE SCHOLAR'S FOUR SEASONS.

Translated from the original of Weng Sen in the "Lute of the Little Learning"
BY JAMES BLACK.

Spring.

THE sunlight glistens on the wall, the brook goes murmuring by,
And o'er the earth that Spring has touched the scented zephyrs
fly.

Our friends, the birds, are twittering now on all the tree-tops near,
And on the surface of the pool the tinted flowerets rear.
Oh, who could miss the magic of such music and such light!
But ever in conning o'er his books the scholar takes delight.
The scholar cons his books with joy, a joy that has no bound,
Like the glory of the green that grows in the meadows all around.

Summer.

The bamboo boughs now press the eaves: there's mulberry every-
where,
And through the gloom of the student's room glitter the sunbeams
rare.

All day on the neighboring trees we hear the shrill cicada's cry,
And the shade of the night sees a flicker of light from the firefly
fluttering by.

As I lay by the window I dreamed a dream, that the Pearly Em-
peror came

To greet the scholar who rose to greet him first of the honored name.
The scholar cons his books with joy, a joy he only knows
In whose heart is the song of the jasper lute when the fragrant
zephyr blows.

Autumn.

Last night I heard a rustling when the leaves began to fall,
A crackling in the branches, and the cricket's parting call.
The voices of the forest came full blast upon the ear,
Like ten thousand flutes all piping that the autumn winds were here.
Beneath the genial sky no more we con the favorite page.
Back to the study's calm retreat we now attend the sage.
The scholar cons his books with joy. For his spirit can mount on
 high
To follow the path of the wandering moon across the frosty sky.

Winter.

The plants are gone, the springs are dry, the river-bank is bare,
And I have changed, as all must change, around the rolling year.
The lamp that dangles on its cord throws shadows on the wall.
Full half the night I read. Outside, the unceasing snowflakes fall.
But the cheerful water boils within. The pleasant fire ascends.
And ever to more congenial task the scholar joyfully bends.
The scholar cons his books with joy. What else of equal worth?
Not even the flower-like flakes that fly half way 'tween heaven and
 earth.

GOETHE'S RELATION TO WOMEN.

BY THE EDITOR.

WHEN reading any biography of Goethe we are apt to receive a wrong impression of his personality. We become acquainted with a number of interesting people whom he meets in different places, and among them many attractive women. We are told of his literary labors and bear in mind his rapidly spreading fame. Thus his life seems to be a series of pleasures and triumphs while the quiet and concentrated work in which he was usually engaged is scarcely considered. His labors were almost playfully performed and his very recreations entered into them as part of his experiences which made him pause. His very sentiments are the material of his work, for, says he, "God made me say what in my heart I feel." Thus the seriousness of his life does not appear to a superficial observer, and yet those judge Goethe wrongly who would look upon his life as a mere series of flirtations, of lucky incidents and undeserved successes of all kinds. He himself relates his life in a charming style which renders every insignificant detail interesting, but all those pleasant events are drawn upon a somber background which the less noticed it is serves to render the more fascinating the figures that appear upon it.

Goethe's was a serious constitution, and the joyous events of his life are more incidental than the reader of "Truth and Fiction" might think. He was the butt of much envy and hostility in his lifetime, and above all his relations to women have been severely censured, but they were much purer and more innocent than is commonly assumed. We must remember that all the denunciations hurled against him by his critics are based upon his own story. There are no accusations coming from those whom he is assumed to have wronged.

* * *

When we wish to understand the part which women play in

Goethe's life we ought to speak first of all of the poet's relations with his mother. He knew very well what he owed to his father and what to his mother, tersely and poetically expressed in the lines:



GOETHE IN HIS THIRTIETH YEAR.
Painted by G. O. May, 1779.

"From father my inheritance
Is stature and conduct steady.
From mother I have my love of romance
And a tongue that's ever ready."

Goethe owed to his mother his poetic genius, his talent for story telling, and his buoyancy of spirit.

Frau Aja, as Goethe's mother was called by her son, was much younger than her husband, and we know that their marriage was not a love match. She was only seventeen and a half years old when on August 1748 she joined her life to that of the Counselor



GOETHE'S MOTHER, CALLED FRAU RATH, OR FRAU AJA.

After a picture in the possession of Solomon Hirzel. Original portraits of the Frau Rath are very rare.

Johann Caspar Goethe who was her senior by nineteen years. The warmth of the young wife's heart did not find the response she sought in the care of her sober and paternal mate, and so she lavished upon her son all the sentiment and fervor of which her soul was capable. Of six children she lost four¹ in early childhood, and

¹ Hermann Jacob, born in November, 1752, died in January, 1759; Catharina Elisabeth, born in September, 1754, died in December, 1755; Johanna Maria, born in March, 1757, died in August, 1759; and Georg Adolf, born in June, 1760, died in February, 1761.

only two, Wolfgang and Cornelia, survived. These sad bereavements only served to intensify her love for her two remaining children. Others might have succumbed to the gloom of melancholy, or their disposition would have soured, not so Frau Aja. With all the tenderness of a young woman's affection she clung to her children,



GOETHE'S FATHER.

After a copper engraving in Lavater's *Physiognomische Fragmente* (1777). The explanatory text reads: "Here is a pretty good likeness of the excellent, skilful, order-loving, discreet and clever executive man, who, however, made no pretense to a spark of poetic genius,—the father of the great man."

especially to her spritely boy, and she not only shared his joys when a child but also the unreserved confidence of the youth and the man. With him she renewed her girlhood days more as her son's companion in his sometimes giddy pranks than as his educator and parent. "My Wolfgang and I," she used to say, "always clung close together, because we were young together."



THE GOETHE FAMILY OF FRANKFORT.*

It was painted in 1762 by the Darmstadt artist J. C. Seekatz for 60 gulden.

* After the death of Goethe's mother this picture came into the possession of Bettina von Arnim who left it to her son-in-law, Hermann Grimm. Goethe kept two of the artist's sketches of this picture in his collection. It is one of these which is here reproduced. The oil painting differs slightly.

Frau Aja surrounded her son with her motherly love, removing from his life even in later years everything that could worry him or cause him solicitude. For instance it is not commonly known how



THE ROOM OF FRAU RATH GOETHE.

After a drawing by E. Büchner.

much she did for him in pecuniary sacrifices at the time when her illustrious son was well able to take care of his own accounts. During the Napoleonic war Frankfort had to pay a heavy contribution,

and Goethe, owning some property there though not being a citizen of the free city, was directly affected. His mother paid every penny of his share without ever referring to her son, simply to spare him the worry of making these increased payments. There is preserved in Weimar, a little sheet containing a few figures in Frau Aja's own handwriting which tell us how much the poet's mother still cared for the comfort of her son, and continued to spoil him with her motherly love. They read as follows:

1778.	700
1782.	888
1782.	1000
1785.	1000
1794.	1000
1801.	1000
	<hr/>
	f. 5588
	600
	<hr/>
	f. 6188

The sum of 6188 florins is more than twenty-five hundred dollars.

* * *

It is true that Goethe's poetic nature needed the stimulation of a woman's interest, but his relations to his women friends were not frivolous. He was not unprincipled, but he dreaded the indissoluble bond of marriage, and he carefully avoided giving any woman just cause to make a claim on his constancy. He himself expressed this sentiment in a humorous poem entitled *Vorschlag zur Güte* which might be translated simply "Proposal" or "For Consideration." It reads in an English translation thus:

He:

"So well thou pleasest me, my dear,
That as we are together here
I'd never like to part;
'Twould suit us both, sweet heart."

She:

"As I please you, so you please me,
Our love is mutual you see.
Let's marry, and change rings,
Nor worry about other things."

He:

"We marry! The word makes me feel blue,
I feel at once like leaving you."

She:

"Why hesitate? For then of course
If it won't work, we'll try divorce."

Being fearful that he might marry some one who would become a hindrance to him in his poetic work, Goethe was careful not to be carried away by passion, and he expresses this principle in another poem entitled *Wahrer Genuss*, i. e., "True Enjoyment," where he says:

"And shall thee tie no holy bondage,
Oh youth, practice control of thee.
Thus mayest thou preserve thy freedom,
Nor yet without attachment be."

We have reason to believe that Goethe's relations with women were dominated by this maxim, and in more advanced years when his fame had made him more attractive he fortified himself against temptations and all advances made by the fair sex, in the following rhyme:

"Only this time be not caught as yet,
And a hundred times you escape the net."

* * *

Goethe's first love was of a very harmless character. It was in the year 1764 when he was a mere boy of fifteen, and his adored one, Gretchen, was a few years his senior, probably seventeen or eighteen years old,—a good-natured girl whom the vicissitudes of life had rendered both modest and pensive, so as to impress the bold stripling with the dignity of a pure soul. For instance once when she had rebuked him for entering into the silly jokes of his friends he was so infatuated with the lovely girl that he wanted to embrace her, but she stood aloof. "Don't kiss me," said she, "that is vulgar; but love me if you can."

Gretchen seems to have been an orphan, presumably the daughter of an inn-keeper at Offenbach, and was brought up in the house of relatives. Her family name is not known. The young Goethe became acquainted at her home with a man whom he recommended to his father for a position, and when the youth's protégé turned out to be a scoundrel, an investigation ensued in which Gretchen spoke of the young Wolfgang as a "boy," which offended him greatly. The following comment in "Truth and Fiction" describes Goethe's sentiments at the disillusionment of his first affection. Having related the result of the investigation as told by his tutor, he continues:

"At last I could contain myself no longer, and asked what had become of Gretchen, for whom I, once for all, confessed the strongest attachment. My friend shook his head and smiled. 'Set your mind at rest,' replied he, 'that girl has passed her examination very well, and has borne honorable testimony to that effect. They could discover nothing in her but what was good and amiable. She even won the favor of those who questioned her, and who could not refuse to grant her desire to remove from the city. Even what she has confessed regarding you, my friend, does her honor. I have read her deposition in the secret reports myself, and have seen her signature.'—'That signature!' exclaimed I, 'which makes me so happy and so miserable. What has she confessed, then? What has she signed?' My friend hesitated to reply, but the cheerfulness of his face showed me that he concealed nothing dangerous. 'If you must know, then,' replied he at last, 'when she was asked about you, and her intercourse with you, she said quite frankly, "I cannot deny that I have seen him often and with pleasure; but I have always treated him as a child, and my affection for him was truly that of a sister. In many cases I have given him good advice and, instead of instigating him to any equivocal action, I have hindered him from taking part in wanton tricks, which might have brought him into trouble."'

"My friend still went on making Gretchen speak like a governess; but for some time I had ceased to listen to him. I was terribly affronted that she had set me down in the reports as a child, and I at once believed myself cured of all passion for her. I even hastily assured my friend that all was now over. I also spoke no more of her, named her no more; but I could not leave off the bad habit of thinking about her, and of recalling her face, her air, her demeanor, though now, to be sure, all appeared to me in quite another light. I felt it intolerable that a girl, at the most only a couple of years older than I, should regard me as a child: while I had imagined that I passed with her for a very sensible and clever youth."

A reminiscence of Gretchen is preserved in Goethe's *Faust* in so far as the heroine bears her name.

* * *

Goethe's relation to his sister might well serve all brothers as a model. We cannot characterize her better than in his own words:

"She was tall, well and delicately formed, and had something naturally dignified in her demeanor, which melted away into pleasing mildness. The lineaments of her face, neither striking nor

beautiful, indicated a character which was not, nor ever could be, in union with itself. Her eyes were not the finest I have ever seen, but the deepest, behind which you expected the most; and when



GRETCHEN.

By Kaulbach.

they expressed any affection, any love, their brilliancy was unequalled. And yet, properly speaking, this expression was not tender, like that which comes from the heart carrying with it at the

same time something of longing and desire. This expression came from the soul; it was full and rich and seemed as if it would only give without needing to receive.

"But what disfigured her face in a peculiar manner so that she would often appear positively ugly, was the fashion of those times, which not only bared the forehead, but, either accidentally or on purpose, did everything apparently or really to enlarge it. Now, as she had the most feminine, most perfect arched forehead, and, moreover, a pair of strong black eyebrows and prominent eyes, these circumstances occasioned a contrast, which, if it did not repel



THE POET'S SISTER.

Drawn by Goethe, presumably in 1770. From the portfolio *Juvenilia*.

every stranger at the first glance, at least did not attract him. She felt it at an early age; and this feeling became constantly the more painful to her, the farther she advanced into the years when both sexes find an innocent pleasure in being mutually agreeable.

"To nobody can his own form be repugnant. The ugliest, as well as the most beautiful, has a right to enjoy his own presence; and as favor beautifies, and every one regards himself in the looking glass with favor, it may be asserted that every one must see himself with complacency, even if he would struggle against the feeling. Yet my sister had such a decided foundation of good sense, that she

could not possibly be blind or silly in this respect. On the contrary she perhaps knew more clearly than she ought, that she stood far behind her female playfellows in external beauty, without feeling



CORNELIA, GOETHE'S SISTER.

consoled by the fact that she infinitely surpassed them in internal advantages.

"If a woman can find compensation for the want of beauty, she

richly found it in the unbounded confidence, the regard and love, which all her female friends bore to her; whether they were older or younger, all cherished the same sentiments. A very pleasant society had collected around her. Young men were not wanting who knew how to insinuate themselves into it and nearly every girl found



JOHANN GEORG SCHLOSSER.*

Goethe's brother-in-law. After a medallion by Becker.

an admirer; she alone had remained without a partner. While, indeed, her exterior was in some measure repulsive, the mind that gleamed through it was also more repelling than attractive; for the presence of dignity puts a restraint upon others. She felt this sen-

* Born 1739 at Frankfort. He was a lawyer who served as private secretary to the Duke of Württemberg. In 1773 he accepted a position as a state counselor of Baden at Carlsruhe, and after an appointment as Oberamtmann at Emmendingen, he returned to Carlsruhe in 1787 as director of the ducal court and retired in 1794. He died at Frankfort in 1799.

sibly; she made no attempt to conceal it from me, and her love was directed to me with so much greater force. The case was singular enough. As confidants to whom one reveals a love-affair actually by genuine sympathy become lovers also, nay, grow into rivals, and at last, perchance, transfer the passion to themselves, so it was with us two. For, when my connection with Gretchen was torn asunder, my sister consoled me the more earnestly, because she secretly felt the satisfaction of having got rid of a rival; and I,



CHARITAS MEIXNER.

After an oil painting.

too, could not but feel a quiet, half-mischievous pleasure, when she did me the justice to assure me that I was the only one who truly loved, understood, and esteemed her."

In November, 1773, Cornelia was married to Schlosser, and the newly married couple left for Strassburg. Her marriage was not fortunate and she sought refuge in her brother's friendship, but he could offer no help. She died prematurely in Emmendingen in 1777.

One of Cornelia's friends was Charitas Meixner, a young girl born in 1750 at Worms. While Goethe studied in Leipsic he devoted some passing attention to her, as appears from his correspondence with her cousin, a young Mr. Trap. We know too little about her to form an adequate idea of her character and the influence she might have had on the young poet. She afterwards married a merchant of Worms by the name of Schuler, and died at the age of twenty-seven years.

* * *

At Frankfort Cornelia was visited by some friends who played a part in her brother's life. They were Frau Betty Jacobi, the wife of Fritz Jacobi, and Johanna Fahlmer, a younger sister of Fritz



BETTY JACOBI, NÉE VON CLERMONT.

JOHANNA FAHLMER IN OLD AGE.

Jacobi's mother, with her niece, Fritz Jacobi's half-sister Lolo. Fräulein Fahlmer was a daughter of her father's second wife and considerably younger than her nephews. Being Jacobi's aunt she was called "Auntie" (*Tantchen*) even as a young girl, and in Goethe's letters she always figured as Auntie Fahlmer. These three young women contributed not a little to cement a friendship between Goethe and Fritz Jacobi which in spite of profound difference of religious conviction lasted to the end of their lives. The maiden name of Helene Elisabeth Jacobi (called Betty) was Von Clermont. She was born October 5, 1743, and died prematurely on February 9, 1784. She was of Dutch nationality and was married in 1764 to Fritz Jacobi. Her visit to Frankfort falls in the year 1773. Goethe was very fond of her and describes her in "Truth and Fiction" as

genuinely Dutch in her appearance, "without a trace of sentimentality in her feeling, true, cheerful in speech, a splendid Dutch woman, who without any trace of sensuality reminds one of the plump type of Rubens's women."

Auntie Fahlmer was born June 16, 1744, at Düsseldorf and died October 31, 1821, in her native city. She visited Frankfort during the summer of 1772 and the spring of 1774. She was a friend of both Wolfgang and Cornelia Goethe and became more



KITTY SCHÖNPF.

and more attached to the latter after her marriage and during the years 1773-1777 she carried on a lively correspondence with Goethe. Somewhat more than a year after Cornelia's death, June 8, 1777, she became the wife of the widower Johann Georg Schlosser. The only procurable picture of her is a portrait made at an advanced age.

* * *

Kitty Schönpf, the "Aennchen" of Goethe's autobiography,

was a pretty and attractive girl, but being the daughter of the proprietor of a restaurant where Goethe took his dinners during the summer of 1766, she was not of a distinguished family. Their courtship was much disturbed by jealousy and whims which finally led to a rupture. The main cause of the trouble seems to have been the restless character of the young poet who felt that his interest would not be lasting, and who was almost afraid to tie himself to her forever by marriage. Kitty was married in 1770 to Dr. Karl Kanne, later vice-mayor of Leipsic.

This flirtation at Leipsic (in 1766) with "Aennchen" was of a transient nature and did not leave a deep impression on the poet's heart. So we may regard his romance with Friederike Brion of Sesenheim as the first true love affair of his life.

At Strassburg Goethe had taken dancing lessons at the house of a French dancing master, whose two daughters were in love with the young poet, and one day the older one, jealous of her sister, kissed him and solemnly cursed the woman who would be the first to kiss him again. The scene is dramatically told in Goethe's autobiography, and the unhappy victim of this curse was to be Friederike.

* * *

A student by the name of Wieland introduced Goethe to the Brion family. The father, a Huguenot of French extraction, was a Protestant clergyman at Sesenheim, a village about twenty miles from Strassburg. He had six children; one of his daughters was married while the two youngest lived at home. The name of the elder of these two was Maria Salome, and Friederike, the youngest daughter of the Brion family (born April 19, 1752), was just nineteen years of age, with blue questioning eyes and a most alluring smile, not exactly beautiful but very pretty, and unusually responsive. No wonder that the young poet's heart was at once aflame. The time was spent in lively conversation on Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield* and other literary topics, in moonlight promenades, dances and rural frolics, until Goethe was so thrilled with youth and love that forgetful of the French damsel's curse he yielded to the temptation and pressed a kiss upon her yielding lips.

Can we doubt that the lines of his poem "To the Moon" have reference to Friederike's love when he says:

"Once that prize did I possess	[Ich besass es doch einmal,
Which I yearn for yet,	Was so köstlich ist!
And alas! to my distress,	Dass man doch zu seiner Qual
Never can forget."—Tr. by P. C.	Nimmer es vergisst!]

No wonder that Goethe never forgot this idyllic courtship and that the remembrance of it seemed to gain in power with his advancing age. George Henry Lewes, on his visit to Weimar met some persons then living who had known the great poet personally. He says with reference to Friederike: "The secretary to whom this episode was dictated, told me how much affected Goethe seemed to be as these scenes revisited his memory. Walking up and down the



FRIEDERIKE'S HOME, THE PARSONAGE AT SESENHEIM.

After an oil painting formerly in the possession of A. Störber, now in the Freie Deutsche Hochstift at Frankfort on the Main.

room, with his hands behind him, he often stopped his walk, and paused in the dictation; then after a long silence, followed by a deep sigh, he continued the narrative in a lower tone."

It is to be regretted that we have no portrait of Friederike which can be considered as unequivocally authentic. Among the papers of the poet Lenz, however, a pencil drawing has been found which represents a youthful girl in Alsacian costume who may very probably be this much wooed daughter of the Sesenheim parson. There



KAULBACH'S BRION FAMILY.

Friederike is reading *The Vicar of Wakefield*, to the characters of which story Goethe compared the inmates of the Sesenheim parsonage.

is a great probability that such is the case but we have no positive evidence. The handwriting of Friederike, however, is still pre-

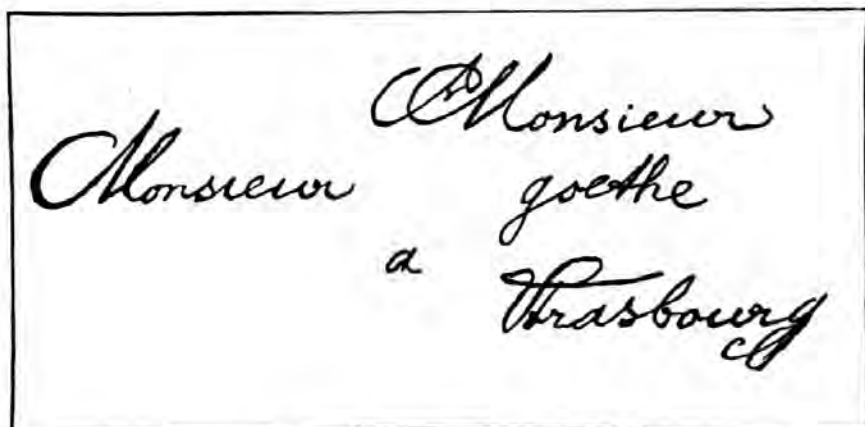


FALK'S FRIEDERIKE PORTRAIT.

Found among Lenz's papers.

served, and we reproduce here one of the best known specimens of it from an envelope addressed to Goethe.

There are many readers of Goethe's autobiography who become so charmed with the loveliness of Friederike that they cannot forgive the poet for not having married her. Some have gone so far as to attack him most violently and censure him for a breach of faith. They forget that their accusations are based on evidence furnished exclusively by the accused person himself. That Goethe had never a harsh word for her certainly does not speak against him, and we must assume that there were weighty reasons which led to a rupture. In fact he accuses himself, not at all considering himself blameless although he felt that he could not have acted differently. We will quote the most important passage on the subject from his autobiography. When he wrote her that he would have to leave she answered in a most touching way. Goethe says:



FRIEDERIKE'S AUTOGRAPH.

"Friederike's answer to my farewell letter rent my heart. It was the same hand, the same tone of thought, the same feeling which was formed for me and by me. I now for the first time felt the loss which she suffered, and saw no means to supply it or even alleviate it. I was always conscious that I missed her; and, what was worst of all, I could not forgive myself for my own misfortune. Gretchen had been taken away from me; Annette had left me; now, for the first time, I was the guilty one. I had wounded her lovely heart to its very depths; and the period of a gloomy repentance, with the absence of the refreshing love to which I had grown accustomed, was most agonizing, nay, intolerable."

Further on Goethe continues:

"At the time when I was pained by my grief at Friederike's situation, I again sought aid from poetry after my old fashion.

I again continued my wonted poetical confession in order that by this self-tormenting penance I might be worthy absolution in my own eyes. The two Marias in 'Götz von Berlichingen' and 'Clavigo,' and the two bad characters who act the parts of their lovers, may have been the results of such penitent reflections."

When Goethe speaks of first love as the only true love he apparently has reference to his love for Friederike, not to his prior and more boyish flirtations with Gretchen and Annette Schönkopf; and this explains why he cherished this episode of his life with such tenderness. Goethe says:

"The first love, it is rightly said, is the only one; for in the second, and by the second, the highest sense of love is already lost. The conception of the eternal and infinite which elevates and supports it is destroyed; and it appears transient like everything else that recurs."

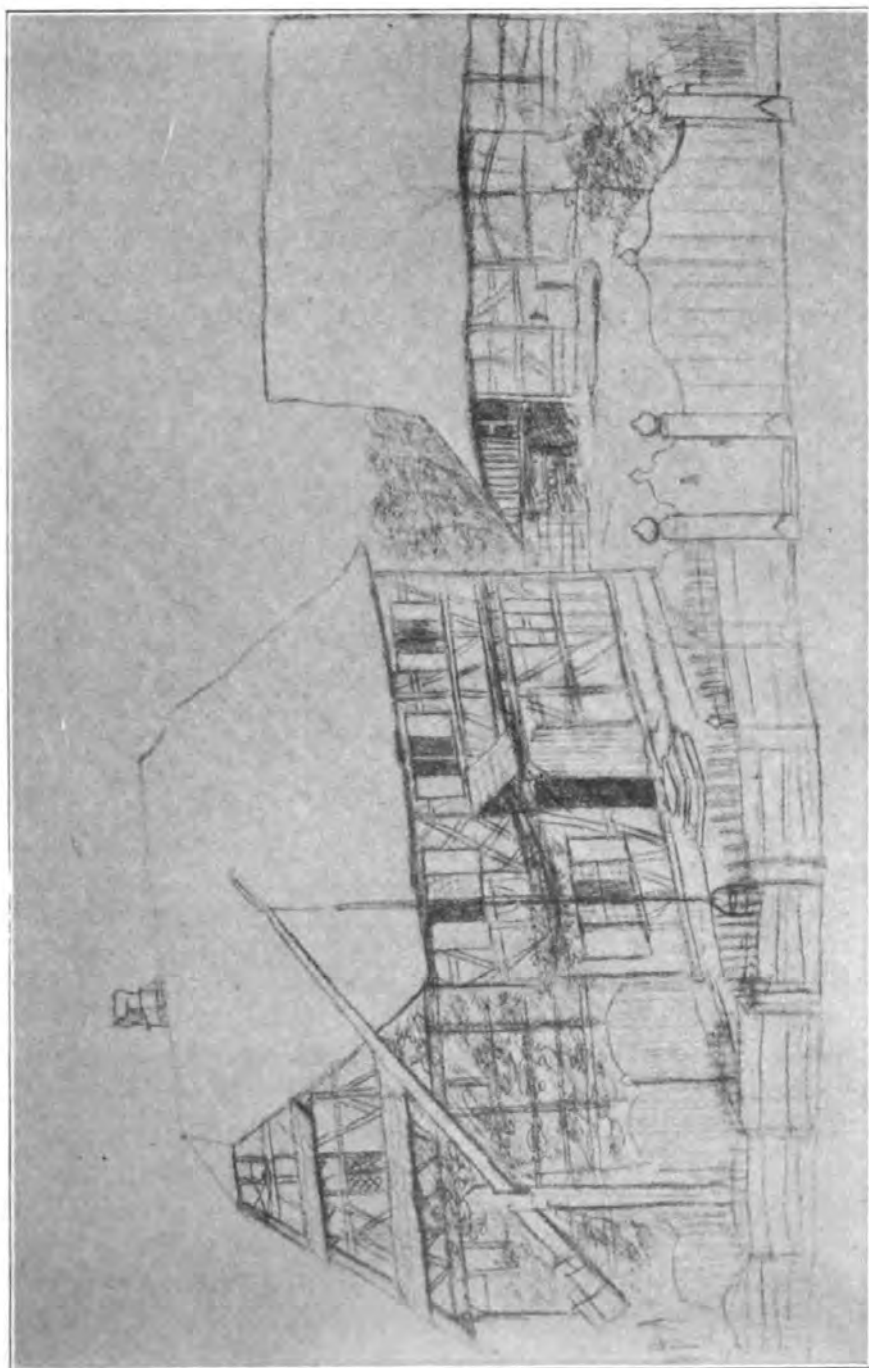
The correspondence between Goethe and Friederike has been destroyed, which fact proves that both parties shunned publicity. However, Goethe remembered Friederike's love, and set up for her an everlasting monument in the story of his Sesenheim romance, while ever afterward he carefully endeavored to crowd out from his mind all memories that would disfigure these recollections so dear to him. In Goethe's autobiography Friederike appears of such natural and lovely charm that her personality remained one of the favorite women characters of German literature. She died April 3, 1813, at the house of her sister, Frau Pfarrer Marx at Meissenheim, and on her tombstone two simple lines are inscribed:

"Ein Strahl der Dichtersonne fiel auf sie,
So hell dass er Unsterblichkeit ihr lieh."

[Upon her fell a ray of poesy,
So bright that she gained immortality.]

Goethe's description of Friederike has made Sesenheim a place of pilgrimage to lovers of German literature, and the first distinguished visitor of the old Brion parsonage was the poet Ludwig Tieck in the summer of 1822, but he expressed his disappointment by saying that in a certain sense he "repented having visited Sesenheim." He adds, "'repented' is not the word, but an unpoetic sadness fills me to find that everything there is so different from the picture my imagination formed according to the incomparable description of our poet."

In the autumn of the same year (1822) Professor Naeke, of Bonn, visited Sesenheim and was greatly disillusioned at the report



THE PARSONAGE AT SESENHEIM.

After a drawing by Goethe. In the original, the words "Brion Pfarrer" can still be read on the left gate post.

of Pastor Schweppenhäuser, the successor of Friederike's father in that rural parsonage. The real Friederike was somewhat different from the poetical figure of Goethe's autobiography. Naeke wrote down his impressions under the title of "A Pilgrimage to Sesenheim," and having stated the result of his investigations concludes his report with an expression of satisfaction that she had no reason to reproach Goethe for her misfortunes. Naeke's "Pilgrimage to Sesenheim" remained unprinted until 1840, when it was published by Varnhagen von Ense, but a copy of the manuscript had been sent to Goethe at the time, and he made the following comment which appears to be all he ever cared to say on the subject:²



SESENHEIM.

"In order to give brief expression to my thoughts about the news from Sesenheim I shall make use of a symbol of general physics derived more particularly, however, from entoptics; I shall speak here of repeated reflections of light.

"1. A youthful blessed delusion (*Wahnleben*) unconsciously reflects itself forcibly in the young man.

"2. The image long cherished, and probably revived, surges ever to and fro, gracious and lovely, before his inner vision for many years.

"3. Tenderly received in early years and long retained, finally in vivid remembrance it is given external expression and is once more reflected.

² This short article is inscribed *Wiederholte Spiegelungen* (i. e., "repeated or continued mirrorings"), and is registered under that title in the index of any edition of Goethe's complete works. It was published first in his posthumous works 1833, Vol. IX, and is contained in his complete works as No. 117 in the volume entitled *Aufsätze zur Literatur*.

"4. This image radiates in all directions into the world, and a fine, noble heart may be charmed by this appearance as if it were the reality, and receives from it a deep impression.

"5. From this is developed an inclination to actualize all that may still be conjured up out of the past.

"6. The longing grows, and that it may be gratified it becomes indispensably necessary to return once more to the spot in order to make his own the vicinity at least.

"7. Here by happy chance is found on the commemorated spot a sympathetic and well-informed man upon whom the image has likewise been impressed.

"8. Now in the locality which had been in some respects desolated, it becomes possible to restore a true image, to construct a second presence from the wrecks of truth and tradition, and to love Friederike in her entire loveliness of yore.

"9. Thus in spite of all earthly intervention she can again be once more reflected in the soul of her old lover, and charmingly revive in him a pure, noble and living presence.

"When we consider that repeated moral mirrorings not only vividly revive the past but even ascend to a higher life, then we think of the entoptic phenomena which likewise do not fade from mirror to mirror but are kindled all the more. Thus we shall obtain a symbol of what has often been repeated in the history of the arts and sciences, of the church and even of the political world, and is still repeated every day.

"January 31, 1823."

We can now understand the lines in Goethe's ode "To the Moon," when the poet sighs:

"Flow along, dear river, flow;
Joy for aye is sped.
Glee and kisses even so,
Yea, and troth have fled."

[Fliesse, fliesse, lieber Fluss;
Nimmer werd ich froh.
So verrauchte Scherz und Kuss,
Und die Treue so.]

Historical investigations have led to a bitter discussion, the extremes of which are represented on the one side by I. Froitzheim,³ on the other by Düntzer, Erich Schmidt, Bielowski, etc. Although an idealist would be naturally inclined to take Düntzer's view of the case, we can not ignore Goethe's own statements which, though very guardedly, concede the reliability of Naeke's information. We

³ In protest against the exaggerated glorification of Friederike by certain hero-worshippers, Dr. I. Froitzheim followed up the scent of Professor Naeke and published the result of his investigations under the title, *Friederike von Sesenheim nach geschichtlichen Quellen* (Gotha, F. A. Perthes, 1893).



GOETHE PARTING FROM FRIEDERIKE.
By Eugen Klimsch.

know further that Friederike was engaged for some time to Jacob Michael Reinhold Lenz, one of the minor German poets and a personal friend of Goethe, but that he too found cause to break off the engagement.

It is impossible to deny the pertinence of these and other facts, but on the other hand we need not (as does Froitzheim) begrudge to Friederike the honor of the inscription of her tombstone. Friederike was human, perhaps too human, but her foible was the same as Goethe's. The suffering she endured for her fault was sufficient atonement. We must remember that even the severest critics of her character grant that she was full of grace and loveliness, not a striking beauty but of rare charm, capable of intense devotion, charitable, self-sacrificing and thirsting for love. Even when her youth was gone she could fascinate men of talent and set their hearts aflame with passion. There is no need to require her to be a saint, and we might as well repeat of her the words of Christ, "Her sins which are many are forgiven, for she loved much."

[TO BE CONCLUDED.]

THE PERIL OF THE CHRISTMAS LEGEND.

BY GEORGE HOLLEY GILBERT.

A HISTORICAL character has a right to be historically understood. No one, not even his most intimate friend, can be held blameless who hides one iota of fact with a veil of romance. This is especially true in the case of those historical characters who founded the great religions of mankind. What concerns us so intimately and comprehensively as our religious faith ought, for the sake of our manhood, to have a basis not of fancy but of fact.

Among the great prophets of earth no one is better entitled to an absolutely impartial historical portrayal than is Jesus. He concealed nothing, he misinterpreted nothing, and he laid down his life to seal the truth of his words. He taught with unparalleled power the duty of reality, of sincerity, of truthfulness before God and man. Nothing stirred his indignation so deeply as sham and quackery in religion. It is peculiarly fitting, therefore, that the followers of Jesus should tell the truth about him, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. Not only is this demanded by proper respect for the character of Jesus, it is also urgently demanded by regard for the true welfare of his millions of followers. Whatever doctrine or rite obscures the historical truth about him is in so far unworthy to be called Christian.

Now the Christmas legend is such a doctrine. It obscures the truth. Children who hear this legend read as history grow up with a fundamentally wrong conception of Jesus. We say "fundamentally" wrong, not *totally* wrong, without any truth whatsoever. That Jesus was of humble parentage and sprang from the Galilean village of Nazareth there is no reason to doubt; but these elements are quite inconspicuous in the story of his origin. What stands in the foreground is a series of supernatural events which absorb the reader's attention and determine his conception of Jesus. Of this series the first event, which makes all the subsequent ones easy of

belief, is that Jesus had no human father, but, like many of the Greek and Roman heroes, was sprung from an earthly mother who had conceived in a supernatural manner. He was begotten of God.

It is not the purpose of the present article to give the grounds on which one is constrained to regard this as a legend, but only to set forth the serious peril that is wrapped up in it.

The Christian religion differs notably from other great religions in this respect that the teaching of Jesus is perfectly illustrated by his own character and life. To speak in a paradox, he was himself the first Christian. It was his aim to show men the way to the Father, to show by word and example what it is to be and to live as a child of God. He did not give himself to his followers as an object of worship, but as a prophet of the true worship of God. It was only as men lost sight of the teaching of the Master in word and in life that they began to regard him as an object of worship by the side of God. In the light of the oldest sources, in the light of all the well-attested words of Jesus, we cannot doubt that this rendering to him of divine worship on the part of his followers would have been regarded by him with unspeakable sorrow and profound abhorrence. As one who himself worshiped God, he could only have regarded this attitude of his followers as idolatrous.

Now the Christmas legend taken as history renders it impossible to regard Jesus as the ideal of Christian manhood. It clearly vitiates his humanity, and thus undermines the significance of his temptation and of all his struggle to be a perfect exponent of the will of God. The Christmas legend makes Jesus a *tertium quid*. He is not a purely human son of his mother nor a purely divine son of his alleged Father. He cannot possibly become the ideal man for he has not sprung out of the common human soil. His achievement of character can never be held up as an unmixed encouragement to struggling human spirits because his antecedents were radically unlike those of all truly human spirits. His belief in the fatherhood of God is not proof that men and women can attain that belief, for men and women, first and last, are sprung from human fathers, but he, according to the legend, was not.

The Christmas legend in making Jesus a *tertium quid* strips him at once and forever of all possible significance as an example. It takes him out of the ranks of struggling humanity, and sets him on a *niveau* remote and strange, where he has as companions no one of his mother's race but only the unreal beings of pagan legend,

as Perseus and Hercules, or historical characters like Alexander and Augustus who have been sublimated into the realm of legend.

Thus by the Christmas legend Jesus is wounded in the house of his friends. His influence with his own people, the Jews, was seriously crippled by his death as a malefactor, but this was of small account as compared with the injury done to his name by representing him as a demi-god. Doubtless this injury was less in ancient times than it is at present, for when men scarcely discriminated between the historical and the legendary it did not matter so much that legends were woven around the historical Jesus, especially as they were inspired by love and a sincere desire to honor his name. It may be that the Christmas legend even furthered the acceptance of the new religion among the Greeks and Romans in the age when it originated; but if so, this acceptance was dearly bought. It has always been easy to find acceptance for a Christianity that is sufficiently adulterated to suit the fancy or gratify the desires and lusts of men. But for the modern world in which there is a growing sense of the sacredness of God's laws and the sacredness of truth, associated with an immeasurable increase of knowledge of his laws both physical and spiritual—for this world, we say, the legendary elements that early found their way into the canonical Gospels are a stumbling-block and a snare. Some men, offended by these legendary accretions, cast the entire Gospel overboard, and commiserate the intellectual immaturity of the church. Others accept the legendary elements as actual history and thus help to perpetuate, in the twentieth century, conceptions of God and man which are Greek rather than Jewish and which are hostile to the essence of the Gospel. A few are learning to discriminate between the legendary and the historical.

But this is not all. The peril contained in the Christmas story is not exhausted when we say that this story conveys a fundamentally wrong conception of Jesus. Intimately associated with this are two other features of the subject which are no less practical in character.

In the first place, the Christmas legend introduces into the Gospel a conception of God which can not now maintain itself. It represents him as arbitrarily breaking in upon his own established order of working. For tens of thousands of years he had been developing the human race from within. He had by slow degrees brought it up to the first rude beginnings of civilization, then onward through many centuries until man had gained the heights of knowledge and power which we see in the ancient Egyptian and Assyrian empires. Above the level of the cave-dwellers there had

arisen a Cheops and a Nebuchadnezzar, a David and a Julius Cæsar. Out of a race in whom was only a vague and dread awe of the unseen forces of nature there had been developed an Abraham who was called the friend of God and a Socrates who stepped fearlessly forth into the unknown, trusting in the gods and his own good conscience. But there is no reason apparent why the method and means of progress which had obtained in the rise from the cave-dweller to Abraham and Socrates were not adequate to the rise from Socrates and Abraham to Jesus of Nazareth. According to the words of Jesus himself he was a prophet of the Most High, and his teaching differs from that of an Isaiah and Jeremiah as the work of a supreme master from that of his pupils.

What occasion therefore was there to depart from that method of progress under which man had risen out of the darkness and mire of the savage into the light and nobility of a Plato and an Epictetus, a Joseph and a Samuel? Had God known of a better way by which humanity could attain such purity and strength as we see in Jesus than the way he had pursued with his children for thousands of years, then he must have adopted that better way. Why the painful struggle of humanity through untold millennia to climb part way up the mount of goodness and divine knowledge if it was the purpose of God to carry the race by a single miraculous bound from the half-way point to the summit?

No, the Christmas legend makes God a God of confusion. He is not the God whose unchanging counsels we see in human history and throughout the well-ordered system of the universe.

But, once more, the Christmas legend not only brings discord into God's harmony, but it is also practically objectionable because it introduces an element of vagueness and unreality into the very fountain of our religion.

From the record of his public ministry it is clear that Jesus was no friend of vagueness in morals and religion. He saw clearly, and wished his disciples to see as he saw. God was neither unreal nor vague to him, and his vision of man's mission in the world was just as clear as his vision of God. The Christian faith and the Christian life when oriented by the faith and life of Jesus are definite and positive. Their dominant note is reality. But in this respect the Christmas legend is not in accord with the historical Jesus. When we go back from the story of his life, which story makes us feel that he is one with us, flesh of our flesh and bone of our bone, and when we see him through the shimmering veil of the story of his birth, then he escapes from us into the realm of the

unintelligible and the unreal. We can no longer see into his heart, or believe that he knows by experience how it seems to face temptation and to lift up a prayer to the unseen Father. We can not come near to him: he is vague and unreal. We can not conceive of a being who was born of a mother like ours but whose paternity was not of earth.

But if the Christmas legend thus brings an element of vagueness and unreality into our thought of the founder of Christianity, it is quite obvious that it infects Christianity throughout its length and breadth with poison of unreality and vagueness. What colors the fountain colors the stream. If Jesus himself is unreal, then his life is unreal, and his relation to God is tinged with unreality. But if his own religion is somewhat unreal, shall the religion of his followers, if they are indeed his *followers*, escape the taint of unreality?

It is doubtless a serious matter to bring a sweeping accusation against an important section in two of our oldest Christian documents, but it is not half so serious as to believe an untruth. The question is, shall we deal fairly with Jesus? Shall we judge him in the light of his own words and life, or by the fancies of early disciples?

Books have recently appeared which seek to show that Jesus never lived. Would such books have been written had not the church long read as history certain parts of the Gospel which are now recognized as legendary, and had it not in other ways obscured the historical Jesus? We may freely say that the Jesus of these legendary sections never did exist. We may say that the Jesus as portrayed in the great mass of Christmas poetry from Ephraim of Edessa down to the magazine poems of the present year never lived. We may also say that Jesus as analyzed and presented to faith by the Greek theologians of the early church never existed. But who can seriously question that back of the Sermon on the Mount there was a prophet unapproached in the purity and power of his teaching, that underneath the Christian movement of the first century there was a great personality who profoundly stirred the hearts and minds of men, and that the early Christian consciousness of the nearness and goodness of God and the early Christian eagerness to spend and be spent in the service of mankind resulted from contact with some one to whom the nearness and goodness of God were absolute verities and in whom the spirit of service was a consuming passion?

The historical Jesus can never accomplish his mission in the earth while the church persists in hiding him under the veil of legend. Let his birth be rescued from the realm of fiction and be made as

real as the boat in which he once slept on the Lake of Galilee. Let it be understood in harmony with his life and in harmony with the working of God throughout history and throughout the universe. If we thereby lose a legend of the second or third Christian generation, we shall gain what is more beautiful, the simple truth that Jesus, the supreme prophet and revealer of God, sprang out of the common soil of humanity.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CHRIST-IDEAL.

BY THE EDITOR.

DR. George Holley Gilbert contributes to this number of *The Open Court* an article on "The Peril in the Christmas Legend," which may be regarded as reflecting the spirit of the Arian sect and, in modern days, of the Unitarians who prefer the straight historical truth and insist on the human character of Jesus, believing that mankind does not stand in need of myth. Thus they construct a human Saviour in place of the supernatural Christ, or in other words they prefer to let Christ be an ideal man, whose divinity differs practically not at all from the divine sonship of any human being. The present article, however, is more than a mere repetition of the old Arian controversy. It is a straw in the wind which indicates that religious thought has entered into a new phase, and this is especially true if we consider the prominence of the author in theological circles.

The importance of Dr. Gilbert's position is set in a clearer light by the article of Mr. Amos Kidder Fiske on "The Mythical Element in Christianity." Though these writers differ in details they agree on the main point in attributing the origin of Christianity to a personal Jesus.

Dr. Gilbert can not be called one of the higher critics; nor is he famous as an original investigator among New Testament scholars, but he probably represents the congregational life better than most other theologians. He echoes the belief of the pews more than that of the pulpit, not of the pews indifferent to theological questions but of the thoughtful man who watches the controversies concerning biblical problems with intense interest, and honestly aspires to form an independent opinion as to the truth. Thus it appears that he is perhaps more representative of modern Christianity than either extreme, the independent church-goer who allows himself to be called a Christian from sheer habit and tradition, and the learned theologian, such as Wellhausen or Harnack. In him pulsates

the religious life of Christianity, and he is a true combination of both common sense and faith in the essential truths of the Christian doctrines as they are still held among educated men as instanced by Mr. Fiske.

Dr. Gilbert wants to know the historical truth about Jesus, and he has come to the conclusion that Jesus is historical and that the gist of his doctrine is found in the Gospels. He believes "that Jesus was of humble parentage and sprang from the Galilean village of Nazareth," but this remains rather indifferent. Of greater, indeed of paramount importance, is it that Jesus was the "first Christian." He regrets that the historical Jesus has been obscured by legendary accretions in which the supernatural plays a conspicuous part. Of this Jesus of the legends, of which the Christmas story is perhaps the most typical instance, Dr. Gilbert goes so far as to say that he, this mythical personage of miraculous events, "never lived." He further adds: "We may also say that Jesus as analyzed and presented to faith by the Greek theologians of the early church never existed, but," adds Dr. Gilbert, "who can seriously question that back of the Sermon on the Mount there was a prophet unapproached in the purity and power of his teaching, that underneath the Christian movement of the first century there was a great personality who profoundly stirred the hearts and minds of men, and that the early Christian consciousness of the nearness and goodness of God and the early Christian eagerness to spend and to be spent in the service of mankind resulted from contact with some one to whom the nearness and goodness of God were absolute verities and in whom the spirit of service was a consuming passion?"

Here Dr. Gilbert has proposed the vital argument of the liberal Christian view of the present day. This same thought is uppermost in the minds of all those who are opposed to supernaturalism and insist that the divinity of Christ is merely his ideal humanity. This class of religious thinkers has always been in the minority. The large masses revel in supernaturalism and gladly accept a literal belief in myth or what stands for myth, mysticism and the poetical representation of the religious movements that determine man's life. The student of history, the scientific theologian and the philosopher study the facts of the religious development of mankind; they analyze the myth and trace its development from former myths. With regard to Christian legend they have come to the conclusion that the Christ-ideal has been inherited from pagan prototypes, that it existed before Jesus. When Jesus, the Nazarene, became recognized in a narrow circle of the Nazarene sect as the Messiah, the idea that he

was the Christ took hold of Paul. Paul, like other teachers of his time, as for instance Apollos, possessed the ideal of a Christ whom he with other Jews identified with the Jewish Messiah. The ideal existed first and it gained concreteness by being attributed to Jesus.¹

Paul's conversion means that he identified Jesus the Nazarene with this traditional ideal of Christ, the Lord, and his preaching found a ready acceptance because mankind at that time was prepared for it. Paul only put in the keystone by rendering the vague Christ-ideal definite and allowing it to concentrate around a human personality. He made the Christ-ideal historical, or at least he gave it such a shape that the people to whom he preached could form a clear idea of the Christ as a human being who had actually lived, had died, and had risen from the dead, in a similar way as so many pagan saviours, Osiris, Baal, Marduk, Dionysus, Heracles and Zeus himself, have done according to pagan mythology in pre-Christian times.

Paul's contemporary, the preacher Apollos, knew all about the Lord, viz., the Christ, but, says Paul, he did not yet know that the Lord was Jesus of Nazareth.

The formation of the legendary Christ was the result of the natural tendency of mankind to construct an ideal. Whatever may have been true of the life of Jesus became indifferent, the features of the Christ-ideal were superadded to the traditional story of the Carpenter's Son, and it seems to be impossible now to analyze the two elements and show what belongs to the original fact and what is legendary.

It appears that the supernatural features added to the simple story of the life of Jesus became naturally the most important portion of the Gospels. They were insisted upon with greater vigor than the historical facts, and here we may say that the historicity of these features of which Dr. Gilbert speaks is more subject to doubt than of others.

There have been critics (among whom I will mention first of all Prof. William Benjamin Smith, of Tulane University, and his German follower, Prof. Arthur Drews) who deny the historical Jesus altogether and bring forth weighty arguments in favor of the mythical character of the Gospels without leaving any historical residuum.² In my opinion Christianity would not suffer if this were true, because the main element of Christianity is the very feature which makes Dr. Gilbert believe that there was such a powerful

¹ Acts xvii. 24 ff.

² See W. B. Smith, *Der vorchristliche Jesus*, and A. Drews, *The Christ Myth*.

personality as Jesus. But these very doctrines incorporated in the Sermon on the Mount and other noble sayings, have been derived from a source which Wellhausen called "Q," the initial of the German word *Quelle*, and this mysterious source "Q" does not appear to have contained any reference to the life of Jesus, to his personality or to the very characteristic surroundings and facts of his or any saviour's individual existence. It seems to have been a collection of religious contemplations, and from it the Gospel writers have derived the grand world-conception of a noble ethics. This very feature in combination with the spirit of the Fourth Gospel has assured the final victory of Christianity over its rival religions, such as Mithraism and the reformed paganism of Julian, surnamed the Apostate, or any other faith, such as the religion of Mani which grew up almost simultaneously with the Christian era. We have no evidence whatever that the Sermon on the Mount and other sayings of Jesus derived from the source "Q" should really be attributed to Jesus, and if he really used them the greater probability would be that he adopted them and made these religious sentiments his own.

We know now that the Gospels and other books of the New Testament contain many portions which are, perhaps literally, traditions that have come down to us from the first century, and we believe that exactly those passages which contradict the Christian spirit of later centuries are most assuredly genuine. It is very probable that the extreme Judaism of Jesus is historical, for pagan Christianity would not have invented that. But the typically Christian passages, the nobility of Christian ethics, as for instance the Sermon on the Mount, have been added to the New Testament by the Christian church as the need arose among its members not to be inferior in ethical ideas to rival religions. Think of it, that the grand words of Christ at the cross, "Father forgive them, for they know not what they do," do not appear in the New Testament before the ninth century; and we cannot doubt that they were inserted by some thoughtful scribe who did not want to let Christ be surpassed in nobility by Socrates who died without any animosity against his enemies.

Incidentally I ought to add here that these superadditions and later insertions should not be denounced as corruptions of the text. Even the mythical features have been superadded in good faith and with the best intentions. It is noticeable that even to-day theological scholars use the argument that the personality of Jesus must have been such or such, because (they argue) that corresponds best with

the noble sane mind of the carpenter's son of Galilee. Arguments of this kind are common among fairly good theological scholars. Neither is this uncritical method of constructing history according to the ideals we have in our own heart foreign to the biographers of the great heroes of history. Man naturally argues from the ideas he has of the subject in which he is interested. This being true in the secular field, we need not be surprised that it is true even to a greater extent in the field of religion.

And now in conclusion we wish to emphasize that Jesus as the Saviour and the Christ was not merely an historical personality, he was a superpersonality; and superpersonalities are formed naturally in the course of historical developments and become potent factors in determining the character of all the generations in whom they become a living presence. We shall never philosophically and scientifically understand the significance, the potency and also the concrete and definite actuality of Christ until we have understood the nature of superpersonalities.³

The story of Heracles was certainly a myth, but the Heracles ideal was a potent factor in Greece which accomplished much in shaping the convictions and aspirations of Grecian youths, and in the same sense Christ is an actuality in the Christian church; he is a superpersonal presence in the minds of his followers, more important than any historical person, Jesus, or Paul or any apostle and all the saints.

The Heracles ideal exercised a great moral influence upon ancient Greece and has produced many inspiring and noble sentiments among which the best known is that much quoted verse,

τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἰδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάροιθεν ἔθηκαν
ἀθάνατοι μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὄρθιος οἶμος ἐπ' αὐτήν.

"Truly 'tis sweat the Olympian gods have placed before virtue;
Long is the path that leads to its height and full of exertion."

There is no need of assuming that there must be the personality of a great teacher or a real Heracles behind such sentiments. Like many other wise saws it is the product of the collective wisdom of the ages. It is not the visions of the believers in Christ which have produced the belief in the resurrection of Jesus, as Mr. Fiske believes, but *vice versa* the belief in the resurrection of the Lord has given rise to the Easter story. The world-conception of a worldwide religion was worked out with the beginning of the

³ This subject has been treated in the writer's little book entitled *Personality*. See especially the chapter on "Superpersonality."

Christian era when all the nations from the Pillars of Hercules to the frontiers of the Persian realm were united into one great empire, and this new cosmopolitan faith with its pretty definite saviour-ideal clustered round the figure of Jesus. This resulted in Christianity which was consummated through the missionary labors of St. Paul. If instead of Christianity some other religion, whether Mithraism, an idealized paganism or any other faith, had gained the upper hand, its doctrines would read very much like the Christian creeds.

The influence of Christianity and the significance of the personality of Jesus is much obscured by the wrong attitude which is commonly taken by theologians of many different creeds, mainly by the old orthodox but it is also greatly misunderstood by the liberals, especially by the Unitarians, by the radicals and the infidels. The orthodox generally cling with a nervous anxiety to a belief in the personality of Jesus because they fear that if certain parts of the gospel story or even the entire fabric could be proved to be an historical fiction, the foundation of their faith and their ideals would be gone. On the other hand radicals and unbelievers also think that the cause of Christianity will be lost as soon as the New Testament stories can be proved to be unhistorical or even if they are merely dubitable or incredible. A philosophical analysis of the nature of superpersonality promises the possibility of a compromise between the most radical unbelief and the traditional orthodoxy. It is true that the similarity of Christianity to non-Christian religions will have to be accepted, but this does not mean that Christianity ought to be considered as low as the pagan religions; on the contrary it would raise the various pagan views more or less to the dignity of the Christian conception.

As to the personality of Jesus, the question for Christian faith is not whether there lived in Palestine 1900 years ago a Jew by that name who actually did what the Gospels report of Jesus, but whether or not the superpersonality of Jesus Christ, such as has risen in the minds of the Mediterranean people and has been transferred to Northern Europe, is or is not a good and true exposition of the eternal ideals of mankind; and further whether or not this superpersonality is the right guide in life. From this point of view new vistas open to Christianity, and the Christian churches may build higher upon the old traditions, on the ground of this greater liberty. Without destroying their historic past they may grow beyond the narrowness of medieval Christianity and even of the more progressive Christianity of the Reformation.

THE MYTHICAL ELEMENT IN CHRISTIANITY.

BY AMOS KIDDER FISKE.

THE ancient world was a world of myth and miracle. We have been wont to speak of "hoar antiquity" as if the age of the world, instead of its infancy, were in the distant past and wisdom had been with those of "old time." In the ancient days men thought and imagined, dreamed dreams and saw visions; but they knew little of the universe, and reason had to work with a small store of real fact and actual truth. The infancy of the race was long, its youth of slow growth, its maturity gradual, and only now is it ripening in knowledge and thought, with its old age still in the distant future.

To the ancients at the dawn of history, and for thousands of years, the earth was a flat expanse of unknown bounds, with the universe above and about it. It was believed to be encircled by water, with a dark underworld beneath, but how sustained from unimaginable depths it was beyond the mind of man to conceive, except that some living power, some mighty and tireless deity, or some monster must hold it in place. Above it was spread the arched firmament of stars in which the sun, moon and planets moved in their various courses. Above and beyond that might be realms which the imagination could people with supernal beings and endow with a life free from the vicissitudes of earth.

Of the origin of the world and its inhabitants there was no knowledge and could be no science. Of the powers and operations of nature there was no understanding. The searchings of the imagination were the only resource for the explanation of things, and the appeal to it stimulated its activity. What it had sought out was accepted and believed as truth. That the result was wonderful and marvelous, or in the light of modern knowledge full of childish fancies, did not make it incredible then. From the lips of sages

of the time or mystic dreamers it was taken as divine truth, not to be disputed without sacrilege.

At the beginning of man's "strange eventful history," amid the first gleams of civilization in the valleys of the Nile and the Euphrates, men began to think out the source and origin of what they saw and felt, and to create unseen divinities, sometimes making them visible in dreams or trances or to gifted seers. By these divinities all things could be explained, and their activity need not submit to human limitations or accord with the experiences of men. So a world of myth and miracle was created by the mind of man, to grow and change with the generations, to vary among the nations and become the heritage of the race until science could be born, knowledge should take the place of superstition, and the old order be dispelled.

A great revolution in the thoughts of mankind was wrought by the peculiar genius of the people who gave themselves the name of Israel, and who derived their origin from the land of the Chaldees in the East and found their discipline in servitude in Egypt and in the struggle to possess a land for themselves, in which they triumphed over resistance and fought their way to power in the midst of enemies. They acquired much of the learning of Egypt and of the lore of Babylon, and were far from being isolated from such knowledge of nature and of man as was then extant. Their keen intellect rejected most of the heritage of myth, already two or three thousand years old, but from it they culled material for an advanced mythology of their own. Theirs was simplified, clarified and rationalized in comparison with that of older times and other races. But their explanation of the origin of the earth and the heavens, of man and of the races of men, was as truly mythical as that of the "heathen" whom they scorned, and the deity of their conception was a creature of imagination, which grew and developed with their experience as a struggling congeries of tribes and clans, as a united nation and a divided kingdom, and as victims of ruthless conquest and vassals of an alien power.

There was an intellectual force, an ethical sense and a religious spirit in Israel which raised it high above the nations of the earlier times; but its "Yahveh" was a mythical deity, clothed with the highest attributes of which its wisest men could conceive. They believed in him and in the laws, the threats and promises which their imagination attributed to him, and they deemed all their history to be his work, in spite of its doleful results in a material sense. From Judaism Christianity inherited a strain of myth, but more

from other sources. Judaism itself had been modified by Persian influence. From that source came the idea of a dual power in the universe, a power of good and a power of evil, contending over the destiny of man, whose soul was apart from the physical life and immortal. Thence came the conception of angels dwelling in the heavens and demons peopling the air. Later the Hellenic influence invaded the minds of the heirs of Israel and the people who were mingled with them, and while they rejected the polytheism of Greece, they did not escape some of its implications. They were affected by its philosophy and allured by the airs of Elysium and the gloom of Hades. The life of man was no longer confined to the earth, and final retribution was not of this world.

It was an essential part of the later mythology of Israel that its God was yet to make his people triumph and rule the earth by subjugating to them all other nations, destroying such as would not submit to his will and establishing an everlasting kingdom with a restoration of the revered house of David under the guidance of the almighty ruler of the heavens himself. Much mysticism was mingled with the hope of the coming of this Messiah, or anointed one, and there were those who thought of the destruction of this earth and its inhabitants and the transfer of the sifted and purified remnant of the chosen people to the realm above the starry firmament. Men looked for a sweeping away of all the wicked and a new Jerusalem that should be the center of a glorified kingdom of Zion.

Palestine had fallen under the Roman power and was pervaded with the atmosphere of myth, mingled from various sources, when the spirit of another revolution in men's thoughts was evoked by the humble teacher of Nazareth, to whom the founding of Christianity is commonly ascribed. He founded no institution, prescribed no system of belief, established no form of worship or manner of observance. He taught a simple doctrine of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, a simple ethics of purity and righteousness of conduct, a simple religion of love of God and man and faith in the love of God for man, as the inspiration to right living. He sowed the seed of what he called the rule of God, or the "kingdom of heaven," trusting that it would germinate and grow and spread for the regenerating of humanity; but of the actual course of its development he had no conception. His teaching ran so counter to that of the prevailing religion of his day and of his own people that it excited the wrath, the hatred and the fear of its priests, and they thought to suppress it by compassing his death as a heretic and a dangerous innovator.

That was not exceptional in human history. What was exceptional was the life and character of the man and the vitality of his teaching; but that alone did not account for what followed. Neither was the effect upon men's minds of the cruel and ignominious sacrifice of such a teacher enough to explain it. What led to the long train of consequences was not his life, his teaching or his death, but the belief which almost immediately arose that he did not remain dead, that he came to life, left his sepulcher, appeared to his disciples and departed to a realm of bliss above the sky, whence he would return to save his faithful followers from an impending destruction of the wicked world. Here was where the myth-making spirit naturally and inevitably began its work in founding and developing Christianity as a religious system, and it has never lost its hold.

How the belief in the resurrection, or reanimation, of the body of Jesus first sprang up, the evidence is too confused and conflicting to enable us to know; but it was probably from visions of his appearance to one or another of his disciples, or a company of them in their overwrought state of mind and emotion in the days immediately following his death. Our earliest witness is Paul, who never saw him in his life or in his death, who knew little of his teaching, and was an ardent persecutor of his first followers, seeking to extinguish the rising faith that menaced the established religion. Paul, according to his own testimony, was given to visions and revelations of the spirit, as many with his ardent temperament and morbid nervous system had been before, have been since and still are; and in the excitement of his journey of persecution to Damascus, "breathing threatenings and slaughter," he believed that Jesus appeared to him in a blinding light and spoke to him in a voice of stern rebuke. This was not an experience different in kind from what has many times occurred, however we may interpret it.

We have no first-hand account of this incident from Paul himself. He merely referred, in arguing for belief in the resurrection of the dead in one of his letters, to the appearance of Jesus after his burial to Cephas, to the twelve, to above five hundred brethren at once, to James, to all the apostles, and "last of all as to one born out of due time," to himself. In what form or manner he does not say, and it was many years after his own death that the compiler of material relating to the "acts of the apostles" undertook to describe the incident with miraculous accompaniments. The same writer represents Paul on two different occasions as telling of it

in a slightly different version. Whatever the value of this evidence may be, there is nothing to indicate that the apostle to the Gentiles regarded these appearances as anything but visions. He is made to speak of that to himself as a "heavenly vision." But such visions were to him genuine revelations, like that of the man in a dream calling him to "Come over into Macedonia and help us."

This belief in the resurrection having come to prevail and having been made the basis of Paul's doctrine of salvation from the coming destruction, the gospel writers after his time felt bound to give some account of the way in which it happened. These accounts are so inconsistent with each other, so literal and materialistic in their conception of a dead body restored to life, and so contrary to all reasonable probability, not to say physical possibility, that they are obviously products of the imagination in the effort to explain something devoutly believed as a fact, but unknown in its circumstances.

But the important thing for our purpose is not the accounts of a physical rising of the dead body or the visionary appearance of a departed personality, one of which is incredible and the other a common but subjective phenomenon; but the belief in the resurrection which prevailed when Christian doctrine was forming and when the dogmas of the early church were shaped as the basis of a tenacious system of religious faith. That belief wrought in a soil prolific of myth and in an atmosphere congenial to confidence in the miraculous, and it not only inspired the preaching and sustained the toil and suffering of Paul, but it had a controlling influence upon the writing of the gospels, which came after his time.

So imperfect is the record and so inconsistent are the several accounts that we can have no accurate knowledge of what Jesus did or said; but we get a general impression of his life and character and of the essentials of his teaching that bears the sanction of truth in itself. There is a picture that passes invention and prevails over perversion. It has a distinctness and a light of its own which the cloud of subsequent interpretation and gloss cannot obscure when we fix our vision steadfastly upon the original portraiture. There is no reason to doubt that, as the gentle and inspiring teacher of Nazareth went about in Galilee with his little company of humble disciples, ministering to the sick, comforting the afflicted, appealing to the sinful, preaching love to God and man and proclaiming a coming kingdom when righteousness and purity would reign, wonderful cures and conversions took place, which were multiplied and magnified by the many tongues of rumor and distorted in tradition.

He probably accepted the common belief of the time that maladies affecting the nerves and the mind were due to possession by demons, which could be "cast out." It is certain that those who afterward set down the reports of his cures had that belief. There was, no doubt, much faith healing, much change of mental attitude with marvelous physical effect, and much exaltation of spirit among the simple people in the course of his ministrations, which gave rise to more stories of miracles than were preserved. He may himself have believed in a divine power working through him, for it was a common belief with prophets and preachers; but we may be sure that it was no more supernatural in his case than in others, and stories which told of the suspension of natural laws and the doing of the physically impossible were inventions or perversions, as they have been in many other instances, ancient and modern. There is evidence in the simple accounts of what are called the "Synoptic Gospels" that he deprecated the bruited abroad of these wonders, which appealed to superstition and not to reason, and denounced those who sought for miraculous "signs" as evidence of his right to speak with authority.

Did he ever believe himself to be, in any sense, the promised Messiah, or Christ, or make any of the pretensions imputed to him at the later time when doctrines were propagated which made myth of his birth and his death and built a structure of faith upon belief in the resurrection and ascent into the heavens of his body, reanimated by the spirit that left it on the cross? When the belief that he had risen was spread abroad and had taken hold upon the ardent souls of certain of his disciples who regarded the new gospel as for the Jews alone, there was an eager searching of the scriptures to account for the dreadful fate that had befallen one upon whom they had looked as a greater than John the Baptist or any of the prophets of Israel in the days of its triumphs and its calamities. It was then, and not till then, that evidence was found which was sufficient to convince an uncritical generation that his life and his suffering and death had been prefigured in all the scriptures, that he was in truth that promised "Son of man" who was to rescue his people, establish an everlasting kingdom and reign in peace over the saints.

When this conception of the Messiah seized upon the active brain of Paul, after the dazzling vision and the celestial voice on the road to Damascus, if these were, as related, the cause of his sudden conversion, it became the germ of a new theology in which the "son of man" was to become the "son of God" in a peculiar sense.

The self-appointed apostle to the Gentiles lived and wrought apart from the disciples at Jerusalem. He was unfamiliar with the life, character and teachings of Jesus, but was learned in the scriptures and an acute thinker in the manner of his race and time. The all-sufficient fact to him was the resurrection and the assurance it gave of victory over death for all who would believe. He expected the end of all earthly things before his generation had passed away, the appearing of "the Lord" in the clouds of heaven, the awakening of them that slept by the sounding of a trumpet, the transformation of those who were still in the flesh, and the gathering of the saints in a realm of bliss.

Paul built his theology upon a mythical Adam in whose sin all were made subject to death, a mythical Abraham to whom the promise of blessing to all nations through his "seed" was made, a mythical interpretation of the old law under which all were bound until the time of release should come, and a mythical release from the law by the crucifixion of the Nazarene as a sacrifice and a ransom for all. His doctrine was developed and disseminated in his preaching, in letters to his congregations of Gentile converts, and in other letters written in his name. This, with the teaching of other apostles, had much influence upon the writing of the first three gospels. During the period when "the Lord's coming" was expected no attempt was made at a systematic account of the life and death of Jesus. Only scattered and imperfect records of his sayings were kept. Many of these must have been lost and others misinterpreted and perverted, while events floated in memory and became traditions.

The evangelists wrote in the belief that had grown up in their time, not only in the resurrection of Jesus, but in his Messiahship, which was supposed to make him of necessity a descendant of David. A single doubtful passage in the introductory part of what is considered on the whole to be a genuine epistle of Paul, speaks of him as "born of the seed of David according to the flesh," and "declared to be the son of God with power according to the spirit of holiness by the resurrection of the dead." In two of the gospels were included obviously mythical accounts of the birth, quite inconsistent and irreconcilable with each other. Two equally inconsistent genealogies were devised. The descent from David and the conception by a virgin mother were products of imagination working upon scriptural suggestion, when the necessity was felt of supporting a new doctrine of the Messiah, so shaped as to fit one who was in fact as far removed as possible from the old conception of the promised

Prince of Peace and ruler of the nations. Passages of scripture were torn from their context, perverted from their natural meaning and application, and subjected to strained interpretation, to sustain that doctrine, and the gospel narratives were made to conform to it in a crude and uncritical fashion, either by the original writers or in subsequent revisions. By no rational process can there be extracted from a critical study of the documents any ground for believing that Jesus ever announced himself or regarded himself as a promised or predestined Messiah of his people or of the world, and the presumption is not in keeping with the character portrayed in his genuine utterances and real acts.

The incident related in two of the gospels as occurring at Cæsarea Philippi and in the third as following the miraculous feeding near Bethsaida—with no designation of place or time but with wholly different accompaniments from those at Cæsarea—was undoubtedly evolved from the desire to make him a witness to that Messiahship in which the writers devoutly believed. The apocalyptic utterances attributed to him in quite different forms in the three gospels could hardly have been preserved through the interval between his journey to Jerusalem and the appearance of these writings. They do not agree in the three versions, they are not in keeping with the tone of his previous sayings, and they have every appearance of excerpts or imitations from apocalyptic writings that came after the destruction of Jerusalem, to the incidents of which there are distinct allusions. The reasonable conclusion is that the teacher of Nazareth never thought of himself as the Messiah. By the time the fourth gospel was written, toward the middle of the second century, the conception of the "Christ" had undergone a decided change, and the narratives of the life and death, of the miraculous "signs" and the resurrection, were transformed to sustain a new doctrine.

The tendency to mythicize the life and death of Jesus in adapting them to support doctrines evolved by the first apostles and developed by the "fathers of the church," was displayed in flagrant form in the "apocryphal" gospels of the second and third centuries, which, with all their crudity and incredibility, were long accepted by many as confirmatory of the writings finally canonized as sacred truth. While the process of conversion to Christianity was going on, mainly outside of the old Jewish domain and in "heathen lands," with centers at Antioch, Ephesus and Smyrna in Asia, at Corinth, Philippi and Rome in Europe, and at Alexandria and Carthage in Africa, while belief was going through many phases and fighting

its way through varied heresies to orthodoxy, down to the conversion of the Roman Emperor Constantine and the coagulation of doctrines into dogma at the Council of Nicæa, the apologetic and polemic genius of that long period worked in the soil and atmosphere of old mythologies. It had been no uncommon thing to attribute the remarkable qualities of men who excited wonder by their teachings or their exploits to a divine paternity or to deify them after their death. Fictitious and miraculous achievements were readily credited to them after they were gone and were as readily accepted. Mystical blending of the divine and human or the union of more than one personality in the same being was not a matter to perplex belief.

In that age, in the lands in which Christianity was planted and fostered, there was little understanding of nature and no knowledge of the laws of its working, and the mind of man had long been accustomed to attribute to supernatural forces, which were more or less clearly personified, whatever it saw or felt which it did not understand. Traditions and philosophies saturated with mythical conceptions, pervaded the intellectual atmosphere, and those who thought could not free themselves from their influence. It is no wonder that mythical elements entered into the dogmas of Christianity, as these were settled in the early centuries, in such measure as to constitute their chief substance and almost to cause the simple teachings of Jesus and his real character and relation to mankind to be lost sight of.

Perhaps in the mental and spiritual soil and climate of the place and time the new combination of theology, Christology and soteriology was necessary to the early growth of a religion that was to spread and exert a dominating power in human history, but that does not prevent it from being largely the offspring of myth. It was wrought out of the consciousness and the introspection of gifted and earnest men, in fierce conflict with those who would destroy a faith that they deemed necessary to their own salvation and the regeneration of the world, and they did "most potently and powerfully believe" what they taught. In all their subtle lucubration, their keen ratiocination from premises that had only a mythical basis, they never did really lose sight of the essential object of those simple teachings, those kindly ministrations, that pure character, of the lowly Nazarene. That was, after all, the leaven that saved the church through its struggles with paganism and atheism, for in the midst of cruelty, oppression and corruption in those early centuries love of truth and purity, self-sacrifice and devotion

to the good of others, the real Christian virtues, were cherished and inculcated. They had their source in the life and teachings of Jesus and their support in the consecrated dogmas of a church that could not be held together without such artificial devices of cohesion.

The mythical element did not cease to ferment in the growth of Christianity after it became established as the religion of the civilized western world. Much of it had been solidified in dogmas which were deemed of such divine authority, were so sanctified and consecrated, that they could not be, must not be, changed or tampered with. But it continued to work new accretions upon the body of faith, and the middle ages of European history are redolent of myth and miracle within the purlieus of the church, some of which would vie in crude and gross quality with the ancient mythologies, while lacking their poetic glamor.

The old cosmogony had not been discarded. Out of the Sheol of the Hebrews, the Hades of the Greeks, the figurative Gehenna of the gospels and the lake of fire of the apocalypse, the hell of eternal torment beneath the earth was devised by a lurid imagination. The Satan, the adversary of man and God, compounded of Ahriman and Beelzebub, became the mediæval devil, and the demons that peopled the air in ancient times were converted into his imps. Above the sky, the ancient abode of Yahveh and his angels, the counterpart of Olympus and Elysium, was established a realm of celestial light and joy for the final abode of the blessed saints, with a mystical passage through the unknown for a toilsome journey of those who might yet be saved after death by the saying of prayers and masses. Worship was enriched with the cult of virgin mother and of glorified saints, and the arts of painting, sculpture, architecture and music were lavished upon a worship more varied and ornate than that of ancient Greece, and far from the simplicity of Galilee.

Dante embodied much of this sanctified mythology in immortal verse and the artists of the Renaissance helped to give it perpetuity. The protestant revolt but half won emancipation from its power, and Milton and other imaginative writers of his own and a later day made their contributions to the durability of the residue. The mythical element, undergoing variation from time to time, has held its place in Christianity down to the age of science and rational philosophy, until it has become a gross anachronism. It is preserved in antiquated dogmas, in creeds and forms of worship, in observances that have no vital relation to the life or the destiny of

man. What was once the strength of the church is becoming its weakness and loosening its hold upon the conduct of human society, because it is out of harmony with what is now known by the learned, thought by the wise, and vaguely apprehended by the simple.

Religion is necessary to the progress and elevation of mankind, to salvation from degenerating tendencies. Its best embodiment is still in Christianity, at least for those to whom that is a legitimate heritage. Is it not time to divorce it from old mythologies and bring it into harmony with the science and knowledge and the conclusions of reason in these modern times? There is nothing in their lessons that can supersede the ethical or the religious teaching of that "divinely gifted man" of Galilee, who planted the minute seed of the "rule of God" and infused into the gross lump of humanity the leaven of his own lofty intuition. No doubt there is need of appeal to emotion and sentiment, as well as acceptance of knowledge and submission to reason, and there is helpfulness to higher character and better conduct in the uplifting influence of an esthetic worship. But why cling to old dogmas which the intelligence of the time can no longer accept with unquestioning faith, and which reason boldly rejects?

Doctors of divinity who are really learned and thoughtful are fain to accept the conclusions of science and to admit that the creation of worlds and races and the development and progress of mankind have been a process of evolution, but they strive to effect a compromise with old beliefs and reconcile these with the conclusions of science and with the principles of philosophy which those conclusions dictate. It is a vain and futile striving. Why not discard the heritage of old mythologies and reconcile religion with science by accepting the best knowledge attainable and following the guidance of the most enlightened reason, as the "men of light and leading" in the past have done in their own day? Why not accept the demonstration that Adam and the garden of Eden, Abraham as the father of nations, and the anointed one who was to make Israel triumph over the world, were myths and not a sound basis for theological beliefs in this day and generation? Why not allow to the ancient Hebrew genius the rights of imagination and invention, concede its subjection to limitations of human capacity, acknowledge the defects and imperfections of its productions, and judge its work by an honest criticism, instead of persisting in a divine infallibility for it or even a special supervision of divine care not vouchsafed to the rest of human history and achievement? Why

not recognize the liability to error of those who made the first records, so obviously defective, of the doings and sayings of the "good master" who came out of Nazareth, so obscure to the eyes of the world in his life, so humiliated and outraged in his death, so glorified in the resurrection, not of his body, but of the memory of his life and the vitality of his words? Why not consider the makers of doctrines and framers of dogmas in the early centuries of the Christian era as fallible men, doing their best according to their lights, but subject to the effects of their mental inheritance and the influence of their environment, and not building for all time?

The Christian church is a product of evolution and the elements have been in unwonted ferment in the last fifty years. It cannot stop advancing if it would continue to live and maintain its hold upon the living and the coming generations. It must discard ancient conceptions which the revelations of the present time discredit, and accept those which its knowledge and wisdom will sustain. It must purge itself of decadent mythism by inoculation with a sound philosophy, admittedly not perfect, but progressive and tending evermore toward perfection, though that goal may not be reached in this world. Its God must be the divine power of the universe as it is now known, and not the deity of Israel's narrow history or of the struggle of Jew or primitive Christian with the desperate force of decaying heathen empires. Its conceptions of life and death and eternity must be derived from revelations of the present and not divinations of ancient times. Science and philosophy based upon science are lighting up a common sense among the peoples that is fatal to superstition, and to that the teachers of religion must appeal if they would renew their power over the conduct of men.

The exercise of that power is needed as much as ever. There was never greater need of work for the salvation of men; but it is not salvation from an impending destruction of the world, or from a terrible retribution in another world. It is salvation in this world from the consequences of degenerating tendencies in human nature. There is yet no higher truth than that preached by those sages of Israel who made wickedness synonymous with folly and righteousness identical with wisdom. Nothing is more foolish from the point of view of mere self-interest than vice and crime or evil habits, and nothing is wiser or more satisfying to man in this world than upright character and righteous conduct; and men may well be taught if they are right in this life they will be safe for any life to come. For that teaching there is no need of mythical dog-

mas or appeals to superstitious hopes and fears; but there is need of the acceptance of the best knowledge and soundest reasoning, and an appeal to the common sense of the human mind.

Christianity needs to recover a language which the common people will understand and hear gladly. If the church is really intent upon saving men, in the sense in which they most need salvation, it must get down among them and come close to them, giving attention to those that need a physician rather than those who can take care of themselves. Its work must be less for the esthetic gratification of "members" who pay for pews, subscribe to charities, wear fine raiment and behave in decorous fashion, and more for the correction of evil practices and the rescue of those who are going down or are kept from rising by the forces of degeneracy. In short, it must get back with greater earnestness and zeal to those immortal and immortalizing teachings of Jesus of Nazareth and away from the deadening dogmas of the Christ of ecumenical councils.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE BUDDHIST-CHRISTIAN MISSING LINK.

BY ALBERT J. EDMUNDS.

In *The Monist* for January, 1912, I have shown that Luke's account of the Lord's three temptations agrees more closely with the non-theistic and geographically remoter Buddhist than with the theistic and neighboring Mazdean. This can hardly mean aught else than literary dependence. But how? No Greek Sūtra has ever been discovered, and moreover, the three temptations are not all together in the Buddhist Canon, one of them, viz., the temptation to commit suicide, being in the Decease Book of the Long Collection; the other two, viz., temptations to assume empire and transmute matter, being in the Devil Class (or Book of Temptations) of the Classified Collection.

But we know from Chinese Buddhist literature that in the early centuries of the Christian era there were lives of Buddha and all sorts of manuals and books of extracts or selections. Now, I have asked Professor Anesaki of Tokyo to examine some of these and report whether there does not exist a little collection of temptations wherein all three come together, as in Luke and Matthew.

Should there be such a book in Chinese, it existed before in Sanskrit or Pāli (for most, if not all, of these Chinese primitive Buddhist books are translations). And if it existed before in a Hindu language, it was probably translated into the languages of other Buddhist countries. Thus we know from M. Aurel Stein's monumental work on *Ancient Khotan* (Oxford, 1907) that in Chinese Turkestan, between the third and eighth centuries, there were Buddhist books in at least two forgotten languages. Now, the Buddhists had migrated to Khotan from their older habitats in Bactria, Kashmir and the Panjāb, where they had been settled since Asoka's inscriptions, B. C. 250. In Bactria, where Greek rulers had reigned for two centuries, the Buddhists could not have carried on any propaganda without translations. And if they could translate into the insignificant dialects of Turkestan, they would certainly do so into so illustrious a language as Greek. China, being civilized and conservative, has kept her early translations; but Bactria, having been swept by Scythian and Arab, by Mongol and Afghan, has lost hers, just as Turkestan has done. If we were to dig into Balkh, as we are digging into Khotan, we might find a canonical Sūtra translated into Greek.

Although we have not yet found a Greek Sūtra, yet we have coins in Greek and Pāli; and Professor Cumont, when recently in Philadelphia, informed me of an Ephesian inscription which mentioned the Hindu calendar (κατα την 'Ινδων).

As I have pointed out in *Buddhist and Christian Gospels* (4th ed., Vol. I, p. 155) the Greek empire is said to have been converted to Buddhism by the recitation of a Sūtra on Buddha's omniscience—a Sūtra still extant in the Pāli of the Numerical Collection, Book of Fours. Could we but find this Sūtra in Greek among the ruins in Afghanistan, and especially if we could find a Book of Temptations containing the three aforesaid, the importance of the discovery for the history of religion would be incalculable.

Will not Dr. Stein persuade the Anglo-Indian Government to use its good offices with the Ameer of Afghanistan to make this discovery possible?

NORENDRO NATH SEN, A LEADER OF INDIAN THOUGHT.

It is with regret that we chronicle the death of Norendro Nath Sen, of Calcutta, the father of Indo-English journalism and for fifty years editor of *The Indian Mirror*. This paper began as a fortnightly but was soon changed into a weekly and then a daily. Norendro Nath was born in 1843 and attended the Hindu College for a time and took up the study of law, but most of his active life was spent in the management of the *Mirror*, through which he exercised wide influence for the sanest and best in religion, culture, and politics. As evidence of the catholicity of his spirit we note in his obituary in the *Mirror* that among a number of other organizations he was president of the Indian Association, the Bengal Theosophical Society, the Brahma Sam-sad, the Bengal Social Reform Association and the literary section of the Mahabodhi Society. He was a personal and highly esteemed friend of Miss A. Christina Albers with whom our readers are acquainted.

We cannot do better than imitate the *Mirror* in quoting a selection from Norendro Nath's own editorial on the occasion of the recent jubilee celebration of *The Indian Mirror*. This expression of his social and political creed will show better than any words of our own the loss India suffers in his death.

"We are happy in claiming the Hindu, the Buddhist, the Parsi, the Jain, the Mohammedan, the Christian, the Jew—all as our brethren. We consider the union of East and West as the best means of promoting the happiness of the human race. We are proud of our citizenship of the British Empire, and we are firmly convinced of the Heaven-sent mission of the British in India. We rejoice in our union with England—with her teaching, her traditions, and her sublime humanity. We cherish the profound belief that true ideals of nationalism must be based on moral righteousness. We regard moderation and loyalty as the principal asset of public life. We attach the greatest importance to the removal of social evils, and to the elevation of womanhood and the depressed classes, as being essential to national progress. Above all, we firmly hold that it is righteousness on the part of both the rulers and the ruled that can save India in prosperity and can save her in adversity."

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

THE UNEXPLORED SELF. An Introduction to Christian Doctrine for Teachers and Students. By George R. Montgomery, Ph. D. New York: Putnam, 1910. Pp. 249. Price \$1.25 net.

From a speculative turn of mind, yet inclined towards indifference and

even agnosticism, the author was led to make his life work the propaganda of the significance of things as the foundation of a satisfactory system of life as a result of a two months' horseback journey in the land of caravans. Most of the time was spent in philosophical discussions, and the conclusions reached by Dr. Montgomery were not due to the influence of his companion "who was thoroughly familiar with the philosophies and had every idea labeled by a school and a sub-school," but to the development of his own position under the pressure of argument and counter-argument influenced by the observation of missionary stations whose members were actively engaged in doing something, while the travelers, from their previous way of looking at the world, were only talking about it.

The book is addressed mainly to teachers with a view to giving them a positive religious foundation which should be the working principle expressed or unexpressed of all the instruction they impart. It takes the value of the individual as its point of departure and by a constant return to the facts of life is able to state the doctrines of Christianity not as dogmas but as matters of direct importance and belief. The style is simple, almost epigrammatic. The method perhaps may best be illustrated by reference to his chapter on "The Divine Incarnation" where he brings out very clearly that an artist's success is not in reproducing nature but in the portrayal of his own personality; and as a poet allows an insight into his own soul and the poetic impulse is imparted by the inspiration of poetic ideals, so Christ depended on the transformed lives of his disciples to continue his own incarnation of the divine.... The master is little revealed in his biography. He is more fully revealed in his works, in his productions.... It is therefore the Christ of the world's experience and of the individual experience even more than the Jesus of the Gospels that portrays the image of the heavenly.

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THE RUBAIYAT OF MIRZA MEM'N. Chicago: Shepard, 1901.

A thing of beauty, this volume is evidently intended to delight and not to inform. No author's name appears upon the title page, but as it is faced by a portrait bearing the signature of "John Zimmermann" we are driven to the conclusion that he is either the author or the patron saint of the book. It is composed of one hundred and thirty-one quatrains in the meter made familiar to all by Fitzgerald, and an "Explanatory Note" gives credit to McCarthy's translation for the source of thirty-seven of them, but we are not told whence the rest are derived, nor in what Mirza-Mem'n differs from Omar Khayyam. The verses are set in Old English type and the pages are bordered in dainty designs of grapes, roses, lotus-flowers and tulips. The Oriental landscapes and ruins among the illustrative plates are beautiful, and their value is not greatly diminished by an occasional gray-bearded sage, but the few attempts to introduce feminine grace into the scene are unfortunate. The book is bound in purple and gild, and makes a beautiful gift book.

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THE ETERNITY OF MATTER. By *Lockhart Brooks Farrar*. Paxton, Illinois: N. E. Stevens & Son, 1910. Pp. 389. Price \$2.00.

This work was published when the author was 87 year old, and is selected from a mass of written thoughts and investigations which have filled

many years of Dr. Farrar's life. In his secondary title he calls the book "A Series of Discussions Affirming the Eternity of Matter as a Primal Postulate," and something of the argument by which he has reached his conclusion may be deduced from the last paragraph of his preface, which reads as follows:

"Jesus, and Paul, and Mrs. Eddy, have evidently not enunciated the principles which underlay the operative facts of the world. The 1000 acre corn fields out west are not produced by prayer, but have to be patiently and laboriously planted and cultivated, or a crop is not realized. If Mrs. Eddy has perceptibly increased human longevity by her persuasion of people that they are neither sick nor in pain, then if they don't die, what an advantage she must be to insurance companies. The book that she so much reveres says: It is appointed unto man once to die. And it can hardly be denied that the ordinary way of death is by a longer or shorter period of sickness," p

President M. Woolsey Stryker, of Hamilton College, New York, who in his literary labors has repeatedly shown a special gift of poetical conception, sends us with reference to Dr. Pick's article "*Dies Irae*" five different translations of this famous medieval dirge made by himself. All are elegantly printed together with the original on a large sheet of thick cream colored paper. Dr. Stryker has also written a Latin parody on *Dies Irae* which he calls the *Dies Lucis*, thus giving a bright and hopeful turn to the expectation of the judgment. This is published in a miscellaneous collection modestly entitled "Attempts in Verse." p

The Indian Research Society (represented in the Occident by Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Company, of London) has published a study in comparative mythology, entitled "The Eagle and the Captive Sun" by Jnanendralal Majumdar. The author's purpose is to give a comprehensive study of the legend of the Eagle as it appears in the different branches of Aryan mythology. The result of his studies as here presented tends to prove three things: (1) That the legend of the eagle is a common heirloom of all branches of Aryan mythology; (2) that the eagle of the legend was originally only the constellation of Aquila; (3) that the legend contains references to this constellation which were true at least 6000 years ago in an Arctic Home. In the author's opinion this legend was one of the universal solar myths. p

Addison Ballard, D.D., the author of *From Talk to Text* and *Through the Sieve*, has now published a book *From Text to Talk* which will prove useful to clergymen in preparing their sermons. The present book is practically a new edition of his former book *Through the Sieve* which is, as we are informed, "now wholly and permanently out of print," and it seems as if the present work had superseded it. The book contains 43 scripture texts, each accompanied by an analysis such as will be useful for a pulpiteer as a guidance to suggest a line of thought and may be used by almost any one whatever sect or denomination he may belong to. κ



PICO DI MIRANDOLA.

A Humanist and Mystic of the Fifteenth Century.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

**Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.**

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A BUDDHIST PRELATE OF CALIFORNIA.

BY THE EDITOR.

BY a fortunate accident the editor of *The Open Court* has learned of the presence in this country of a most remarkable man living in Sacramento, California, as the head of the Buddhist mission there. This man is Leodi, the Rt. Rev. Dr. Mazziniananda Svami, and is eighty-five years of age. Having learned of the unusual attainments of this venerable prelate we have procured details of his career which will be of general interest, and we can do no better then characterize his personality in his own words from his reply to our questions. The following poem, composed by him, is entitled "The Awakening":

"Man goes the way that seemeth best,
From cradle to the grave;
Through incarnations one by one,
And tries himself to save.

"Through every one that he has passed
Experience has he gained,
Which leads him on to know himself,
The self in all contained.

"Until he sees the way, he thought
Would lead him into Life,
Is but the shadow of the true,
And full of death and strife,

"To overcome he stands appalled
And longs the Truth to see;
And as enlightenment awakes,
The Truth will set him free."

We must consider that Dr. Mazziniananda is not a native Englishman. He comments on his verses thus:

"I am glad my attempt at English verse in the little effusion I sent you pleased you, but I smiled, dear brother, when you took me for a native Japanese. My father was Parsi, a native of Ispahan, and my mother, the youngest of three sisters, a full-blooded Bengalee born in Benares. As to my poor self, my name is E. Leodi Ahmed Mazziniananda, the two latter being the family Persian name; and I more than appreciate it because of its significance since Ananda had many qualities. Mazziniananda is a most ancient name, and in my ancestry are Hindu, Persian, Greek and Aryan. I was born in Ispahan, and at the age of seven was taken to India (Benares), thence to our great monastery at Lhassa where I was brought up at the feet of the late Dalai Lama, where I remained 16 long years in the silence, and then came down to India (Calcutta) studied English, graduated my M. A., M. D., and D. Lit. & Sci. from Oxford, my Ph. D. from Heidelberg and my M. A., M. D., and D. Lit. from Paris and also from London. So I count there is no thanks for me writing English verse, for I do the same sometimes in French and German and a few other languages. These little effusions come by inspiration generally, when I am in concentration or meditation (*Dharana* and *Dhyana*).

"The Chinese have recently driven the present Dalai Lama from our monastery and destroyed much of the valuable archives at Lhassa, where I spent nearly 30 years of my life. I am striving to get a Pan-Religious Congress for the Panama Pacific in 1915, such as we had in Chicago in 1893 when I first came to this country. To the best of my knowledge the Most Rev. Sri Sumangala, the Lord High Priest of Colombo, and myself are the two oldest Buddhist monks living, he having passed his 85th birthday in January last."¹

(From a later letter). "Yes I have been in Lhassa. I was taken there in 1835 as a little child destined for the life work I craved from my cradle, that of the life of a monk in the service of Our Lord Buddha, as it was for this holy purpose I returned to the Earth plane, my previous work not being completed. I remained studying at the feet of the Holy One there, the late Dalai Lama, until 1853—18 long years in the seclusion of the Himalayas, and was received into the Holy Sangho in 1847 at the age of 20, and was made a priest. I continued my priestly duties till the

¹ Since the Most Rev. Sri Sumangala, High Priest of Ceylon, recently died, the Lord Abbot Mazziniananda is now the oldest Buddhist monk.

early part of 1853 when in company with three other monks, two Russians and a Tibetan (since gone to the higher expression of life) I started for India preaching and spreading the Dharma. I then journeyed to Europe and on to England and Wales where I once again saw my noble mother who had re-married a noted mathe-



THE BUDDHIST CHURCH AT SACRAMENTO.

matician of Welsh extraction by the name of Rhys Morgan, an M. A. and LL. D. of Cambridge, England, my own father having been slain by his brother in Ispahan, Persia (my birthplace, April 4, 1827, 7.30 a. m.). At her advice I studied to complete my English and then took afterwards my degrees of B. A., M. A. and M. D.

Afterwards I again returned to India and thence via Darjeeling and Sikkim back to my home, the cloistered palace where I remained many more years. In 1893 I came to the U. S. via England, and was at the Congress of Religions in your city of Chicago, after which I went east and gradually wended my way west, all the time teaching and spreading the Dharma. I came to California in the early part of 1903 and have been on the coast and the interior ever since, winning souls for our Lord the Tathagato. Although four times given up to die, I have so far cheated the undertaker, for I know and realize I have still 40 more years before me to work. This is not egotism or fanciful imagination on my part, but an absolute knowledge, hence I am still young.

"You kindly suggest I ought to be better known, but a poor Jain monk does not seek notoriety for himself, but only for the fruits that may grow out of the teachings of his Beloved Master, hence the reason that for these long 65 years in which I have been a Bhikkhu I have preferred to hide my personality which is non-interesting, but to blazon aloft the sublime doctrine of the Dharma. I observe in America people are too much given to so-called man worship to the great neglect of the spiritual truths he may convey to them. This may be the outcome of the Samskharas possibly, in their great desire for acquisition of wealth and notoriety, and this you know, my dear brother, is diametrically opposed to the teachings of Our Lord Buddha. I also observe that many beautiful souls in this great country of freedom and liberty of thought are too much given to the 'I.' Pardon me for thus expressing myself, it may be that I am too exacting as a monk and follower of the Holy One. However, I am content to do thus: 'When in Rome do as the Romans do, etc.' But how much truth do I find in Cicero's *De Amicitia*, where he states, '*Ubi ignorantia est, stultus est sapiens esse.*' I think you will readily concede to my humble opinion that this is true, as it seems to me education in this country fosters too much the spirit of selfhood, the 'I'; so wisely I think did Pope speak when he said, 'A little learning is a dangerous thing.' You are at perfect liberty to do what you choose with your little brother's writings.

"Now I will close about my own insignificant self, and proceed to the next item in your letter, our mass at Lhassa. This I send in its entirety to you with our music and as I celebrate it pontifically twice every Sunday here at 11 a. m. to 3 p. m. to ever increasing congregations, out of whom I have already seven inquirers who are earnest and whom I shall transform into good Buddhists. Our music



THE RT. REV. DR. MAZZINIANANDA SWAMI.
From a recent photograph.

in Lhassa at the solemn high mass is a weird monotone, following the same much as I have found in solemn high masses at the Roman Catholic church. I was very much surprised for it seemed to me almost identical with our services and notation in intonation. I since learned it is called in the Catholic church, Gregorian.

"I hope the publication of the Buddhist High Mass will be the means of filling a vacancy in the Buddhist services in this country, for I find that although to me the Japanese intonation of the Shas-tras in monosyllabics are pleasing, still I cannot help but smile when some Americans who hear them ask me often if it is the alphabet they are singing.

"As you say, music is a great help in edification. True, Oriental nations are not musical in the western sense of the term, but for the life of me I cannot understand why they should not take kindly to your suggestion to accept hymns in their service. Still we must overlook their weakness. Some probably have the idea that it savors too much of the Christian form of worship, but I do not see it in that light. Buddha taught when you are in Rome do as the Romans do. Without inspiring music and words I should not have made so many converts. I make a little noise myself on the piano and organ and when we have no one in the congregation who will play, I make the attempt and the congregation always sing right heartily, so a little music goes a long way in this country to sweeping the cobwebs off the windows of the soul, and thus let in the sunshine of love. If people see sensuality in music,² it must be the reflection of their own mentalities for a person only reflects what he sees, and, where sensuality is seen in good music it indicates to me one living internally on the lower plane.

"The photo of myself I send you in my robes. The bernouse is orange, turban orange, covering a flowing scarlet robe as we (the abbots) wear in Lhassa and under this my orange or yellow robe. My cincture and maniple are purple and gold."

The portrait of this venerable abbot scarcely makes him look like an octogenarian and appears to justify his confidence in having a lease of life of forty years before him. In reply to our expression of surprise he writes: "You state that my photo makes me look 50 instead of 85. This I cannot help. Those who work for the Master in the upliftment of humanity never grow old."

The mass mentioned in this letter is given in full on another page of this issue.

² The southern church of Buddhism forbids music as sensual.

ORDER OF THE BUDDHIST HIGH MASS.

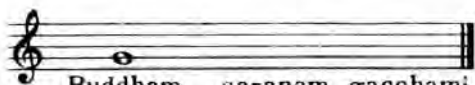
(PONTIFICAL.)

AS CELEBRATED IN THE GREAT SO MONASTERY OF THE DALAI LAMA'S PALACE AT LLHASSA, TIBET, AND AT THE MONASTERIES OF HIMIS AND LEH IN LADAK, TIBET.

ADAPTED FOR USE IN THE BUDDHIST CHURCHES OF AMERICA.

BY THE RT. REV. MAZZINIÂNÂNDA SVAMI,
O. S. J. Lord Abbot of the Jain Sect.

Three altar candles, "the Great Lights," to represent (1) the Buddha, (2) the Dharma, (3) the Sangho, being lighted, the Bishop, preceded by the attendant priests and dean, ascends to the sanctuary while voluntary is being played and all remain standing. Assistant priest lights the candles and the incense sticks or incense, then opens the tabernacle disclosing the sentence *Namo Amido Buddhayo*, and the image of Amitabha or Buddha. All then bow before the tabernacle, repeating in monotone the three refuges.



Buddham saranam gacchami
Dhammam saranam gacchami
Sangham saranam gacchami

("In the Buddha I take my refuge.
In the Dharma I take my refuge.
In the Sangha I take my refuge.")

The celebrant then proceeds to front of altar attended by two priests and sounds the gong.

Celebrant says in clear voice:

Om shanno devirabhishtaya apo bhavantû pitayé, shanyohr abhisravantû nah.

("May the Illuminator of all, the Light of the world, the Dispenser of happiness to all, the all-pervading Divine Being, be gracious unto us so that we may have perfect contentment of mind, and for the attainment of perfect happiness. May the same Being shower blessings upon us from all quarters.")

(He turns and blesses the congregation.)

Then facing the altar he says aloud (English translation):

"Unveil—O Thou that giveth sustenance to the universe, from whom all things proceed, to whom all must return—that face of the True Sun, now hidden by a vase of Golden Light, that we may know the truth and do our whole duty on our journey to thy sacred seat."—(Buddha's Prayer).

To Buddha:

"Grant, O Lord, that we may, by faithfully performing our holy duty according to thy injunctions, attain unto prosperity and abundance of nourishing and nutritive substances: may we always serve our parents and instructors with devotion; may we offer to them everything so they may be pleased with us; may we never do anything contrary to thy commands; may we never give pain to anything or any one; and may we regard all with the eye of a friend."

To Truth Eternal:

"Thou art far greater than the great, the Primeval Cause, the Creator of the creator, Infinite and Eternal, O Lord of gods, O Support of the Universe, thou art the Imperishable, the Indivisible, the Exhaustless, thou art the Manifested, and the Unmanifested, and thou art O Lord that which is beyond all these."

Invocation of Buddha:

"Almighty and Eternal Fount of Wisdom, grant us knowledge, understanding and wisdom, to speak here words of truth, love and hope. O Blessed Ones,¹ we ask you for light from the angel spheres, and may our guides guard and control our mind and tongue, that nothing but the truth may be here given, and that the good seed dropped may, under your guidance, find fertile spots, may live and grow that those who are in obscurity and darkness may be brought into the radiant sunshine and joyous glories of the unfoldment of your true spiritual goodness. O ye who dwell in the high plane of Heaven (Nirvana) and are divine in substance and in intellect, and able to give protection from guilt and all its penalties, to banish all

¹ Refers to Arahats.

impurity, to cleanse us from all uncleanness—O Hosts of Gods and Buddha hear us and listen to these our petitions.”

(Altar gong is sounded three times.)

Praise of the Enlightened One:

Namo tassa Bhagavato Arahato sammāsambuddhassa.

Praise of wisdom:

Namo bhagavatya āryā-prajñā-pāramitāyāi.

(“Praise to our cause of enlightenment, of wisdom eternal, the foundation of all-seeing.”)

The Call:

Samantā cakkavātesu

Atthāgacchantu devatā

Sad-dhammam muni-rājassa.

Sunantu sagga-mokkha-dam.

(“All evil thus avoid;
Do all the good thou canst,
In the truth thou wilt find the light,
A refuge, a home to the weary one.”)

Salutation:

Namo Amida Butsu. (Gong.)

(“Praise to the Eternal Light.”)

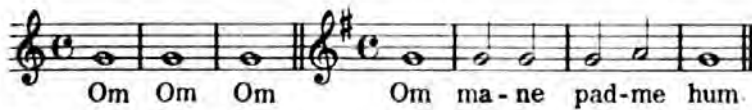
(Celebrant bows low in front of altar.)

Intone:

Namo Amitabha Buddhaya (Sound gong three times).

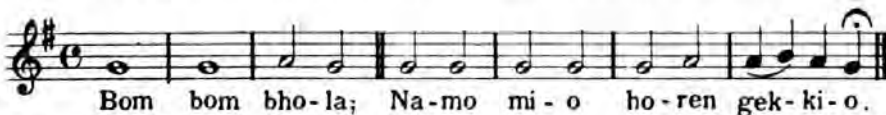
(“Praise to the Eternal Buddha.”)

The following are intoned with modulation and cadence of voice.



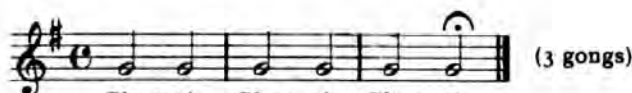
(“Adoration to the jewel in the Lotus.”)

(Elevates and extends arms and hands towards tabernacle.)

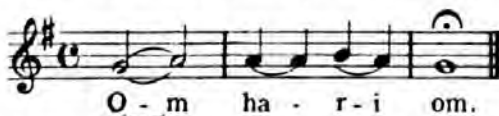


(“The divine blessing fall on us; praise to the divine wisdom.”)

(Here the celebrant faces the Cardinal Points and incenses all three points.)

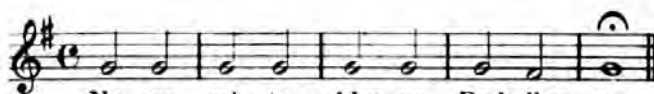


Shan-ti Shan-ti Shan-ti.
("Peace, peace, eternal peace.")

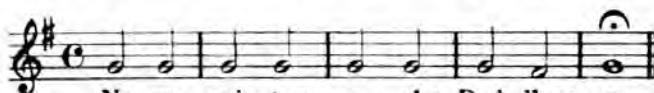


O-m ha-r-i om.
("May the Divine Wisdom pour down on us.")

Salutations:



Na-mo mi-ta-bha-ya Bud-dhay-a
("Praise to the Eternal Light.")



Na-mo mi-tay-u-she Bud-dhay-o.
("Praise to the Eternal Buddha.")

Three Refuges:

Priests bow low.

	Buddham saranam gacchami. (Gong).
	Dhammam saranam gacchami. (Gong).
	Sangham saranam gacchami. (Gong).

Five Precepts:

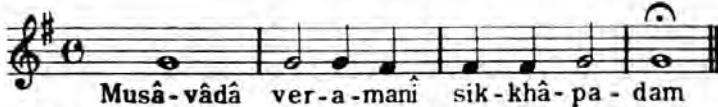


Pân-a-ti-pâ-tâ ver-a-ma-nî sik-khâ-pa-dam.
Ad-din-na-dâ-nâ ver-a-ma-nî sik-khâ-pa-dam.

("Three things have we to govern, temper, tongue and conduct.
Three things have we to love: courage, affection, gentleness.")



Abrahma-cariyâ ver-a-ma-nî sik-khâ-pa-dam
("Three things have we to delight in: frankness, freedom, beauty.")



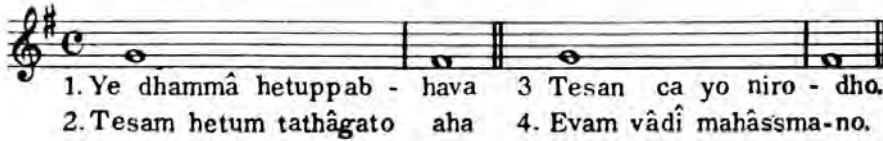
("Three things to wish for: health, friends and a cheerful spirit.")



("Three things to respect: honor home and country.")

(Here incenses the altar.)

Substance of Doctrine:



("The truth of wisdom observe;
Hold to what the Teacher tells thee;
Hold to what is good and true,
And peace supreme will be thine own.")

Three Characteristics:



("All conformations are transitory,
All conformations are suffering,
All conformations are lacking a self.")

(Here priest recites in monotone.)

(During the recital of this *mantra* the organs of the various senses should be touched reverently with the hands.)

Invocation.

For preservation of health:

Om! vâk, vâk. Om! prânah prânah. Om! chakshuh
Chakshuh, Om! shrotram shrotram, Om! nabhih,
Om! hridayam, Om! kanthah, Om! shirah, Om!
Bahubhyam yashobalam, Om! karatal kara prishthe.

("Do thou, O Lord, preserve in perfect health and vigor our

speech and organ of speech; our respiration and organ of respiration; our sight and visual organs; our ears and auditory organs; our heart, throat and head. Do thou grant glory and strength unto our arms; to the palm as well as the back of our hands.")

For purity:

Om! Bhu punátû shirasi, Om! Bhuvah punátû netrayoh,

Om! svah punátû kanthe,

Om! mahah punátû hiradayé, Om! janah punátû nâbhyâm,

Om! tapah punátû pádayoh, Oh! satyam

Punátû punas shirasi, Om! kham-Brahma punátû sarvatra.

("Thou O Lord! who art the Life and Support of the universe and art dearer than life, purify thou my head; thou who art free from all pain, by coming into contact with whom the human soul gets free from all troubles, purify thou my eyes; thou who pervadest this universe, directing and controlling it, purify thou my throat; thou who art all comprehending, purify thou my heart; thou who art the Cause of the universe, purify thou my body; thou who art all sustaining, purify thou my feet; thou who art all-truth, purify thou again my head; thou who art all-pervading, purify thou my whole organism.")

(Sprinkles altar and self with water mixed with salt.)

Invocation to Truth (*satyam*) and contemplation by Pranayam:

Om! bhu, Om! bhuvah, Om! svah, Om! mahah, Om! janah,

Om! tapah, Om! satyam.

("Lord! thou art the Stay and Support of the universe, self-existent, and dearer than life; Lord! thou art free from all phases of pain, and the human soul is freed from all trouble by coming in contact with thee; thou pervadest and sustainest all; thou art great; thou art the Cause of all; thou art the all-sustaining one, thou art Truth.")

Essence of Truth and Enlightenment:

Om udvayam Tamasaspari svah pashyant uttaram devam devatra surya maganama jyoti ruttamam.

("Lord! thou art the Soul of the animate and inanimate creation. May we after perceiving thee with our minds enlightened approach thee with deep reverence. Thou the self-effulgent, the holiest of the holy, the most luminous among luminous objects, the Giver of peace and happiness to the righteous and to those longing for happiness; thou who art eternal; thou art all-happiness and beyond all darkness and ignorance.")

True Conception of Universe:

*Udutyām jatvedsam devam vahanti ketavah drishe vishvaye
suryam.*

("For the true conception of the universe we appeal unto him who is the Giver of peace and happiness unto the wise and those longing for salvation, the soul of the animate and inanimate creation. The exquisite design and arrangement in Nature lead to an idea of the attributes of God the Giver of all-knowledge, the all-pervading and the Cause of the universe.")

For purity of speech, truthfulness and altruistic action:²

*Chītram deva nāmudgadnikam chakshur mitrasya varunasya
agne āprā diyava prithvi antrikshaguam surya atma jagtas
tasthu shashcha svāhā.³*

("Thou art most wondrous and self-effulgent, the soul of the mobile and of the immobile creation; the sustainer and preserver of luminous bodies and of earthlike solid globes and interplanetary space; the light of philanthropic men, virtuous people, mechanics and the discoverers of the properties of electricity. Attainable unto the wise, he is the destroyer of all phases of inharmony.")

Entreaty for length of life:

*Tachachakshur deva hitam purastachchukra muchcharat
pashyema sharda shatam jivema sharadahshatam
shrinuyama sharadah shatam prabavām shardah shatam
adinah syam shardah shatam bhuyash cha sharadah shatāt.*

("Thou all-seeing Lord, loving and benevolent unto the wise and righteous, existing before creation, the Holy Creator of the universe all-pervading, omniscient, and eternal, may we through thy grace see 100 years, live 100 years, hear thy attributes with full and unswerving faith for 100 years. May we preach of thee and thy attributes for 100 years; may we live free for 100 years, and even more than 100 years.")

Contemplation of Deity:

*Om, bhurbhuva suvah tata saviturvareniyam bhargo
devasya dhi mahadhiyo yo nah pracho dyat. (Gong.)*

("The Lord is the Creator and Illuminator of the Universe,

² This really means as the order of the different elements tends to mutual reciprocation and harmony, even so should men work for the welfare of one another.

³ *Svāhā* is a comprehensive term for purity of speech, truthfulness and altruistic action.

All-knowledge and the Stay of the universe, the being in whom move numberless sunlike brilliant orbs, the All-powerful and the Light of the World; the Just, Almighty and Eternal above all decay and omniscient, the Support of the universe, self-existent and dearer than life, free from all pain, purifier of the human soul, the giver of bliss to those aspiring after salvation and to those who have attained it; the Omnipresent, the Creator of the universe, worthy of acceptance and homage, and holy; Illuminator of the human soul, dispenser of happiness, without impurity and sin. May we always contemplate him so that he may direct and enlighten our understanding.")

Adoration to the Buddha:

*Nama shambhaya cha mayo bhavai cha nama shankarya
cha mayaskraya cha nama Shivai cha Shvitraya cha.*

("We adore him who is All-happiness and the Dispenser of ease and felicity unto his creatures. We adore him who is the liberator from the bondage of ignorance and sin. We adore him who directs his devotees to righteousness and is the Giver of all-bliss, all harmony and the great Bestower of happiness.")

(Three gongs.)

(Incenses the entire altar, etc.)

(Celebrant with extended arms and hands):

"I am Eternal Life—I am Eternal Love—I am Truth—I am Peace and Peace dwells in me. God is in me and I am in God for evermore.

"Let all beings be peaceful,
Let all beings be blissful,
Let all beings be happy."

Then follows the Epistle read from the left side of the altar. (Epistle is chosen from Mahayana Sutras or Dharma in English.)

Then the reader of the Gospel of Buddha and the Book of Gospels is incensed and the Gospel then read from the right side of altar.

Then follows a hymn (sung by the congregation).

Church Notices for the week.

Hymn or Vocal or Instrumental Selection.

Sermon.

Offering or Collection.

Hymn (sung by congregation).

Then the celebrant turns to altar with collection bowl and elevates it, intoning or reciting the following:

The Offering:

Sûryo jiyoti jiyotih suryah sváhâ.

Sûryo varcho jiyotir varchah sváhâ.

Jyotih sūryah sūryo jyotih sváhâ.

Sājur devena savitrā sajurushsendravatya jushānah suryovetu sváhâ.

("For the good of all creatures we make our offering in the name of him who is the soul of the mobile and immobile creation, self-effulgent, the Illuminator of the universe and the Light of Lights.

"We praise thy name, the Light of all, Dispenser of knowledge, Omniscient, Teacher of truth, and Giver of enlightenment to all creatures.

"We make our offering in the name of him who is self-illuminated, the Illuminator of all and the Lord of the universe.

"We make our offering in the name of him who pervades the sun, the human soul, who coexists with the sun and the atmosphere during the day; the Giver of salvation, the Light of all, and who is all-love, for the attainment of knowledge.")

Pontifical Blessing given by celebrant turning to congregation with uplifted hand making the sign of the Swastika:

"May the face of Truth shine upon you, and the Divine Wisdom of the Buddhas permeate you and remain with you now and throughout Eternity.

"So mote it be."

(All priests bow before altar and retire.

END OF THE MASS.

VESPER SERVICE AND BENEDICTION.

After seven candles on altar (three greater, three lesser and one typifying the Light of the World) and incense sticks are lighted, the celebrant and priests proceed to sanctuary and seat themselves at either side of the altar, first bowing in front of altar and chanting the three refuges in monotone:

Buddham saranam gacchami.

Dhammam saranam gacchami.

Sangham saranam gacchami.

The celebrant then proceeds to altar, faces it, strikes gong three times and commences to intone as follows:

Offering Mantras:

*Om! Shanno devirabhishtaya ápo bhavantû pitayé,
shanyohr abhisravantû nah.*

("May the Illuminator of all, the Light of the world, the Dispenser of happiness to all, the all-pervading Divine Being, be gracious unto us so that we may have perfect contentment of mind, and for the attainment of perfect happiness. May the same Being shower blessings on us from all quarters.")

(Celebrant turns and blesses congregation and again faces altar.)

*Agnir jyotir jyotir agnih sváhâ.
Agnir varcho jyotir varchah sváhâ.
Agnir jyoti jyotir agnih sváhâ.*

("We offer in his name who is the Light of lights, omniscient, and all-knowledge.

"We offer in his name who is the Giver of all-knowledge, omniscient and all-knowledge.

"We offer in his name who is all-knowledge, Omniscient and the Light of all.")

*Sajurdevena savitra sajû ratryendravatya jushano agnir vtu
sváhâ.*

("We offer in his name who pervades the sun and the human soul, who exists during the night with atmosphere and moon, who is omnipresent, who is all-love and all-bliss, the Giver of Salvation, the All-wise for the attainment of eternal happiness.")

Litany sung by all priests in unison (in key of G major):

Om bhur agnaye pranaya sváhâ.

Om bhurvavayave apánaya sváhâ.

Om svaraditaya vyanaya sváhâ

*Om! bhurbruvah svah agni adityebhyah pránápána vyanebhyah
sváhâ.*

Om ápo jyoti raso amritam brahma bhúr-bhuvah svarom sváhâ

Om sarvam vai purnam sváhâ. (Here gong is sounded.)

("We offer in his name who is dearer than life, Omniscient and all-pervading.

"We offer in his name who is dearer than life, purifier of the soul and sustainer of the vital airs.

"We offer in his name who is unborn, self-effulgent and regulator of the vital airs that produce motion in all parts of the body.

"We offer in his name who is dearer than life, the Purifier of the soul, the giver of all blessings of salvation, all-knowledge, all-powerful, the perennial source of light, and the sustainer of vital airs that contribute to the preservation of life.

"We offer in his name who is all-pervading, all-light, all-calm, immortal, omni-present and diffused throughout the universe, dearer than life, purifier of the soul, and Giver of supreme bliss.

"We offer in the name of the Lord who is all-pervading.")

Then in English he recites (in unison with the other priests):

"Mayest thou, O Lord, purify me. May the wise purify me. May the learned men purify me through their mental powers. May the creatures of the universe conduce to my happiness. Unto him who faithfully and affectionately in the firmament of heart adores Him, the source of all, all-pervading, existing from and through eternity, by whom all are instructed in the precepts of the Buddhas, whom all wise and learned people and saints worship. Gratify our parents, forefathers and preceptors so that they may attain unto Nirvana, also all our kindred and relatives."

Celebrant alone recites:

"Almighty and eternal Fount of Wisdom, grant us knowledge, understanding and wisdom, to speak here words of truth, love and hope. O Blessed Devas, we ask you for light from the angel spheres, and may our guides guard and control our mind and tongue that nothing but the truth may be here given, and that the good seed dropped may find, under your guidance, fertile spots, may live and grow that those who are now in obscurity and darkness may be brought into the radiant sunshine and joyous glories of the unfoldment of your true spiritual goodness."

Then again intones the following (incensing the altar):

Om agnaye sváhá

("We offer in the name of the Lord of all knowledge.")

Om somaye sváhá. (Here elevates the chalice above his head.)

("We offer in the name of the Lord who enlightens the wise.")

Om agni-shomabhyam sváhá.

("We offer in the name of the All-Benevolent Lord.")

Om vishvebhyo devebhyah sváhá.

("We offer in the name of the Lord who illumines the world and the wise.")

Om dhanvantarye sváhá.

("We offer in the name of the Lord, the destroyer of all pain.")

Om kukṣvāi svāhā.

("We offer in the name of God the Lord and Refuge and Support of all.")

Om anumatayai svāhā.

("We offer in the name of the Lord, the revealer of all knowledge.")

Om prajāpataye svāhā.

("We offer in the name of the Lord, the protector of the universe.")

Om saḥ dyava prithvibhyam svāhā.

("We offer in the name of God, Lord of the earth and firmament.")

Om swishtakṛite svāhā.

("We offer in the name of the Lord who is all happiness.")

Om sâṇugāyendrayaṁ namah.

("Adoration to the Lord who is all glorious.")

Om sâṇugayaṁ yamaṁ namah.

("Adoration to the Lord who is all just.")

Om sâṇugayaṁ varuṇāyaṁ namah.

("Adoration to the Lord who is holy and adorable.")

Om sâṇugayaṁ somaṁ namah.

("Adoration to the Lord who is all-calm and Dispenser of happiness to the righteous.")

Om marudbhyoṁ namah.

("Adoration to the Lord who is the Life and Support of the universe.")

Om adbhyaṁ namah.

("Adoration to the Lord who is all-pervading.")

Om bāṇaspatibhyaṁ namah.

("Adoration to the Lord, the Supporter of all vegetation.")

Om śhriyāyaṁ namah.

("Praise to the Lord who is worthy of adoration.")

Om bhadrakalyāyaṁ namah.

("Adoration to the Lord, the Giver of supreme bliss.")

Om brahm-patayeṁ namah.

("Adoration to the Lord, the Source of all true knowledge.")

Om vastu-patayeṁ namah.

("Adoration to God, the Lord of all beings.")

Om viśhvebhyaṁ devēbhyaṁ namah.

("Adoration to the Lord, Creator of the universe and Regulator of the affairs of the world.")

Om divachrebhyaṁ bhutebhyaṁ namah.

("Adoration to the Lord, Dispenser of happiness to creatures that move in the day.")

Om naktancharibhyo bhutebhyo namah.

("Adoration to the Lord, Dispenser of happiness to creatures that move at night.")

Om sarvâtma bhutaye namah.

("Adoration to the Lord who pervades all creatures and is just.")

Om pitribhyah svadhyayibhyah svadha namah.

("We reverence the elders, wise and learned men.")

(Here the gong sounds three times.)

Praise of the Enlightened One:

Namo tassa Bhagavato arahato sammâsambuddhassa.

Praise of Wisdom:

Namo bhagavatyâ ârya-prajñâ-pârmitâyâi.

The Call:

Samanta cakkavâtesu.

Atthâgacchantu devatâ.

Sad dhammam muni-râjassa.

Sunantu sagga mokkham.

Praise to the Eternal Buddha:

Namo mio horen gekkio. (Gong.)

Namo amido Buddhayo. (Gong.)

Adoration to the Jewel in the Lotus:

Om—Om—Om. (Three Gongs.)

Om mane padme hum. (Elevates hands and bows low.)

Invocation of Peace:

Shanti—shanti—shanti (three gongs).

Praise to the Eternal Buddha:

Namo mitabhaya Buddhaya—Namo mitayushe Buddhayo.

(Bowling low.)

Three Refuges:

<i>Buddham saranam gacchami</i>	} Three gongs.
<i>Dhammam saranam gacchami</i>	
<i>Sangham saranam gacchami</i>	

Adoration to the Jewel in the Lotus:

Om mane padme hum. (Gong)

Praise to the Eternal Buddha:

<i>Namanda-bu</i>	}	<i>Namo Amida Butsu!</i>
<i>Namanda-bu</i>		
<i>Namanda-bu</i>	}	Gong.
<i>Namanda-bu</i>		

Then the Epistle is read in English from the Dharma or Sutras of the Mahayana, or the Buddhacharita of Açvagoshā, from left side of altar.

Gospel (as in morning—right side of altar).

Hymn by Congregation.

Church Notices for ensuing week.

Sermon.

Offering and Hymn.

Sūryo jiyoti jiyotih sūryah svāhā,
Sūryo varcho jyotir varchah svāhā
Iyotih sūryah sūryo jyotih svāhā,
Sājur devena savitrā sajurushsendravatya jushānah suryovetu
svāhā.

("For the good of all creatures we offer in his name who is the soul of the mobile and immobile creation, self-effulgent, the Illuminator of the universe and the Light of Lights.

"We praise thy name, the Light of all, Dispenser of knowledge, Omniscient, Teacher of truth and Giver of enlightenment to all creatures.

"We offer in his name who is self-illuminated, the Illuminator of all and the Lord of the universe.

"We offer in his name who pervades the sun, the human soul, who coexists with the sun and the atmosphere, the Giver of salvation, the Light of all, and who is all-love, for the attainment of knowledge.")

(Here the celebrant turns and with elevated right hand makes the Swastika over the people.)

END OF VESPER SERVICE AND BENEDICTION.

GOETHE'S RELATION TO WOMEN.

BY THE EDITOR.

[CONCLUSION.]

While convalescent in Frankfort from his Leipsic illness, Goethe became acquainted with Fräulein Susanna Catharina von Klettenberg, an old lady and a friend of his mother. She belonged to the Moravian church and took a great interest in religious mysticism which made a deep impression on Goethe without, however, converting him to pietism. Her personality is mirrored in the "Confessions of a Beautiful Soul" incorporated in his novel *Wilhelm Meister*. Goethe here made use of her letters explained and enlarged by personal conversation with her, and it is commonly assumed that as to facts and sometimes even in the letter of descriptions she is virtually to be considered as the author of this autobiography.

"The Confessions of a Beautiful Soul" is of an extraordinary interest and belongs to Goethe's most beautiful sketches of a pure and truly pious personality. In her childhood the author of these "Confessions" had been thrown upon herself by a severe disease which cut her off from the sports of childhood. "My soul became all feeling, all memory," says she, "I suffered and I loved: this was the peculiar structure of my heart. In the most violent fits of coughing, in the depressing pains of fever, I lay quiet, like a snail drawn back within its house: the moment I obtained a respite, I wanted to enjoy something pleasant; and, as every other pleasure was denied me, I endeavored to amuse myself with the innocent delights of eye and ear. The people brought me dolls and picture-books, and whoever would sit by my bed was obliged to tell me something."

She regained her health and tells of her studies, but her enjoyments lacked the giddiness of childhood. Only gradually she became fond of dancing, and for a while at this time her fancy was engaged by two brothers, but both died and faded from her memory. Later on she became acquainted with a young courtier

whom she calls Narcissus, and on one occasion when he was attacked and wounded by a quick tempered officer, she became engaged to him and cherished this young man with great tenderness. In the meantime her relation to God asserted itself at intervals. For a while she says (and these are her very words) "Our acquaintance had grown cool," and later on she continues: "With God I had again become a little more acquainted. He had given me a bridegroom whom I loved, and for this I felt some thankfulness. Earthly love itself concentrated my soul, and put its powers in motion; nor did it contradict my intercourse with God."

But Narcissus was a courtier and wanted a society woman for a wife, while she found social enjoyments more and more insipid. They disturbed her relations with God, so much so indeed that she felt estranged from him. She says: "I often went to bed with tears, and, after a sleepless night, arose again with tears: I required some strong support; and God would not vouchsafe it me while I was running with the cap and bells.... And doing what I now looked upon as folly, out of no taste of my own, but merely to gratify him, it all grew wofully irksome to me."

The lovers became cool and the engagement was broken off,—not that she no longer loved him. She says in this autobiography: "I loved him tenderly; as it were anew, and much more steadfastly then before."

Nevertheless he stood between herself and God and for the same reason she refused other suitable proposals. Her reputation did not suffer through the rupture with her fiancé. On the contrary the general interest in her grew considerably because she was regarded as "the woman who had valued God above her bridegroom." In passing over further particulars of the life of the "Beautiful Soul," we will quote her view of hell:

"Not for a moment did the fear of hell occur to me; nay, the very notion of a wicked spirit, and a place of punishment and torment after death, could nowise gain admission into the circle of my thoughts. I considered the men who lived without God, whose hearts were shut against the trust in and the love of the Invisible, as already so unhappy, that a hell and external pains appeared to promise rather an alleviation than an increase of their misery. I had but to look upon the persons, in this world, who in their breasts gave scope to hateful feelings; who hardened their hearts against the good of whatever kind, and strove to force the evil on themselves and others; who shut their eyes by day, that so they might

deny the shining of the sun. How unutterably wretched did these persons seem to me! Who could have devised a hell to make their situation worse?"

Finally through the influence of her uncle and a friendly counsellor whom she calls Philo she found composure of mind which she expresses thus:

"It was as if my soul were thinking separately from the body: the soul looked upon the body as a foreign substance, as we look



SUSANNA VON KLETTENBERG IN HER FORTY-FOURTH YEAR.
In the National Museum at Weimar.

upon a garment. The soul pictured with extreme vivacity events and times long past, and felt, by means of this, events that were to follow. Those times are all gone by; what follows likewise will go by; the body, too, will fall to pieces like a vesture; but I, the well-known I, I am."

She does not consider her life as a sacrifice but on the contrary as the attainment of an unspeakable joy. She says at the conclusion of her autobiography:

"I scarcely remember a commandment: to me there is nothing that assumes the aspect of law; it is an impulse that leads me, and guides me always aright. I freely follow my emotions, and know as little of constraint as of repentance. God be praised that I know to whom I am indebted for such happiness, and that I cannot think of it without humility! There is no danger I should ever



CHARLOTTE SOPHIE HENRIETTE BUFF.

Later on wife of Johann Christian Kestner. Redrawn from a pastel in the possession of Georg Kestner of Dresden.

become proud of what I myself can do or can forbear to do: I have seen too well what a monster might be formed and nursed in every human bosom, did not a higher influence restrain us."

The nobility of character of Fräulein von Klettenberg, of this "beautiful soul," contributed not a little to purify the young poet's mind, and her interest in mysticism caused him to study alchemy and to read the works of Theophrastus, Paracelsus, Agrippa von

Nettesheim and other occultists, the study of whose books proved helpful in the composition of *Faust*. We have evidence that this thoughtful and mystical lady had a real sense of humor, for when one of her friends, Fräulein von Wunderer, entered the Cronstätt Institute, Susanne had her own portrait painted for her in the dress of a nun. The picture came into Goethe's possession in 1815.

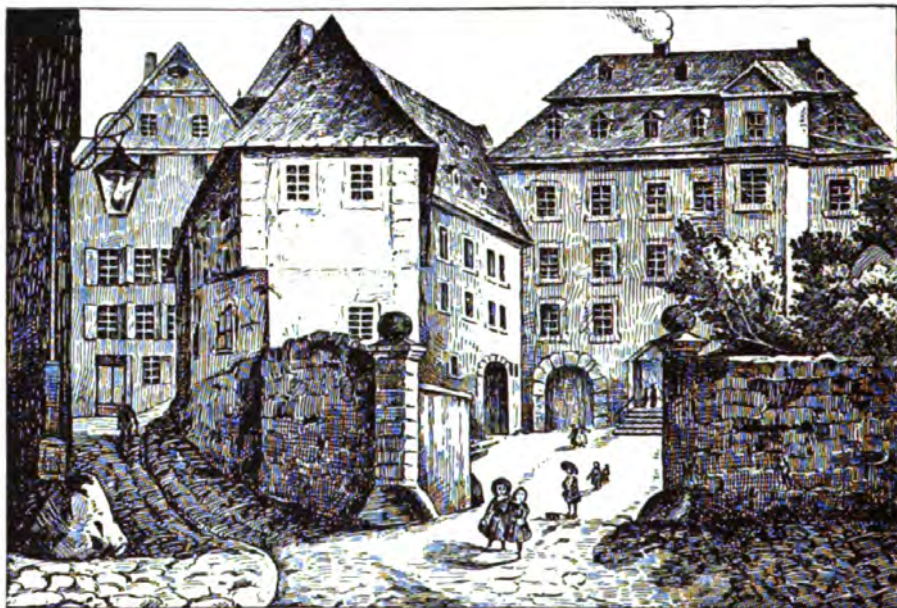
* * *

At Wetzlar on the Lahn Goethe met Charlotte Buff, the daugh-

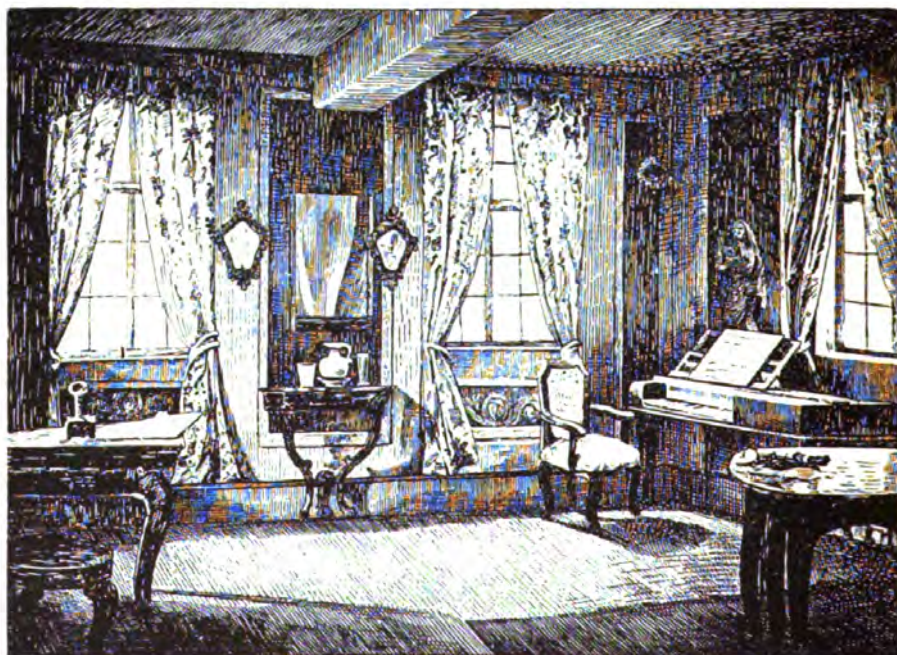


FRAU SOPHIE VON LA ROCHE.

ter of an imperial government official. She acted as a real mother to her many younger brothers and sisters and was engaged to be married to Kestner, secretary to the Hanoverian legation. Goethe felt greatly attracted to the young lady and, being at the same time a good and fast friend of Kestner, was a constant visitor at the home of her father in the *Deutsche Haus*. Charlotte was made the heroine of "*The Sorrows of Werther*," and as Goethe's acquaintance



THE DEUTSCHE HAUS, SHOWING THE WINDOWS OF CHARLOTTE'S ROOM.



CHARLOTTE BUFF'S ROOM IN THE DEUTSCHE HAUS AT WETZLAR.

with her was followed by the sad fate of his friend Jerusalem, the combination suggested to him the tragic plot of this novel.

In those days Goethe was in an irritable and almost pathological condition. He experienced in his own mind a deep longing for an escape from the restlessness of life and in his autobiography he



FRAU MAXIMILIANA BRENTANO.

Daughter of Frau von La Roche, and mother of Bettina Brentano, later Frau von Arnim.

speaks of "the efforts and resolutions it cost him to escape the billows of death." His friend Merck came to the rescue. From the dangerous atmosphere of Wetzlar he took him on a visit to the jolly circle of Frau Sophie von La Roche at Ehrenbreitstein.⁴

Goethe had met Frau von La Roche in the preceding April

⁴The novels and moral tales of Frau von La Roche were much read in those days. In a somewhat sentimental language she advocated marriage for love's sake, but she herself did what she condemned other mothers for; she urged her daughters to accept aged husbands for the sake of worldly advantages. Bettina, the daughter of Maximiliana, will be mentioned further on.

(1772) in Homburg, and he was glad to renew the friendship at this critical moment of his life. Born December 6, 1731, Sophie von La Roche was the daughter of Dr. Gutermann, a physician of Kaufbeuren and was a relative and childhood companion of Wieland, whose friend she remained throughout her life. In 1754 she mar-



ANNA ELISABETH SCHÖNEMANN: GOETHE'S LILI.

ried Georg Michael Frank von Lichtenfels, surnamed La Roche. As an author she is best known by "Rosalie's Letters to Her Friend Mariane." She had two beautiful daughters. While in Ehrenbreitstein Goethe passed the time with Maximiliana in a harmless but entertaining flirtation, before she was married to an older and jealous husband, Mr. Brentano. Frau von La Roche removed with

her husband to Speyer and later to Offenbach where she died February 18, 1807.



LILI'S MENAGERIE.
By Kaulbach.

During the winter of 1774-75 Goethe became acquainted with Anna Elisabeth Schöнемann, the daughter of a rich banker, a pretty

girl of sixteen but a spoiled child and a flirt. He called her Lili, and devoted several poems to her which are exceedingly poetical but at the same time betray his dissatisfaction with the charms of the fascinating young lady. In "Lili's Park" he compares her many lovers to a menagerie and himself to a bear who does not fit into the circle of his mistress at the Schöнемann residence.

In April 1775 Goethe was officially engaged to Lili, but the engagement lasted only into May; since both families were opposed to it, it was soon revoked. Three years later she was married to the Strassburg banker Bernhard Friedrich von Türckheim. She died near Strassburg in 1817.

The poems "New Love, New Life"; "To Belinde," and "Lili's Park" are dedicated to her, and some later songs made in Weimar, "Hunter's Evening Song" and "To a Golden Heart" Goethe wrote in remembrance of Lili.

* * *

While Goethe's heart was still troubled with his love for Lili, he received an anonymous letter signed "Gustchen." The writer gained his confidence and he answered with unusual frankness, telling her of all that moved him and especially also the joys and disappointments of his courtship with Lili. This correspondence developed into a sincere and pure friendship with his unknown correspondent, and Goethe soon found out that Gustchen was the countess Augusta Stolberg, the sister of his friends, the brothers Stolberg.

* * *

In the summer of 1775 when Goethe visited his friends Bodmer and Lavater in Zurich, the latter introduced him to his friend Frau Barbara Schulthess, née Wolf, the wife of a merchant in Zurich. At first sight she was not particularly attractive nor was she brilliant in conversation, but she had a strong character and impressed her personality upon all with whom she came in contact. Her connection with Goethe has not been sufficiently appreciated presumably because two years before her death (1818) she burned all the letters she had received from him. We know, however, that Goethe submitted to her most of his new productions, among them *Iphigenie*, *Tasso* and *Wilhelm Meister*, and he appears to have been greatly influenced by her judgment. He calls her *die Herzliche*, "my cordial friend." He is known to have met her on only two occasions afterwards, in 1782 and again on October 23, 1797. Herder characterizes her briefly as follows:

"Frau Schulthess, to be brief, is a she-man (*Männin*). She

says almost nothing, and acts without any show of verbiage. She is not beautiful, nor well educated, only strong and firm without



BARBARA SCHULTHESS.

After a painting by Tischbein (1781) in possession of Dr. Denzler-Ernst of Zurich.

coarseness. She is stern and proud without spreading herself, an excellent woman and a splendid mother. Her silence is instructive criticism. To me she is a monitor and a staff. . . . She is only useful

through silence. She only receives and does not give from pure humility, from true pride."



MIGNON IN WILHELM MEISTER.

Through her a most important work of Goethe's has been preserved, which is nothing less than his original conception of Wilhelm

Meister. It is not merely a variation of the one finally published, but a different novel altogether, three times as large in extent. It bore the title *Wilhelm Meister's theatralische Sendung*, and was written in 1777. Goethe sent it to Frau Schulthess, familiarly called Bebé, in 1783, and the entire manuscript was copied partly by her-



CORONA SCHRÖTER.*

By Anton Graff.

self, partly by her daughter. This copy was discovered by Dr. Gustav Villeter, Professor at the Zurich Gymnasium, to whom it was brought by one of his scholars. It has been edited by Dr. H. Mayne and was published in 1910.

When speaking of the women who played a part in Goethe's life we must not forget Corona Schröter (born January 17, 1751,

* The picture is not definitely identified, but judging from tradition and its similarity to a known portrait of the actress there can scarcely be any doubt that she is the subject of the painting.

at Guber). She had met Goethe as a student in Leipsic and had at that time been greatly impressed by the charm of his personality. In 1776 she was engaged as an opera singer at Weimar, and to her



AMALIA, DUCHESS DOWAGER OF SAXE WEIMAR.

After a painting by Angelica Kaufmann.

were assigned the heroine parts of romantic love dramas. She was admired as one of the greatest stars in her specialty, and was a great favorite with Goethe who sometimes appeared with her on

the stage. Later on she became a successful teacher of recitation and singing, and many of the Weimar ladies were her pupils.

Corona Schröter was also distinguished as a painter and com-



DUCHESS DOWAGER AMALIA IN ADVANCED YEARS.

Etching by Steinla, after a painting by Jagermann.

poser. Her "Erl-King," which was the first attempt to set Goethe's famous poem to music, appears like a rough draft of Schubert's more elaborate, more powerful and more artistic composition. When she retired from the stage she lived in Ilmenau and died August 23,

1802. In his poem on Mieding's death, Goethe also mentions Corona Schröter and immortalizes her as a great actress.

Anna Amalia, Duchess Dowager of Saxe-Weimar, plays a most



FRIEDRICH HILDEBRAND VON EINSIEDEL.

Drawing by Schmeller.

important part in Goethe's life; and her influence on his destiny cannot be overestimated, for she was the guiding star which led him to Weimar. The elevating spirit in which she dominated the

social atmosphere of the small duchy contributed not a little to mature the untamed spirit of the wild young genius.



FRIEDRICH CONSTANTIN VON STEIN (CALLED FRITZ).

Drawing by Schmeller, about 1819.

Anna Amalia was the daughter of the Duke Karl of Brunswick. She was born October 24, 1739, and was married to the duke Con-

stantin of Saxe-Weimar, March 16, 1756. Her husband died on May 28, 1758, after a married life of only two years, and she took

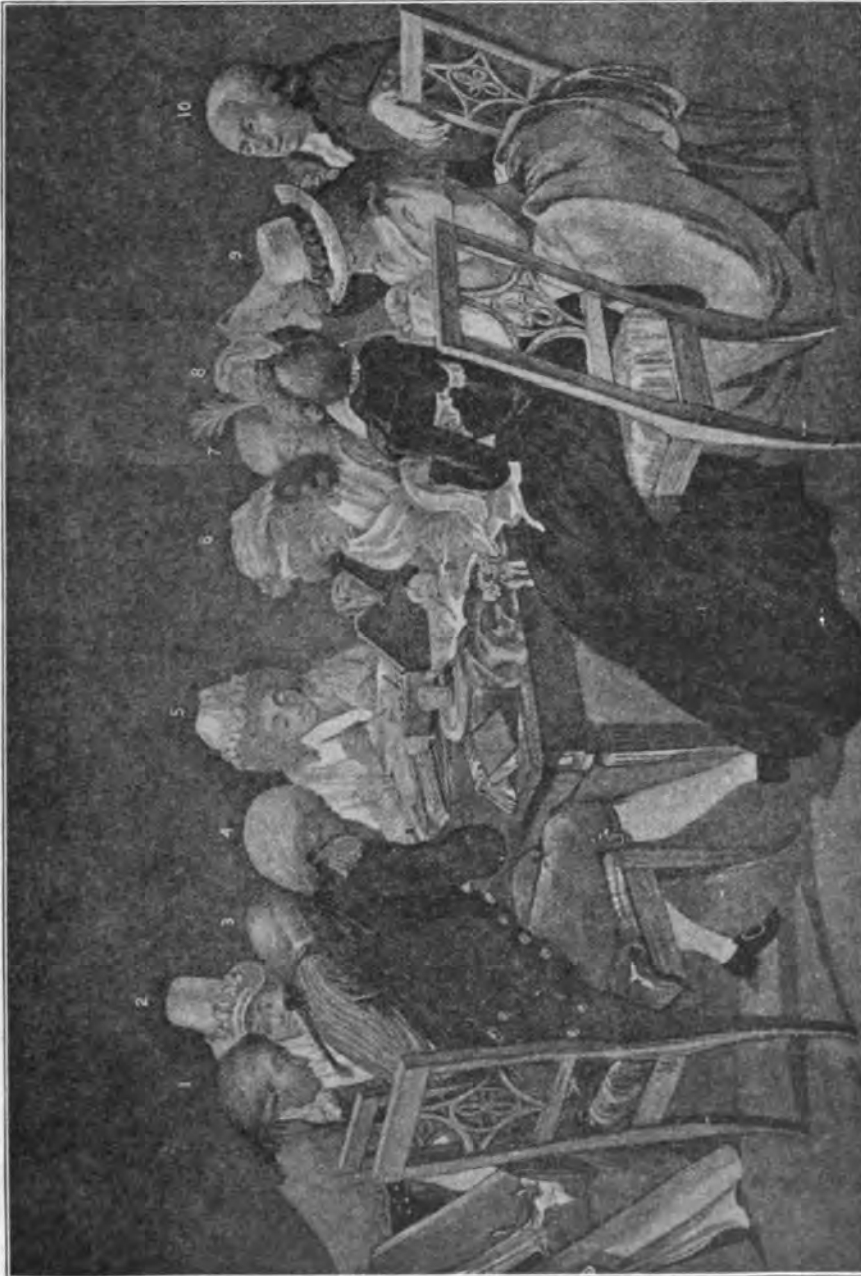


CASTLE KOCHBERG, MANSION ON THE STEIN ESTATE.

Drawn by Goethe.

the regency until her son, the young Duke Karl August, became of age, September 3, 1775. She proved not only very efficient in the affairs of government but was also a good mother and did her

best to bestow upon her son a broad and liberal education. When the Duke married Louise, the daughter of the Landgrave of Hesse-



THE CIRCLE OF DUCHESS AMALIA.
After a water color by Kraus, 1795.

Darmstadt, these three royal personages, the Duke, his mother, and his wife, formed an auspicious trinity in their love and patronage of German literature.

Even at an advanced age the Duchess preserved her beauty and distinguished appearance, and when she retired from active participation in the government, she concentrated her interest in *belles lettres*, art and everything that tends to the cultivation of the mind. She died at Weimar, April 10, 1807.

The painter Kraus immortalized the circle of the Duchess



THE HUNTER'S HUT ON GICKELHAHN NEAR ILMENAU.

After a photograph.

Amalia in a watercolor which we here reproduce, and we may assume that it represents a scene of actual life. The figures as numbered in the picture are (1) Johann Heinrich Meyer, called Kunstmeyer, born in Zurich 1760; met Goethe on his Italian journey 1786; was called as professor of drawing to Weimar 1791; after 1807 director of the academy; died October 11, 1832, in Jena. (2) Frau Henriette von Fritsch, née Wolfskell, lady-in-waiting. (3) Goethe.

(4) Friedrich Hildebrand von Einsiedel, councilor in the government at Weimar, later chief master of ceremonies of Duchess Amalia. (5) Duchess Amalia. (6) Elise Gore. (7) Charles Gore. (8) Emilie Gore. (9) Fräulein von Göschhausen, lady-in-waiting. (10) Herder.

Among the acquaintances Goethe made in Weimar was Charlotte von Stein, the wife of the Master of the Horse. She was seven years older than Goethe and mother of seven children, to the eldest of whom, called Fritz, Goethe was greatly attached. Goethe's correspondence with Charlotte von Stein throws much light upon the poet's thoughts and sentiments and explains the



GOETHE'S POEM IN THE HUNTER'S HUT.

origin of many of his poems. Among the poems dedicated to her we will mention "Restless Love," "To Linda," "Dedication," and above all the two short poems entitled "Wanderer's Nightsong," one of which Goethe composed in the night of September 6-7, 1780, and wrote on the wall of the little wooden hut on the peak of the Gickelhahn near Ilmenau. The handwriting was renewed by himself August 27, 1813. The hut burned down August 11, 1870.

This song of the Gickelhahn hut is familiar to all lovers of music. Various English translations have been made though Longfellow's is perhaps the most familiar. In its sweet simplicity it is almost untranslatable, but we add herewith another attempt, which has the advantage of fitting the music:

"Over all the mountains
Lies peace.
Hushed stand the treetops;
Breezes cease
Slumber caressed.
Asleep are the birds on the bough,—
Wait then, and thou
Soon too wilt rest."—*Tr. by P. C.*



CHRISTIANA VULPIUS.

On his return from a journey to Italy Goethe's relations to Frau von Stein had become cool. In 1788 he met Christiana Vulpius who handed him a petition in favor of her brother. She was the daughter of a talented man, who, however, had lost his position through love of liquor. The girl was a buxom country lass with rosy cheeks, and a simple-hearted disposition. Goethe brought her into his home where she took charge of the household. A charm-

ing little poem is dedicated to her which describes their meeting in a figurative way.

In the translation of William Gibson it reads as follows:

"I walked in the woodland,
And nothing sought;
Simply to saunter—
That was my thought.

"I would have plucked it,
When low it spake:
'My bloom to wither,
Ah! wherefore break?'

"I saw in shadow
A floweret rise,
Like stars it glittered,
Like lovely eyes.

"I dug, and bore it,
Its roots and all,
To garden-shades of
My pretty hall.



CAROLINE VON HEYGENDORF, NÉE JAGEMANN.

"And planted now in
A sheltered place,
There grows it ever
And blooms apace."

Goethe married Christiana October 19, 1806.

* * *

In 1797 Caroline Jagemann, distinguished both as a singer and an actress, filled an engagement at the Weimar theater. She was born at Weimar on January 15, 1777, and began her career on the stage at Mannheim at the age of fifteen. Four years later she returned to her native city to take a leading place in both the opera and the drama. She was not only of unusual beauty and queenly

bearing, but was also distinguished by rare talent and gained the favor of the Duke, who conferred nobility upon her under the name of Frau von Heygendorf. Strange to say she is the only woman of Goethe's acquaintance who was hostile to him. She used her influence with the Duke to intrigue against the poet and caused him so much annoyance that he considered it a relief when in 1817 he resigned his position as director of the theater.

* * *

In April, 1807, Bettina Brentano (later Frau von Arnim) the



LUDWIG JOACHIM VON ARNIM,
KNOWN AS ACHIM VON ARNIM.



CLEMENS BRENTANO.

daughter of Maximiliana von La Roche, and a sister of the poet Clemens Brentano, visited Goethe and was well received. Being an exceedingly pretty girl of a romantic disposition, she entered soon into a friendship with the famous poet which continued for some time; but she caused him so much annoyance through her eccentricities that Goethe was glad of an opportunity to break with her. When once in 1811 she behaved disrespectfully to his wife, Frau Geheimerath Goethe, he forbade Bettina his house.



BETTINA BRENTANO.

Later Frau von Arnim. Enlarged from a miniature by A. von Achim Baerwalde.

Goethe had corresponded with Bettina and some time after his death she published letters that purported to be their correspondence, under the title "Goethe's Correspondence with a Child." Whatever of this book may be genuine, we know that it is greatly embellished and shows Goethe in a wrong light. Poems addressed to Minna



MINNA HERZLIEB.

Herzlieb are appropriated by Bettina, and Goethe is made to express sentiments which can not have been in the original letters.

* * *

Minna Herzlieb (born May 22, 1789, in Züllichau) was educated in the house of the publisher Frommel at Jena, where Goethe made her acquaintance and entertained a fatherly friendship for her.

We may assume that he loved her, though the word "love" was never spoken between them. It is believed that she furnished the main features for the character of Ottilie in the "Elective Affinities" which he planned at that time. She was married in 1821 to Professor Walch of Jena but later separated from her husband. She suffered from melancholia and died July 10, 1865, in a sanatorium at Goerlitz.

* * *

At the celebration of the first anniversary of the battle of Leipsic in 1814, Goethe visited his native city, where he met a rich

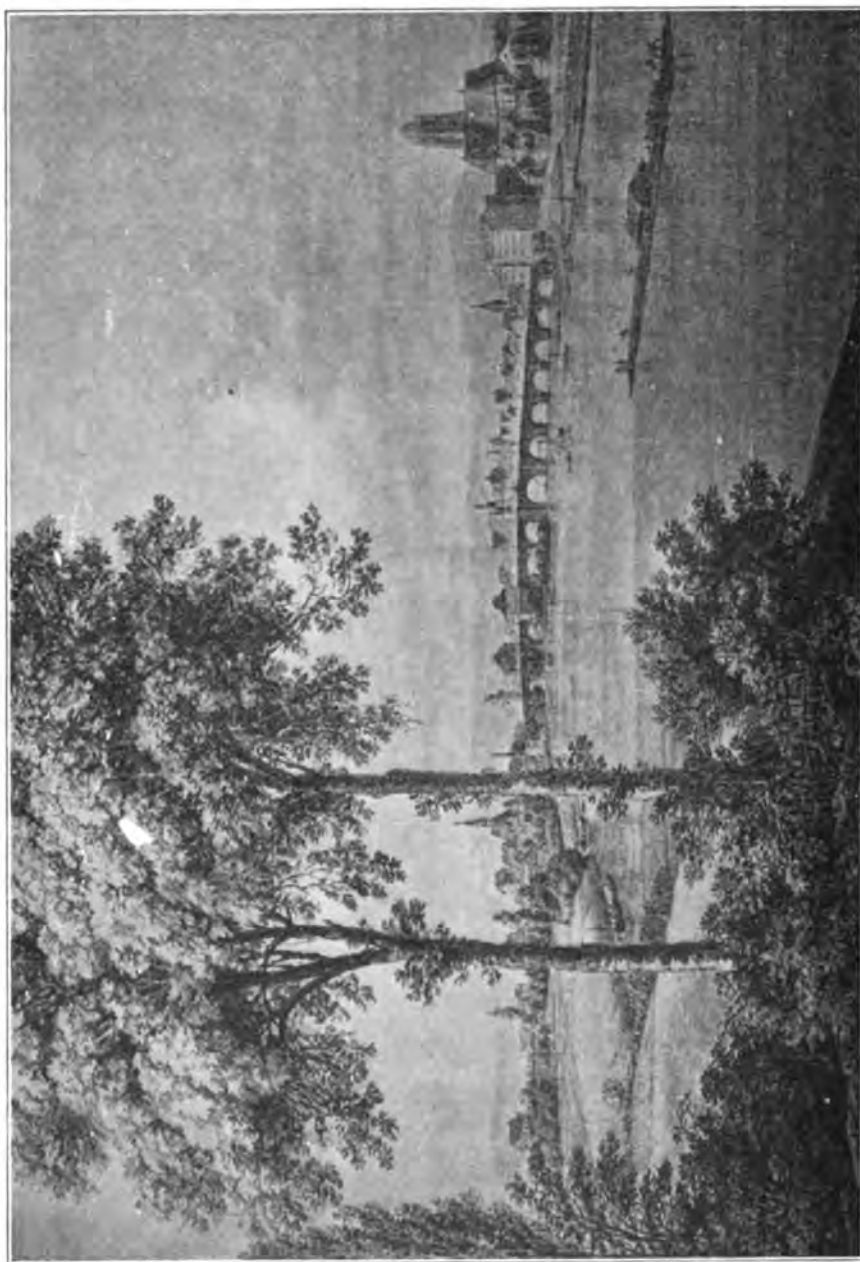


FRAU MARIANNE VON WILLEMER, NÉE JUNG.

As she appeared in 1814. (After an engraving by Doris Raab, published by Cotta).

banker, the privy councilor Johann Jacob von Willemer. On the Willemer estate in the vicinity of the Gerbermühle near Offenbach, the poet made the acquaintance of Marianne Jung, later Frau von Willemer, a most attractive and highly intellectual lady. She was born November, 1784, as the daughter of Matthias Jung, a manufacturer of musical instruments at Linz on the Danube, but since her father died during her childhood the young girl was compelled to make her own living, and she joined the Thaub ballet at Frankfurt on the Main in 1799. She appeared on the stage, but the privy councilor who was in charge of the business management of the

theater soon rescued the charming maiden from the dangers of a theatrical career. He took her into his home and had her educated



THE BRIDGE OVER THE MAIN AT FRANKFORT.

Drawing in sepia by A. Radl, presumably given to Goethe August 28, 1815, after his visit to Herr and Frau von Willemer, August 12-18, 1815.

as if she were his own daughter. Very soon after their acquaintance with Goethe in August, 1814, Marianne became the wife of her then widowed benefactor, September 27 of the same year.

Goethe enjoyed the company of the Willemer family so much that he visited them at Frankfort again for a few days in 1815. He never saw them again but remained in correspondence with Frau von Willemer to the end of his life. With all her warm friendship for Goethe, Marianne never ceased to be a dutiful wife. Her husband knew of her letters to the poet and found no fault with her. This



OTTLIE VON GOETHE, NÉE VON POGWISCH.

After a crayon drawing by Heinrich Müller about 1820.

correspondence has been published in 1877 and contains a letter of Eckermann with an account of Goethe's last moments. She influenced Goethe while he wrote the "West-Eastern Divan," many verses of which (especially the Suleika verse) literally express her own sentiments.

Goethe's wife died June 6, 1816, and he felt the loss more keenly than might have been expected. He felt lonely in his

home until after the marriage of his only son August with Ottilie von Pogwisch he saw his grandchildren grow up around him. Ottilie, born October 31, 1796, in Danzig, was the daughter of Baron Pogwisch and his wife, née countess Henckel von Donnersmarck. She was educated at Weimar where her mother was mistress of ceremonies at the ducal court. She was married to August von Goethe in 1817 and bore him three children, Walther Wolfgang, born April 9, 1818, Wolfgang Maximilian, born September 18, 1820, and Alma, born October 29, 1827.

* * *

In the year 1823 Goethe became deeply interested in Ulrike von Levetzow, whose mother he had formerly met in Carlsbad in company with her parents, Herr and Frau Brösigke. Amalia Brösigke



ULRIKE VON LEVETZOW.

After a miniature pastel. She met Goethe at Marienbad in the summer of 1822-1823.

had first been married to a Herr von Levetzow, who was court marshal of Mecklenburg Schwerin, and by this marriage she had two daughters, Ulrike and Amalia. After a divorce she married her husband's cousin Friedrich von Levetzow, an officer in the battle of Waterloo, where he met his death. By this second marriage Amalia von Levetzow had another daughter named Bertha, and Goethe met the interesting widow and her three daughters in Marienbad in 1821 and 1822. He felt a deep attachment for the oldest daughter Ulrike, and to characterize their relation we quote one of his letters to her, dated January 9, 1823, in which he speaks of himself as "her loving papa" and also of her daughterly affection. The letter in answer to one of hers reads thus:

"Your sweet letter, my dear, has given me the greatest pleas-

ure, and indeed doubly so on account of one particular circumstance. For though your loving papa always remembers his faithful and lovely daughter, yet for some time her welcome figure has been more clearly and vividly before my inner vision than ever. But now the matter is explained. It was just those days and hours when you too were thinking of me to a greater degree than usual and felt the inclination to give expression to your thoughts from afar.

"Therefore many thanks, my love; and at the same time my best wishes and greetings to your kind mother of whom I like to think as a shining star on my former horizon. The excellent physician who has so entirely restored her health shall also be an honored Æsculapius to me.

"So be assured that my dearest hope for the whole year would be again to enter your cheerful family circle and to find all its members as kindly disposed as when I said farewell. . . .

"So my darling I bespeak your daughterly consideration for the future. May I find in your company as much health in that valley among the mountains (Marienbad) and in its springs as I hope again to see you joyous and happy."

When Goethe met the Levetzow family late in the following summer his attachment for Ulrike became so strong that though he was then 74 years old he seriously thought of marrying this charming young girl of nineteen. But the difference in their ages seemed too great an obstacle. He resigned himself and wrote in the same year the "Trilogy of Passion" which was dedicated to Ulrike. This summer in Marienbad was the last occasion on which they met. Ulrike lived to an advanced age and died in 1899.

* * *

Goethe lived in a house of glass in the sense that all he ever did or that ever happened to him lies before us like an open book. During his lifetime he was watched by many curious people, by both friends and enemies, and the gossips of Weimar noted whom he visited or on whom he called. Even to-day we can almost study his life day by day, and know whom he ever met or how he busied himself. Every letter of his that is still extant has been published, and we have an insight into every one of his friendships, yet nothing has ever been discovered that could be used to his dishonor, or would support the malicious accusations of his enemies. The married women to whom Goethe was attracted never tried to conceal their friendship with the poet, nor did their husbands see any reason to enter a protest. Apparently the good conscience which Goethe en-

joyed made him unconcerned about the possibility of stirring gossip; and yet he felt it deeply, and sometimes gave expression to his in-



FRAU CHARLOTTE VON STEIN.

After a painting by H. Meyer, 1880, in the Grand Duke's Museum at Weimar.

dignation, as for instance in a letter to Frau von Stein, May 24, 1776. He said: "Even the relation, the purest, most beautiful and

truest which, except to my sister, I ever held to a woman, is thus disturbed. . . . The world which can be nothing to me, does not want that you should be something to me."

While at different times Goethe cherished several friendships with different women, and while his poetic nature seemed to need a stimulation in different ways and by different characters, he longed for an ideal monogamy in which all his friendship and love would be concentrated on one woman, but fate did not grant him this boon.



FRAU CHARLOTTE VON STEIN, NÉE SCHARDT.

Drawn by herself, 1790. Cf. Lavater's *Essai sur la physiognomie*, IV, 108.

He expresses his wish in a letter to Frau von Stein, dated March 2, 1779, as follows: "It is an unpleasant idea to me that there was a time when you did not know and love me. Should I come again upon earth, I will ask the gods that I may love only one, and if you were not so opposed to this world, I would then ask you to become this dear companion of mine."

Goethe was human, and his life, his passions, his interests and his work were thoroughly human. We will not make out that he was

a saint, but grant that he had human failings. We claim, however, that even his failings had no trace of vulgarity and that his character was much purer than that of many a saint whom we know not in his sins but only in his contrition and repentance. Goethe did not want to be anything but human and so he portrays his humanity without trying to make it appear different from what it was, and with all his shortcomings we must come to the conclusion that his humanity was ennobled by all the considerations demanded by reason as well as a respect for the rights of others. While he did not hesitate to enjoy himself he never lost self-control nor did he ever do anything that would cause remorse.

MR. DAVID P. ABBOTT'S NEW ILLUSIONS OF THE SPIRIT WORLD.

BY THE EDITOR.

DAVID P. Abbott, known to our readers through many interesting explanations of the art of spirit mediums and of magic feats done by sleight of hand, is most certainly a genius in his hobby,—I say hobby because magic with him is not a profession but a recreation to which he devotes his leisure hours. I have never met him, but we have exchanged many letters about his work and his plans.

Some time ago he was interested in spirit portraiture as performed by certain spirit mediums who gained thereby both fame and wealth. It is whispered that they have become millionaires by producing portraits of the dead—and even of the living—painted mysteriously by invisible hands in the very presence of their patrons. The sitter would attend a seance holding in his hand between sealed slates a photograph of the person whose picture was desired, and if conditions were favorable he was invited to witness the appearance of the painting on a clean canvas which he had previously selected himself. The performance is most impressive and mystifying. It has been witnessed by many believers as well as unbelievers, among them some men of prominence. Think only of the feeling roused in people who see the portrait of their late beloved father or mother appear on a brightly lighted white canvas. There are but few who are not moved to tears. Indeed the effect is so marvelous that the performance is said to have made many converts to spiritism.

Mr. Abbott communicated to me many guesses which need not be enumerated here, for the explanations were too complicated to be satisfactory, and once Mr. Abbott added, "All good tricks are simple, otherwise they do not work." Finally, however, he solved the problem and sent me an explanation which accounted for all the

facts. There were only some minor points to be settled, the most important of which was the composition of the paints, but this detail could be supplied by any good chemist.

Considering the use that has been made of this ingenious trick in the interest of a belief in mediumship, we deem it desirable for the public to know that it is a trick; that these portraits are not painted by spirits but that the performance can be done very easily by any one who is familiar with sleight of hand tricks and has been initiated into the secret. Mr. Abbott has promised to communicate the explanation to the readers of *The Open Court*, but his time has not yet come, because the knowledge of such a performance involves considerable interests, and so we have kept the secret until Mr. Abbott would give us permission to make his discovery public.

We learn through our correspondence with Mr. Abbott that he has also communicated his secret to Professor Hyslop of the Psychological Research Society; Mr. Kellar, the famous prestidigitator; to Dr. A. N. Wilson, editor of *The Sphinx*; and to Dr. Wilmar (William Marriott) of England, who showed considerable interest in this trick. But they also are in honor bound not to betray Mr. Abbott's confidence.

Under the date of June 2, 1910, Mr. Abbott wrote me as follows: "During the week of June 12th the English conjurer Selbit will exhibit at some Chicago theater, 'Spirit Portraits.' A genuine committee places two clean canvases so that they face each other, and these are set on an easel in front of a light, and a chosen portrait is then materialized. I thought you would like to see how this thing looks, and so I take the liberty of giving you this information. The act is very beautiful, is shrouded in deep mystery and made a great hit on the Orpheum Circuit in the West. This was the discovery I made and told you about some time back. I sent it to Dr. Wilmar (William Marriott) of London, and he put it on the road. Mr. Selbit obtained the secret from Dr. Wilmar and has toured France and England with it."

Anent the publication of the secret Mr. Abbott added:

"I am sorry to say that my relations with Mr. Selbit are such that I can not expose this secret at present—that is, publicly but thought you might like to witness the thing."

I went to see the performance and must confess that I wished I could have forgotten for the moment what Mr. Abbott had written me, for the pleasure of sleight of hand lies mainly in the perplexity with which we are confronted when baffled by an apparent miracle and unable to produce an explanation. Nevertheless, in spite of

this fact, the performance was wonderful, for I could now understand how easily people could be duped and how believers in the miraculous can dare the skeptic to deny the supernatural.

It is a pity that the stage performance must lack the most important feature of the trick, which is its psychological aspect. Mediums play upon the tenderest feelings of their patrons, viz., the love and reverence of the living towards their departed relatives, and this most effective element is necessarily lacking in any public exhibition. Instead of portraits of the dead, famous paintings must be used.

When I witnessed the performance a committee from the audience selected a subject and from a number of clean canvasses two were picked out at random. They were placed on a heavy easel and marked. A strong electric light was turned on behind the frame on the easel and showed the canvas in its pure whiteness, the light shining directly through them and rendering them transparent. The exhibiter then placed between the light and the canvas his hand showing its shadow in sharp outline. There were no colors visible; but he withdrew his hand and lo! some hazy colors began to appear and became more and more distinct. They began to show the outlines of the picture chosen and finally the painting was perfect. No hand that might have done the work was visible.

"Is the painting good?" asks the performer, and some one replies: "Yes, indeed, but . . ." and he criticises some detail; we will say that the red is too glaring or a blue effect too weak, or the head should be blue. "I think you are right," says the performer, "but that can be remedied."

Thereupon the picture disappears just as it came. The outlines grow dim and change into mere color spots finally to disappear in the original whiteness of a clean canvas. The committee on the stage walk round the easel but there is nothing to be seen but the electric light, and the picture is gone.

Now the picture appears again. There is nothing behind, nothing in front, but the front canvas becomes again covered with some hazy paint which gradually assumes the same clear and definite outlines as before, but this time the red and the blue are changed according to request.

When the picture is approved by the audience it is taken down and without exchange passed to the spectators for examination. The paints are then found to be that same mysterious spiritual substance that was said to defy the chemists of the "earth-plane." We are at liberty to state that the secret is no process of development from chemicals, light etc., as first supposed by Mr. Abbott;

neither is it any image, reflection, or lantern projection scheme etc.; that it is something entirely new, and based upon a principle hitherto unknown to the conjuring profession. Withal it is very simple, and easy to produce any portrait desired.

One spiritualist wrote to a man high in their organization that the stage-performance was unlike the work of the mediums because the latter made portraits of the dead while the conjurer only produced portraits of celebrities. He also said that any request for a portrait of a dead friend would be ignored. This is not the case. Should the conjurer produce for a large audience a portrait of any private person the effect would be lost as none of them would know whether it were a correct likeness or not, while they all instantly recognize a celebrity. Furthermore the conjurer can produce a likeness of one's dead if requested in advance just as the mediums do. In the case of mediums they know when they go into the seance whose portrait they are to produce, and if it is to duplicate a photograph in existence, invariably have from one to three days notice.

The conjurer is not notified what portrait he is to produce until the chosen canvases are marked, faced together, placed on easel and light switched on. A medium would not produce the likeness of a dead friend of a sitter if not notified until after the canvases were placed in a window and the seance had begun.

Furthermore the conjurer Selbit actually produced for a lady in Portland the likeness of her grandmother who had died thirty-five years ago in Germany. There was no photograph in existence, but the lady recognized her grandmother. It is needless to say the request for such portrait was made in advance and that Selbit utilized his arts to obtain a fair description of the dead lady.

Mr. Abbott has also communicated his secret to Mr. Howard Thurston, known to the public not only as a prestidigitator but also as a pleasing speaker who while he baffles the audience with his magic surprises, entertains them at the same time with the eloquence of an orator. Mr. Thurston took so much interest in Mr. Abbott's act of magic portraiture that he staged it and now presents it to crowds of spectators in our great cities.

The honor of the invention, Mr. Abbott wrote to me, in his opinion belongs to the Bangs Sisters who are said to have used it effectively on many credulous and gullible people; he himself, he adds, claims only the rediscovery of the illusion which the Bangs Sisters have used as mediums.

What an effect this performance must have on a believer in spiritism, who deems it possible that invisible "Intelligence" can

work such miracles! And yet it is a trick, a very simple trick. Go yourself and try to explain it.

Mr. Abbott will in time publish the explanation, and he has some more surprises in store which will puzzle the world, and I dare say that the most remarkable of them is the spirit tea-kettle. This is an empty little kettle made of papier-maché, very light and easily handled by any one and carried about at pleasure. But it is inhabited by a spirit,—or if the reader does not believe in spirits, at least it is inhabited by a voice, a thin distant voice, such as spirits ought to have, if they existed; and this voice comes out from the interior of the tea-kettle. You have simply to ask a question and hold the spout of the tea-kettle close to your ear, and there you can hear the answer distinctly. You put your hand into the tea-kettle to catch the spirit, but there is nothing to grasp but the empty air, and the spirit laughs at your folly in trying to catch its incorporeal presence. The voice manifests intelligence in its answers and conversation and is unlike a phonograph which only reproduces a set speech. It remains there and gives rational answers to all questions proposed by the witnesses of the weird scene. There is no connection of any kind with the kettle, and no one but the spectator touches or comes near it. The writer of these lines knows that there is nothing supernatural about this uncanny performance.

There is a bottle preserved in one of the churches of the ancient Hansa town, the free city of Luebeck, which contains the soul of a medieval nun. Her body is shriveled up into pure nothingness, and all that is left of her mortal coil is her voice which, lest it be lost entirely, has been bottled up and in this condition deposited in the holy place. Should any one of my readers be curious enough to travel to Luebeck, I doubt very much whether the enchanted nun could be induced to speak. It is to be feared that the old spinster has grown too whimsical. Not so Mr. Abbott's spirit voice; it answers in audible and plain words; and it is no ventriloquism, for the performer may leave the room and the voice still comes from the spout of the tea-kettle. In his own home Mr. Abbott has introduced to this mysterious tea-kettle many of his friends who have gone away in wonder after the seance.

It would be desirable to render the performance accessible to large audiences, but this is necessarily unfeasible on account of the small size of the tea-kettle and the thinness of its spirit-voice, which could be heard only by a few spectators at a time. For the very reason that the voice is so definitely localized, the act is practicable only in parlor entertainments.

MISCELLANEOUS.

PICO DI MIRANDOLA.

Our frontispiece is a portrait of one of the most ingenious mystics of the Italian Renaissance. Giovanni Pico, Count of Mirandola (born February 24, 1463, and died November 17, 1494) was a prominent young Italian nobleman of fine figure and beautiful face, highly educated not only in Greek and Latin, but also in Hebrew, Arabic and Chaldean. Having studied two years in Bologna when only fourteen or fifteen years old, he began his *Wanderjahre* which lasted seven years, visiting the learned schools of Italy and France. His philosophy may be characterized as Platonism reconciled with the doctrines of Aristotle; but his dominant interest was centered in mysticism, and he was the first to maintain that the truth of the Christian doctrines could be proved through the Cabala. Though he was a good Christian his enemies threw the suspicion of heresy upon him, and his first little book of nine hundred theses was prohibited by papal authority. But after the publication of an elaborate *Apologia* Pope Alexander VI declared him vindicated in a document dated June 18, 1493. In his twenty-eighth year he wrote the *Heptaplus* and at this time suddenly changed his habits of life. Having formerly been a favorite with women, he now burned all his love poems and became an ascetic. He renounced his share in the principality of Mirandola, gave richly to the poor and devoted most of his time to religious meditation. When he would have finished his literary labors he intended to give away all his property and wander as a bare-footed friar from town to town proclaiming salvation through Christ. But before he could carry out this plan he died of a fever at Florence in his thirty-first year. So far as is known he was the first to coin the word "macrocosm" denoting the whole of the world described so beautifully in the first scene of Goethe's "Faust," where Faust revels in the contemplation of its sign, saying:

"Ha, welche Wonne fließt in diesem Blick...
Wie alles sich zum ganzen webt,
Eins in dem andern wirkt und lebt!"

Bayard Taylor in his Notes makes the following interesting comment on this monologue of Faust when he beholds the sign of the macrocosm:

"The term 'macrocosm' was used by Pico di Mirandola, Paracelsus, and other mystical writers, to denote the universe. They imagined a mysterious correspondence between the macrocosm (the world in large) and the microcosm (the world in little), or man; and most of the astrological theories were based on the influence of the former upon the latter. From some of Goethe's notes, still in existence, we learn that during the time when the conception

of Faust first occupied his mind (1770-73), he read Welling's *Opus Mago-Cabbalisticum*, Paracelsus, Valentinus, the *Aurea Catena Homeri*, and even the Latin poet Manilius.

"Mr. Blackie, in his Notes, quotes a description of the macrocosm from a Latin work of Robert Fludd, published at Oppenheim in 1619; but the theory had already been given in the *Heptaplus* of Pico di Mirandola (about 1490). The universe, according to him, consists of three worlds, the earthly, the heavenly, and the super-heavenly. The first includes our planet and its enveloping space, as far as the orbit of the moon; the second, the sun and stars; the third, the governing divine influences. The same phenomena belong to each, but have different grades of manifestation. Thus the physical element of fire exists in the earthly sphere, the warmth of the sun in the heavenly, and a seraphic, spiritual fire in the empyrean; the first burns, the second quickens, the third loves. 'In addition to these three worlds (the macrocosm),' says Pico, 'there is a fourth (the microcosm), containing all embraced within them. This is man, in whom are included a body formed of the elements, a heavenly spirit, reason, an angelic soul, and a resemblance to God.'

"The work of Cornelius Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia*, which was also known to Goethe, contains many references to these three divisions of the macrocosm, and their reciprocal influences. The latter are described in the passage commencing: 'How each the Whole its substance gives!'

"Hayward quotes, as explanatory of these lines, the following sentence from Herder's *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*: 'When, therefore, I open the great book of Heaven, and see before me this measureless palace, which alone, and everywhere, the Godhead only has power to fill, I conclude, as undistractedly as I can, from the whole to the particular, and from the particular to the whole.'

"The four lines which Faust apparently quotes ('What says the sage, now first I recognize') are not from Nostradamus. They may possibly have been suggested by something in Jacob Boehme's first work, 'Aurora, or the Rising Dawn,' but it is not at all necessary that they should be an actual quotation."

P. C.

THE ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO.

The Art Institute of Chicago has recently been extended and several galleries have been added. The center is now a very artistic and monumental stairway. The empty walls are still waiting for fresco decorations. The proper subject would be the representation of the Religious Parliament which met in this very building nineteen years ago. Through this unique event in the development of religion the Art Institute of Chicago has become historical; and no better, no nobler, nor more appropriate subject could be chosen as a mural decoration for this handsome stairway hall.

P. C.

DR. PAUL TOPINARD.—OBITUARY NOTE.

We learn with deep regret that Dr. Paul Topinard died at his residence in Paris on December 20, 1911, at the age of eighty-one. He was a scholar of considerable prominence, and his ideas as set forth for instance in his *Science and Faith* (Chicago, Open Court Publishing Co., 1899) are worthy

of a hearing. Dr. Topinard's main study was anthropology, and he showed that he was a scientist in all his philosophical and religious views. The more interesting and important are his utterances concerning the need of religion



which he emphasized especially for the large masses. Many honors of high distinction were conferred upon him, among them that of an officer in the Legion of Honor. κ

JESUS'S WORDS ON THE CROSS.

To the Editor of The Open Court:

In your thoughtful article "*The Significance of the Christ Ideal*," the suspicion, that the saying of Jesus on the cross, Luke xxiii. 34, because wanting in the oldest manuscripts, was later superadded, in order not to let Jesus be surpassed by Socrates, might have been strengthened by a reference to the

Pseudo-Clementine Homilies. In those writings, attributed to a philosophically educated Roman, and being a mixture of Stoic pantheism and Jewish theism, combined with an eclecticism, taking up Jewish, Christian and Gnostic elements and dating in their present form from the 3d century (according to Harnack) that saying, as far as I know, occurs for the first time. It is given exactly as in Luke and attributed to Jesus on the cross. The passage occurs Hom. XI, 22. In Hom. III, 19 we also read: "And yet he loved even those who hated him and wept over the unbelieving and blessed those who slandered him and prayed for those who were in enmity against him." On the other hand, though the words in Luke xxiii may have been superadded by patterning after the words of the martyr Stephen, Acts vii. 60: "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge."

A. KAMPMEIER.

THE DIVINE CHILD IN THE MANGER.

BY EB. NESTLE.

To the reasons adduced in the December *Open Court* (p. 707) for the view that the Christian tradition that Christ was cradled in a manger, is a recollection of a very ancient pre-Christian belief, a reference to the Old Testament may be added.

The Christian painters always add ox and ass to the manger, not only because we read in Is. i. 3: *Cognovit bos possessorem suum et asinus praesepe domini sui*, but because the Greek and Old Latin translation of Habakkuk iii. 2 is: *In medio duorum animalium cognosceris*, where our Bibles give: "Revive thy work in the midst of the years." In its old form (*in medio duorum animalium cognosceris*) the passage is read in the mass of the Roman church on New Year's day (*festum circumcisionis*).

[In this connection compare the editorial articles on "The Nativity," XIII, 710, and "The Ox and Ass in Illustrations of the Nativity," XIV, 46.]

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

LIGHTS AND SHADOWS OF LIFE ON THE PACIFIC COAST. By S. D. Woods. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1910. Pp. 474. Price, \$1.20 net.

This is a volume of reminiscences of a self-made man who has become one of the first citizens of California. Since the fame of the author has hitherto been more or less confined to the Pacific Coast, which he represented for many years in Congress, the general reader may feel somewhat introduced to him by the dedication which inscribes this book to "Edwin Markham—my beloved pupil of long ago—he and I can never forget the little schoolhouse in the sunny Suisun hills, where we together found our lives." The book has historical interest in its local color and account of western pioneer life, and the development of our far western states and cities.

P

A new German periodical has made its appearance in Leipsic with the beginning of the new year. It bears the name *Der Vortrupp* and is published by Georg Wigand and edited by Dr. Hermann M. Popert and Hans Paasche, the former an ex-judge of the Hamburg court, the other a retired lieutenant

of the German navy. The name of the periodical means "Advance Guard" or "The Van," and it is devoted to progress and reform. We have no doubt that *Der Vortrupp* will have hard work to swim against the stream, for though Germany is making great progress in industrial and other lines, she is like other nations in following the present tendency of a certain looseness among all lines of intellectual life, in art, in philosophy and also in the views of social life.

Judge Popert has made himself a name as the leader in the German temperance movement, and here we must say that Germany has greatly changed for the better. Even at the universities beer drinking has been reduced, and there are total abstinence fraternities at German universities which are no longer exposed to the ridicule of their fellow students. This means much and indicates a change that would have been deemed impossible even so short a time as twenty or thirty years ago.

The leading article on "*Realpolitik*" is a condemnation of that method in statesmanship which is bent on success irrespective of the means employed, losing sight even of the ideals of honesty and justice. Like Jeremiah Dr. Popert defines the meaning of "real" as interpreted by the admirers of "real politics" thus: "Real is the dead thing and thrice real the thing of things, money; unreal, however, is the living man. Real are the powers of yesterday and perhaps also of to-day, but unreal is the power that will come to-morrow. Business is real, and civilization unreal; real the partisan quarrel and unreal the community of the people. One thing more: ten times unreal is every community of interest between two peoples, even though they are nearest of kin and most closely allied, and unreal every faith that may exist between them; whereas, that the nations of the world are beasts of prey, and that unbridled anarchy must govern their relations with each other to the very end of things, is the highest and most profound article of faith in the catechism of *Realpolitik*." K

The appearance of a new volume of the Funk & Wagnalls *Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge* is always an event of interest. The present volume is the 11th and carries the work from "Son of Man" to "Tremellius." The importance of the material contributed by this volume is fully estimated if one thinks over carefully the many important and varied themes that fall between these letters. They include the article on "Sorcery," a history of the Sorbonne at Paris, a critical discussion of theology, and sixteen columns devoted to the Talmud, including a two-page reproduction of a page from the Tractate Shabbat of the Roman edition of the Babylonian Talmud, published at Wilna in 1886. P

In a recent number of the French liberal journal *La Raison*, edited by Victor Charbonnel, there appeared a very unusual and interesting study on the devils and witchcraft of Morocco. This was written by Dr. Mauchamp who was assassinated at Marrakech by Mohammedan soldiers because of their faith in demons and their evil works. The studious physician was of course one to exert his influence against these superstitions. Another article in the same number by Dr. Legrain explains how insanity follows from these mystic credulities. P



PORTRAIT OF CONFUCIUS.

Ascribed to the painter Wu Tao-tse.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.**

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FATHER HYACINTHE LOYSON.

AN OBITUARY CONTAINING A DOCUMENT BY FATHER HYACINTHE WITH REFERENCE TO THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF HIS MARRIAGE.

BY THE EDITOR.

WE learn from the papers that Father Hyacinthe Loyson has died at Paris in the 85th year of his age. Two years ago his wife, Madame Emilie Loyson, had preceded him in death and left him for the rest of his days a widower deeply mourning for the companion of his life. Their paths met during his hardest struggles for an intellectual emancipation from the fetters of hierarchism, and when he had conquered they were united forever.

Father Hyacinthe came into connection with *The Open Court* soon after the Religious Parliament, held in Chicago in 1893, and we have remained good friends ever since down to the day of his death. He was a dear old man who combined in a rare way religious fervor with a high intellectuality. He was both a born preacher and a thinker, but the preacher was uppermost in his soul, and all his thoughts were subject to his faith.

In his younger days there was no conscious contradiction between the two souls that lived in his breast, but when the conflict between his conscience and clerical duties arose in him his intellect rebelled against the tyranny of tradition, and here his future wife was of a remarkable assistance to him. When his separation from the church had become an established fact he married his former penitent.

The first communication which we had from Father Hyacinthe Loyson was on account of the Religious Parliament and the Religi-

ous Parliament Extension, of which latter the editor of *The Open Court* was secretary.

Father Hyacinthe Loyson had become interested in some books of the Open Court Publishing Company, and entered into a controversy with the editor concerning the nature of God and the soul, which was published in *The Open Court* in the year 1894, and republished in the book *God: Man's Highest Ideal* (on pages 190 ff). Here the old conception of God as held by all orthodox Christians and a philosophical conception of God are contrasted in the contemplation of a simile. God and the soul are to Father Hyacinthe as indispensable to gain his bearings in the world as the two poles of our terrestrial habitation are to the astronomer or to the geographer in science. In answer to this conception we reply that the old view materializes God into an individual existence as if the poles were two enormous infinite beings, while the true poles are mathematical lines, pure nonentities if conceived from a material viewpoint. These poles do not exist as things; they represent relations, yet as such they are not less significant than the axle of a wheel, for these poles are efficient factors in the existence of the earth, in its relations towards the world and in the very nature of the regularity of the cosmos. The soul and God remain of as much importance whether or not they are substantial beings or concrete units. It goes without saying that this new God-conception which to the faithful believer may appear sheer atheism, preserves the spirit of the old theism and is really the truth of theism presented in a scientific form. It is a God to whom no philosopher, no scientist, not even the atheist can object.

It is natural that Father Hyacinthe was not converted to the new view, but he at least understood that a God-conception is possible without the form of the externalities of the traditional faith. During the year of the Paris Exposition when the Congress of the History of Religion was convened on the Fair Grounds, the writer of these lines met Father Hyacinthe and Madame Loyson personally at their home at Neuilly, and since that time we became attached to one another by ties of a deep friendship. Father Hyacinthe told me at that time that his view concerning myself had changed since making my personal acquaintance. He had always (and he used this very term) "been afraid of me," thinking that I must be a most aggressive and negative character, but he understood better the positive aspect of my interpretation of religious topics since he had talked with me face to face.

I will say further that Madame Loyson was an indispensable

part of his life. They were both so different, and yet, or perhaps on account of their difference, they needed one another. Father Hyacinthe was a thinker and his wife was a doer. She was full of ambition to undertake great tasks in life. She wanted to harmonize our religious world, and her sympathies went out to the Jews and to the Turks. She had not been thrown into contact with Orientals, such as the Hindus, Buddhists and Confucianists. Otherwise her religious horizon might have expanded also to nontheistic religions, but that problem had never entered her mind. She wanted a union of the theistic world religions, and cherished the plan of having them convene at Jerusalem, the city sacred to all theists, Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans.

In fact she contemplated a journey to Jerusalem, and wanted her husband to join her in the enterprise. Father Hyacinthe was not so enthusiastic in this plan. He saw the difficulties which her bold American spirit had overleapt in the hope that nothing was impossible and everything could be accomplished by bold courage. She succeeded in inducing her devoted husband to undertake the journey to Jerusalem, but the realization of her dearest plan to have a great religious ecumenical council could not be realized. The Turkish authorities themselves were opposed to it, and refused to accede to her wishes in most polite terms, for Madame Loyson had a wide circle of influential friends, and if the plan had been feasible at all she might have accomplished it in spite of the many obstacles and difficulties.

We will only mention one of the difficulties which in her mind did not exist. Jerusalem is by no means a modern city. The water supply is limited to cisterns, and the conveniences for European and American travelers are scarcely first class, nor could the hotels have accommodated large crowds. Further, the tension between the different religions, especially between Mohammedans and Christians, but also and possibly in no less degree between Armenians and Roman and Greek Catholics, also of the Jews and Turks, is very great, and it might have become a disturbing factor if by any mishap the fanaticism of some sectarians had broken out at the time of such a council. Diseases on account of impure water and insufficient food would easily have developed among the visitors unaccustomed to Oriental diet in a city like Jerusalem at the present time. The expenses of living would have risen enormously during the time of such a council, and the dissatisfaction would have been great in all quarters.

Father Hyacinthe and Madame Loyson undertook the journey

to Jerusalem. They went by the way of Algiers and Egypt; and she published her memoirs of this remarkable trip in a stately and fully illustrated volume, under the title *To Jerusalem Through the Lands of Islam*, in which she reported all her experiences, as well as religious contemplations concerning the views of many people whom she met on the way, especially among the prominent Mussulmans.

The son of Father Hyacinthe and Madame Loyson, Paul Hyacinthe Loyson, has inherited from his parents a literary spirit and is active in several reform movements of modern France. He advocates the cause of international peace, of republican ideals and of humanizing the state, and his voice makes itself felt in the reform journal *Les Droits de l'Homme*. Above all we must mention that he is a poet, and his drama *Les âmes ennemies* was well received at Paris.

After their return Father Hyacinthe and his wife settled for a time in Geneva where he had been the pastor of a Gallican church for some time. Though in his advanced age Father Hyacinthe had retired from the life of an active pastor, he continued to lecture and preach in different churches, Protestant as well as seceded Catholic, and everywhere he was welcome on account of his brilliant oratory and the fervor of his address. He exercised no small influence upon the liberal-minded Catholics, Protestants, and even infidels who in France play a very prominent part.

Father Hyacinthe had left the church, nevertheless he remained a good Catholic for all time. He preserved his monk's cowl, and clung to the very cloth as a relic of a time sacred to him. He loved the Roman Catholic ceremony, and would have continued in the church had his intellectual conscience, and also the conscience of his deeper catholicity, allowed him to stay there. If he had not had charge of so prominent a pulpit as Notre Dame, if he had been a layman, he might have remained a Catholic to the end in spite of the intellectual differences because he might not have felt the responsibility of his affiliation. He was too broad-minded to condemn other views, and here the necessity of leaving the church began.

One tenet of both the Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic churches is decidedly uncatholic, and this is the condemnation of all those who do not accept the very symbols of the Catholic doctrine. Father Hyacinthe had taken this doctrine of the Athanasian confession of faith as a matter of fact, and when his American penitent became converted to Roman Catholicism she protested most vigorously against pronouncing a condemnation upon the faith of

her beloved mother. With Father Hyacinthe's permission granted after some discussion, the two clauses referring to such a condemnation were taken out and this gradually wrought in him the change that finally drove him out of the church.

We grant that it was the influence of his future wife which started in Father Hyacinthe the change, but it would be wrong to say that the change would not have taken place without her. We do not doubt that on some other occasion the true catholicity of his broad-minded recognition of other faiths would have asserted itself. At any rate there is no reason to accuse him of having changed his views for the sake of becoming free to marry his penitent to whom even at the time of her conversion to Catholicism he felt a deep attachment.

At the time when Madame Loyson died Father Hyacinthe sent us a communication concerning his relation to his wife and setting forth the motives that swayed him at the time, telling in simple outlines the history of his development and of his relation to her. In so far as his life had been that of a public speaker and a prominent preacher, he felt it his duty to give an account of his motives which were known to the narrower circle of his most intimate friends, among whom we will mention Abbé Houtin.

It was fully three years after Father Hyacinthe left the Roman Catholic church in 1869 that he married Mrs. Emilie Meriman, and it appeared to the world as if the former step was taken in order to make the latter possible. His friends and those who were acquainted with him knew perfectly well that this was not the case, and yet the two incidents are closely connected. The situation is best understood if we draw our information from the first source, Father Hyacinthe himself. He has communicated the story of his marriage as well as his separation from the church of Rome to a few intimate friends, and since the subject is of more than private interest, since it touches the problem of the celibacy of the clergy, and since the situation has become the subject of several widely read novels, it seems justified to present to readers interested in religious problems the very authentic statement of this typical case.

After the death of his highly cherished wife in 1910, his marriage became to Father Hyacinthe a chapter of the past. At the age of 83 years he looked back upon this most important episode of his life with calm and unimpassioned contemplation, and as he had nothing to regret he had nothing to conceal. So he kindly accorded his consent to have this letter which originated from a definite inquiry of one of his French friends, published in *The Open Court*,

though upon further consideration he desired that it be held until after his death. It has not as yet been made public elsewhere, and is here offered to our readers in an English translation with the hope that they will understand the struggles and development, or rather the hard-won victory, of a noble soul.

You ask me, dear friend, how I came to know and love her whom I mourn to-day, and what the connection is between the meeting of our souls and my break with the Roman church, for the two events were practically contemporaneous. The relation is not that which has been assumed by vulgar or malicious minds, but a true and deep connection nevertheless exists.

I was at the height of a religious crisis. I have given an account of this crisis elsewhere, and its long course may be followed in the papers which I have entrusted to M. Houtin. It was in 1867, at one of the most acute moments of this crisis, that Mrs. Meriman, then a widow, while passing through Paris on her way to Rome, was induced by a convert who was a friend of both of us, to pay me a visit at the convent of the barefooted Carmelites at Passy, where I was then living.

At that time I had never dreamed of leaving the Roman church, but after a great deal of study, much experience and great anguish of spirit, I was advancing slowly and surely towards a more emancipated Catholicism which might be taken for a kind of Protestantism since it included the principle of private judgment. Mrs. Meriman herself was passing through a soul crisis but in the opposite direction; for although Protestant by birth and jealously guarding the liberty of her conscience, she was nevertheless dissatisfied with the more or less narrow sects which she had known and felt herself attracted by the majestic unity and by the poetry of Catholicism as she understood it.

Our interview might have been without further consequence like so many others which I had during my ministry. In the short conversation which we held in the parlor of my convent as well as in the equally short visit which I paid at her hotel, we did not speak at all of the subjects which filled our hearts. But chance—I would rather call it Providence—decided otherwise.

Mrs. Meriman went to Rome to pass the winter, accompanied by her twelve-year-old son who at the time was in poor health. I too was called there by the superiors of my order

who entrusted to me the Lenten preaching of 1868 in the national church of St. Louis of the French. My Paris caller was among my auditors at Rome, and in my preaching she found again that ideal Catholicism of which we had never spoken but which lay at the bottom of the hearts of both.

The superior of St. Louis of the French at that time was Mgr. Level, an Israelitish convert to Catholicism and a pious and zealous priest. One day he said to me, "You have an American lady in your audience who has frequently been observed to shed tears. You ought to go and see her." I answered that I never refused my services to any soul who besought them but that I had no taste for certain kinds of proselyting. Mrs. Meriman of her own accord introduced herself to me, and soon confided to me all the secrets of her soul, her doubts and her aspirations, her anxieties and her hopes. It must be understood that when a Catholic priest is to any degree worthy of his ministry he has a power even over strangers in his church which the Protestant minister does not usually possess. Mrs. Meriman though still a Protestant was already my penitent.

I advised her to stop in Paris before her return to the United States, which was to take place some time within the year, and there to go into retreat at the Convent of the Assumption, where a sister of mine was stationed. She consented to do so, and it was as the result of this retreat, which was a long and severe one because of the independent and critical spirit of my pupil, that her solemn entrance into the Roman Catholic church (there was none other in France) took place, though with reservations which had no deterring influence on either myself or the bishops whom I consulted with regard to it, Mgr. Darboy in particular.

Great indeed was my zeal to win over this fine soul to Catholicism which remained my ideal in spite of its human shortcomings. But with a woman's penetration she read my mind through our theological discussions and discovered there what I as yet had no suspicion of. "Stop insisting so, Father," she once said to me at the close of one of our interviews, "I feel confident that I shall one day be a Catholic, but you will no longer be there to receive me into the church." "What do you mean?" I asked quickly, and she replied: "The spirit which is animating you will surely lead you to enter upon a conflict with the pope; you will follow your conscience and

you will be right in doing so, but you will leave the church; still that will not prevent me from entering it." I vigorously rejected such a prophecy, but a light had fallen in upon my thoughts and for the first time I foresaw with terror the possibility of a rupture with the church which I had loved so well.

I will never forget this impression. It was evening and I was returning on foot from the Convent of the Assumption at Auteuil to the Carmelite Convent at Passy; I saw the street lamps lighting up along the road one after another in the twilight while higher still the stars were lighting in the firmament. *Donec dies elucescat et Lucifer oriatur in cordibus vestris.*

In the chapel of the Convent of the Assumption, a Roman atmosphere if there was any at that time in Paris, I solemnly received into the Catholic church on July 14, 1868, the woman who was to be my companion and my stay in the church of Catholic reform. In the profession of faith of Pope Pius IV which she was asked to repeat she resolutely suppressed two articles, the one stating that outside of the visible church there is no salvation, and the one which anathematizes doctrines contrary to that church. "It was the faith of my mother," she said to me; "it may have been incomplete, but was never false nor injurious; it is this faith which made me a Christian, and I will not condemn it." My theological subtleties were of no avail against the directness and energy of this Protestant—more Christian indeed than the Catholic priest who served as her guide—and as the profession of faith was recited aloud and in the vernacular this double omission was observed by those present to the astonishment of all and the horror of some.

"If there is anything in earnest in the world," Mrs. Meriman said to me, "it is this step which I am taking to-day."

The sermon which I pronounced in connection with this memorable act of my priestly ministry and in which I had put my whole soul appeared in the great liberal Catholic review, *Le Correspondant*, with an affecting introduction from the pen of Augustin Cochin.

A few days afterwards the new convert left France for America.

Upon reflection I now recall that a great revolution was stirring within myself as within her. As Jacob wrestled in the darkness with the angel of the Lord, so I struggled in the

night against the angel of the Church of the Future; and sometimes conqueror, sometimes vanquished, but wounded and lamed, I was now half-Protestant, while she was half-Catholic. At the same time she, a widow resolved never to remarry, and I, in love with a mystical celibacy which had until then been my strength and my joy and which I had never the slightest desire to renounce—both were feeling joined to each other by a strange irresistible love, which did not possess the character of the loves of this earth and yet was actually love. I remember how we avowed it at the end of one of our interviews while we were listening to the sisters of the Assumption in the neighboring chapel as they droned the affecting chant of *Salve Regina*. "We shall never belong to each other in this world," we said that evening, "but our souls shall be eternally united before God."

This, my dear friend, is the mysterious bond—mysterious in my own eyes, for I confess it is more than I can explain—which has connected my entire theological emancipation with my religious love. Thus ended the violent crisis which stirred me for so long a time and which was to have in one sense or another a fatal issue. God saved me, I believe, by sending into my life at the decisive hour and in an unforeseen manner the extraordinary woman who has been my inspiration upon earth and who awaits me in heaven.

As we have said, Father Hyacinthe began upon reflection to doubt the propriety of publishing this memoir during his lifetime. While the subject was under consideration he wrote as follows in a personal letter to the editor:

I have come to the conclusion that it is better to delay the publication of the notes which I have entrusted to your care. Those which are strictly personal with reference to myself may see the light before my death but never with any idea of justification in reply to those who have claimed that my religious attitude has been inspired by my desire to marry. I scorn such imputations and give no heed to such malicious slanderers.

What I desire before all is to make the truth clear in relation to those of my actions which concern the public.

I desire to indicate the close bond which I have always considered as existing between religion and love when these two great words are taken in their loftiest and deepest meaning. Love and religion in their true sense are not only recon-

cilable but identical, and man must love God and the cosmos in wife and children even if that man is a priest, and especially if he is a priest. This doctrine of the identity of religion and love I had already formulated when in charge of the pulpit of Notre Dame at a time when, in the celibacy to which I had very freely but too lightly bound myself, I had not the remotest idea that I was one day to marry.

Since that time, throughout the changes which have taken place in my conscience and in my life, I have preached this truth in all its brightness and in all its scope. I have not been content to preach it but I put it into practice and I have felt myself to be more of a man and more of a priest than before. The religion of Saint-Simon or of Auguste Comte is certainly not my own, but I think there is something profoundly true and of great possibilities for the future in their glorification of the priestly couple. *Et prudentiores sunt filii tenebrarum filiis lucis in generationibus suis.*

Such truths seem to me to be eternal truths, but I do not know whether they would seem opportune in America because of the concessions which many among you think it is necessary to make to the *ultramontaines*, who are, however, more dangerous to the United States than anywhere else because of the *comparative* liberalism which they practise there.

Philosophy is like love; it must not be placed in opposition to religion but reconciled and identified with it. It is the aim of our noblest efforts and I hope, my dear friend, that you may come into the full attainment of it.

In the last speech delivered by Father Hyacinthe Loyson in an extempore address before a French society of Ethical Culture, he spoke on the subject of marriage. It happens that the publication of the stenographic report of this address in the *Revue moderniste internationale* (II, Nov.-Dec. 1911) comes to our desk at the same time as the announcement of his death. This report is presented in English translation on another page of this issue.

In referring to the marriage of a clergyman who in a former period of his career was bound by a vow of celibacy, one more remark will be in order which may help to point out the significance of such a step. We often hear derogatory comments on cases of a similar kind, especially in France, where sympathizers with reformers express dissatisfaction and declare that when such men stand up for a broader interpretation of their religion, they ought to abstain from entering into a marriage relation and adhere to their

vow of celibacy. This may have been right in some cases where the reformers continued to believe in the meritoriousness of a single life, but where they came to the conclusion that the union with a noble woman would rather tend to enhance their devotional as well as their intellectual life, it appears to us that they should possess sufficient manliness to have the courage of their convictions and not be prevented by the fear of giving offence from taking this step and entering into the state of matrimony which even in times of ancient ascetic tendencies the church has always called holy.

The weight of these comments can only be increased when we consider the significance of Luther's marriage. In his days public opinion was even narrower than now, and after he had separated from the church he still clung to the old ideas with regard to many of the externalities of the Roman church. Timidity might have prevented him from marrying, and there is no doubt that he had reason to believe that his marriage would alienate from him many of his supporters. His marriage, therefore, was an act of courage and it contributed not a little to infuse a new conception into the Reformation.

World movements are determined not only by declarations and confessions of faith but also by the very acts of their founders and leaders.

MARRIAGE.*

BY HYACINTHE LOYSON.

THE FACTS.

NOT without reason has the "Union of Free Thinkers and Free Believers for the purpose of Ethical Culture" put the crisis of the marriage problem at the head of its series of lectures on the "Crisis of Moral Ideas." Such a crisis now prevails among others over France and over the entire civilized world. In fact it is at the root of all the rest.

And why is this? Because since society is not the union of isolated individuals but of established families the fundamental crisis is that of the family, the social construction of which is represented by marriage. If that is disturbed the entire edifice of society totters.

It is not for me here to account for or to describe the marriage crisis. It is enough to observe the literature of to-day. What books are most read if not licentious novels or certain alleged philosophical lucubrations which are equally destructive to the principles of the family? With a few happy exceptions what dramas attract the largest numbers of spectators at the theatre? The answer is the same. If we study the customs of the people we see in the large cities many honest and courageous laborers mingled with the idle and the vicious contending against poverty and the evil conditions which render most difficult the formation of a family, and which furnish a sad excuse for failures. But if we raise our eyes to the highest rungs of the social ladder we find here more reason for indulgence for those resounding scandals which prove that the highest degree of culture is inadequate unless it is joined to the service of duty, and

* Translated by Lydia G. Robinson from the *Revue moderniste internationale*, Nov.-Dec., 1911. The *Revue* introduces it in a footnote as follows: "We are glad to be able to offer to our readers the stenographic report made for *Les droits de l'homme*, of the admirable extempore address of the grand old man who at the age of 85 spoke of the "great sacrament" with a power of thought, a nobility of style and an affecting emotion of which he alone possesses the secret."

that this duty itself is powerless if it is too abstract and has no yearning to love and to make itself beloved.

I shall content myself with inquiring into the remedies for this evil. In order to reform an institution, we must trace it to its origin, as Machiavelli once said. To be sure, the evolution of all things is a glorious and necessary law, but in our opinion progress consists in developing tradition by transforming it; that which gives value to the fruit is entirely contained within the root and sap of the tree.

THE ESSENCE OF MARRIAGE.

(The orator did not linger on the historical origin of the family which in its outlines existed before the state and before the churches. However tempted he might be to follow Fustel de Coulanges in showing the origin of our civilization in the Aryan family, he did not enlarge upon the admirable definition: "Marriage is the perfect communion of man and woman; it is the communication of all human and divine rights; *rerum divinarum humanarumque communicatio*.")

I wish to speak of psychological origins. I would dare pronounce a word which is no longer used in earnest discussions because it has been so degraded,—I mean the word love. For what is marriage if not the moral, social and religious organization of love, of that inevitable law of the sexes, which originates not in the body only but in the soul; of that terrible and prolific force which can destroy or uplift the whole individual and society.

Love! I need not say that I do not mean by the word a caprice of the imagination of greater or less duration, a more or less violent transport of the senses, but the consummate, complex choice which man and woman, the two halves of the human race, make with regard to each other. The tendency of nature is towards a single type—remember Plato's fine symbol of the androgyn—and it is incomplete in so far as it has not realized this type. Aside from legitimate and sometimes even glorious exceptions, a celibate is not a man but, as Jesus himself defined it, a eunuch. A man is not a man, a woman is not a woman, intellectually, emotionally, morally, except when they have become united in that simple and yet magnificent synthesis, the couple. Hence if one wishes to comprehend marriage, he must primarily analyze it in love. It is not a question of interests, however respectable; it is not a question of associating one name with another name, one fortune with another fortune; all these things may have their own importance, but it is not upon these elements that the union, the contract, the sacrament of marriage must be entered upon.

Sacrament? Oh, of course I do not think, as scholastic theol-

ogy teaches, that Jesus Christ consecrated it as a special rite. What is more, he did not institute any rite, any sacrament, any church. Born a Jew, he wished to live and die a Jew, and from the bloody swaddling bands of his circumcision to the embalmed winding-sheet of his burial, to perform the peculiar rites of his own nation. Certainly if Jesus Christ had been a founder he would have been inferior to Moses and to Mohammed. What he created is a new spirit, and it is in the light of this inspiration that I call marriage a sacrament. This pure and noble sacrament is the very sacrament of love in perfect union. When the young man makes his entry into life, at the hour of bygone emotions and positive reflections, he finds himself confronted by a sphinx with two faces, love and Love, female and woman. His life is at the mercy of the choice which he is about to make. The great problem of sex is presented to him. If he enters upon the royal path which woman opens to him his safety and the safety of society are assured. If he yields to the appeal of the voluptuous face which changes names from day to day, he is lost—at least for a long time—and with himself he has compromised society, for marriage must in nowise be a penance or a refuge. To marry too late when tired of the fruitless life one has led, to dismiss a mistress with whom one has profaned love, and to offer the remnants to a woman to whom one talks of an establishment (unless it be of reestablishment)—this is not marriage because indeed it is not love in the slightest degree.

But how many other abuses there are which break up the institution, and first of all divorce! With Roosevelt I would say that the greatest misfortune of a nation is easy and frequent divorce. Only one calamity is comparable to it, namely voluntary sterility. Let us leave these scourges to fallen nations, and let us Frenchmen be men with but one wife so that we may be fathers of many and brave children. (Prolonged Applause.)

And yet to me fatherhood, motherhood, the extension of the life of two transitory creatures however glorious may be their functions, is not the essential end of marriage. A childless marriage may be a true marriage, but a marriage without love is not. The first result of marriage, procreation, is but a means, a very noble and sublime means, but morally of subordinate rank. Now it belongs to the dignity of the human personality not to be merely a subsidiary means but before all to be an end. If the man loves the woman and if the woman loves the man, it is because they discover in the qualities of mind, of soul, and even of the body of each other, the reason and incentive of their union. Each becomes to the other an

end, loved and desired for itself, the object of a mutual gift which comprises perfect happiness and perfect sacrifice.

Likewise we may say without paradox that divorce has never dissolved a marriage, for divorce applies solely to a marriage which is not one in fact, for it only interferes to confirm the absence of a true marriage. Those who have been divorced have never shared in the great mystery of marriage. They have only been shadows of husband and wife. What is to be deplored is not so much the dissolution of the union, as the pretended union itself which joined them together.

Moreover is not this exactly what the Bible teaches us? To accept that book as an exact history is in many cases to make it childish and ridiculous. Let us take it for what it really is, a miracle of ethical instruction, a sublime religious poem. Observe for instance the myth of the woman taken from Adam's side—a crude symbol but one which hides a precious truth. In the days of polytheism and polygamy there arises an unknown prophet who tells us that in order to be double and complete man must rise from a profound slumber. We are at liberty to understand thereby the animal sleep of numberless ages in which man knew not woman, for she was merely the female of the species. It is at this point that man, also resembling the brute creation, awoke and received the revelation of the human Eve who had been sleeping since the beginning at the bottom of his heart. Had he continued to lack this vision he would have remained a gorilla. He finally awakens out of his dense bestial sleep; he has the vision of new centuries and he cries out, "Ah, this is now bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh. She shall be called woman because she was taken out of man. They shall be joined together. Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother and shall cleave unto his wife; and they twain shall be one flesh, one spirit, one personality, and from this time forth they shall bear but one name, that in which the eternal God created both of them, Adam. Man." (Applause.)

THE ATTRIBUTES OF MARRIAGE.

The principal qualities of marriage are liberty and indissolubility. Did I say liberty? Yes, for that is derived from the very character of love. If marriage is the consecration of love, it must be free like love. Hence there are no worldly prejudices, nor social conventionalities, nor considerations of fortune which can impose a law upon it. Of course it is the part of parents to give counsel, but they must not go beyond that nor from a selfish caprice keep apart

two hearts made for each other. For human authority cannot impose or forbid a love which no moral laws disapprove. Even the church which has invented so many invalidating prohibitions against marriage makes no pretense to dictate it. If it declared that a union contracted only before a civil magistrate is not marriage, at the same time by a happy contradiction and until the Council of Trent it recognized that two young people not belonging to the clergy who secretly took each other for husband and wife without the consent of their parents and without the presence of witnesses, even without the benediction of the priest, were actually married, not only as the beneficiaries of a contract but as participants of a sacrament which they administered to themselves!

Thus the marriage is consummated when two children give their hearts to each other. In the eyes of the theologians they are invested in a priestly majesty. The church gives them its benediction and submits; it recognizes that here there has been a priest prior to itself and which it is powerless to create.

Such is the essential quality of reinstated love which is the deliberate gift, the magnificent gift of one's self, a banquet prepared for the whole of life in which reason, conscience and heart play leading parts, and in which the senses have no place except as the guests of the soul!

But if marriage is supremely free it is none the less indissoluble. This may seem contradictory, but as far as I am concerned I base the conviction not only on the Christian tradition which I endorse but on the very law of human nature. The nature of this mysterious gift exchanged between husband and wife is such that love can not be taken back because it has so deeply impressed in the soul and in the flesh a physical and moral seal which nothing can efface. When in the fulness of their consciousness and of their consent two beings have exchanged the free gift of perfect love, when each has penetrated to those depths within the other whence worlds gush forth, it is for all time and forever, as in the beautiful and simple formula of the Anglican liturgy: "I take thee to be my wedded wife for richer or for poorer, for better or for worse, in sickness and in health, until death do us part."

I appeal even to those who have never loved but who have at least studied love in books and in life, and even in the counterfeits to which it is subjected. These profane people know that always and everywhere the same language is used. Both the man who experiences love in the bottom of his heart and the hypocrite who skilfully imitates it cry with one voice, "You only do I love, and you

forever!" And what woman is there who in the face of an offer of unworthy love would not repulse her seducer with scorn if she herself were not in her turn a seducer? I appeal to all women who have loved, that this holds true at the very basis of human nature.

But, some one will say, the eternity of love is a dream, whereas its reality is but ephemeral; after a time the flower withers never to bloom again. And the wisest people give council that when you shall have paid your tribute to love this net which nature spreads for us, as Schopenhauer calls it, should be changed to friendship if you would have peace in your heart, and after all a relative happiness. I make answer that this is impossible. It is true that friendship is one of the most beautiful things in the world, but love by its very nature is superior even to friendship. Friendship may change into love but love never moves backward, it never returns to friendship. When it ceases to be itself it changes to indifference, to antagonism, to hate. Hence in order to strengthen marriage, seal up the cornerstone of the building and found the marriage upon love.

But love, some one again will say, passes through different ages and is clad in changing forms. What if it is? It always remains love even under the aspect of friendship, for under the crown of her snowy hair as formerly under the flowers of her spring time the grandmother is always loved with love and the wrinkles upon her brow are sacred lines formed by sweet memories unknown to youth itself. *Et meminisse juvabit!*

THE ENEMIES OF LOVE.

However, love has two enemies, divorce and death. I am not speaking here of legal divorce which I admit in exceptional cases. When it is brought to protect against the man's tyrannical repudiation of a woman, even Jesus did not absolutely reprove divorce, and the Greek and Russian churches which most closely preserve the primitive form of Christian dogma practically tolerate it in certain cases, at least in that of adultery. I am speaking of the divorce which escapes all civil laws and all religious stipulations, the internal divorce of those who, not being able to actualize love and not wishing to scandalize the moral sense of the world, become resigned to the outward appearance of a conjugal union and to perfectly creditable relations with each other, disarming and dispelling all suspicion. In this case especially the divorce is a complete one. The indissolubility of a marriage which is separated from the permanence of love is the worst of all masks assumed by the worst of divorces.

Now I would say of those hostile couples who face each other

at their hearth stones, consenting perhaps to the cheapest courtesies, exactly as of those which are more openly separated by law, that they have never been married, that they have never known love since they have permitted it to die. Love does not condemn its elect to galley chains.

But if true love can triumph over divorce, can it triumph over death? Sooner or later the time will come when time is not the only obstacle to the permanence and beauty of love; either the man or the woman passes away before the allotted time, and so far before in many cases as to render the separation the more bitter. Thus the dream of eternal union is broken by death, and according to the verse of the Count de Lisle translated from St. Augustine the whole world seems to be engulfed:

"Qu'est-ce que tout cela qui n'est pas éternel?"

Of course, for those who are convinced that everything ends with death there is nothing more sad or more horrible than to think that a being who was the noblest part of your self, who had labored by your side, who had been the confidante of all your secrets, of all your hopes, of all your infinite longings, that this being when departing had spoken of a future meeting, and that in spite of all this, you would not meet again and that the promise is but a lie. For my part I admit that if I had this desperate conviction, in spite of the obligation to remain until the end I would not feel that I had the strength to do so. On the contrary I have drawn from my Christian faith, from the meditations of the deepest philosophers, Leibnitz and Renouvier among others, from the study of the moral laws of human nature as irrefragable as those of physical nature, the certainty that death is not annihilation but transformation. What disappears is the phantom of man, the transitory being, the breath of a day. . . . Yes this physical, and even to a certain point intellectual, phantom has vanished into the black whirlwind, but the personality which thinks, which wills, which suffers, which is exalted and which loves—I swear it by human nature, at least such as I bear within myself—this essential being is called to a still higher training; this being is immortal.

CONFUCIUS AND HIS PORTRAITS.

BY BERTHOLD LAUFER.

[Dr. Berthold Laufer, an enthusiastic sinologist of critical and painstaking methods, has visited the Far East on three several expeditions made in the interests of science. The last of these was undertaken on behalf of the Field Museum of Chicago and extended over a period of two years, from 1908 to 1910.

From this expedition he returned with a rich store of objects of general interest in many lines. Among other materials he brought back a collection of portraits of Confucius and other pictorial representations of the ancient sage illustrative of various scenes in his life.

In the present article we have a complete collection of this kind which it is hoped will be of interest to the archeologist, to the student of art and to all persons concerned about the religious development of China.—Ed.]

CHINA stands on the eve of a new phase in her history. What is now going on there is bound to eclipse in importance all other revolutionary movements which have shaken that ancient empire. This time it is not, as so often previously, a military insurrection fostered by an ambitious leader to place himself on the dragon-throne, but it is an earnest struggle for the ideals of true progress. Whether the republic will succeed or not, whether the ruling dynasty will be replaced by another, are points of minor issue; the principal point which constitutes a landmark in the thought development of the country is that the people of China at large have risen to signal to the world their intention to break away from the deadening conventionalities of their past and to awaken to the responsibility of honest and progressive government and administration.

It would be a grave error to believe that the impetus to this awakening has come to them wholly from the source of our own civilization. True it is that the several thousand students sent abroad by China during the last ten years and educated in the principles of constitutionalism and national economy have their share in setting the ball of this unprecedented reform movement a-rolling. But those who have followed the literary activity of the reformers

during the last decade are sensible of the fact that they turned their eyes not only to America and Europe, but also, and still more intently, to the golden age of Confucius and Mencius. They pointed out on more than one occasion that the ideas for which the white man's progress stood were already contained in the books of Confucian philosophy, and that by accepting these in their original purity without the restrictions of the later dogmatic incrustations and combining them with the best of western principles, an ideal state of affairs could be restored. To cast the old ideas into new forms was their guiding motive, and one of the dreams of this Neo-Confucianism is the final triumph of Confucius in the diffusion of his doctrines all over the world.

The idea that government should be conducted for the benefit of the people is not exclusively American. It was proclaimed as early as in the fourth century B. C. by Mencius (Mêng-tse), the most gifted of Confucius's successors, when he made the bold statement: "The people are the most important element in a nation, and the sovereign is the least." Nor did he hesitate to follow this idea to the extreme conclusion that an unworthy ruler should be dethroned or put to death; that he has no right to interfere with the general good, and killing in such a case is not murder. In the light of historical facts, we are hardly justified in priding ourselves on our own enlightenment in political matters which covers the brief span of a century, and most of the countries of Europe until the beginning of the nineteenth century were still in the clutches of a system of slavish feudalism the vestiges of which are not yet entirely wiped out. China was the first country in the world to overturn feudalism. As early as in the third century B. C., the genius of the Emperor Ts'in Shih broke the feudal organization of the Chou dynasty and founded in its place a universal empire with a centralized government and equal chances for all to enter public service. Since that time no privilege of birth has ever availed, and a sane democratic tendency has always been a strong leaven in Chinese polity.

There is no doubt that in the course of time the new organizers of the empire will succeed in blending the new ideas pouring in from outside with the inheritance of the past to form a new vital organism, and that the new China will surprise the world again by originating new ideas. A new Confucianism will arise, not the one transformed into an unchangeable church-dogma by Chia Hi, the autocratic scholiast of the Sung period (twelfth century) whose work is largely responsible for the mental stagnation of his com-

patriots, but one regenerated and rejuvenated and adapted to the needs of our time.

Such a process of assimilation is possible, because Confucius did not evolve a peculiar philosophy suited to a particular age, but was, above all, a practical man and a politician with a large fund of common sense. He was unequaled as a teacher and educator, a preacher of sound ethical maxims presenting a moral standard of universal value. Christ and Buddha made loftier demands on their followers, but nobody could reach their heights, and few, if any, ever truly lived up to the ideal standard of their precepts. Confucius restricted himself wisely to the exposition of such tenets as were within the grasp and reach of everybody, and produced a society of well-mannered and disciplined men generally decent in feeling and action. Confucius was neither a genius nor a deep thinker, but a man of striking personality, though he was by no means a truly great man and lacked both the charm and eloquence of Christ and Buddha. But in the extent, depth and permanency of influence, no other man in the history of the world can be likened to him. His shadow grew and grew into colossal dimensions from century to century, finally overshadowing the entire eastern world.

The life and labors of this remarkable man have often been narrated, and the canonical books in which his doctrines are expounded are rendered generally accessible through the classical translation of James Legge. But his portraits and his life as it has been represented in Chinese art have not yet been studied in a connected treatment.¹ This subject which we propose to treat on the following pages will allow us to touch on some characteristic features of the career of Confucius, and to understand the lasting impression which he has left on the minds of his countrymen.

No contemporaneous portrait of China's greatest sage has come down to posterity, nor are there any personal relics of his in existence. As early as the time of the Han dynasty when the study of ancient literature was revived and the Confucian teachings met with general recognition, the necessity was felt of having pictures of the

¹ The illustrative material of this article was collected by me at Si-ngan fu in 1903 and on a visit to K'ü-fu, the burial-place of Confucius, in January, 1904. At that time I also conceived the plan of writing a history of Confucian iconography. On the Chinese rubbings, the engraved lines appear white, while the background is black owing to the use of ink. The original drawings which were carved into the stone were, of course, black on white. We have made an attempt at restoring these originals by taking a photograph of the first negative obtained from photographing the rubbing, thus securing the original sketch in black outlines. This process should be employed for reproducing all Chinese rubbings of this kind and insures an infinitely better idea of the style and real appearance of these pictures.

sage and his disciples. The scholar and statesman Ts'ai Yung (133-192 A. D.) is credited with having painted for the Hung-tu College the portraits of Confucius and his seventy-two disciples.² This school was founded in 178 A. D. by the Emperor Ling for the inculcation of Confucian teachings, the name Hung-tu ("the School of the Gate") being derived from the designation of a gate in the imperial palace. It should be understood that the Confucian paintings were not merely prompted by artistic, but by religious motives as well, for there was a well established worship of Confucius in the days of the Han dynasty. The growth of this cult can be traced with a fair degree of accuracy. In the beginning it had a merely local significance, only the princes of Lu and the disciples offering sacrifices to K'ung-tse at certain times of the year, until the first emperor of the Han passed through the country of Lu in B. C. 195 and sacrificed at the tomb of the sage.

This action marks the beginning of K'ung-tse's national worship. In 58 A. D., in the high schools (*hio*) established in all the districts of the empire since B. C. 132, solemn honors were rendered to Confucius. Three emperors of the dynasty of Han went to visit the house of Confucius in the country of Lu, Ming-ti in 72 A. D., Chang-ti in 85 A. D., and Ngan-ti in 124 A. D., and celebrated the sacrifices in honor of the Master and his seventy-two disciples. The Emperors Chang and Ngan assembled all descendants of Confucius and presented them with money and silken cloth, and Chang caused the *Lun yü* to be explained to the students.

The view upheld by some scholars that Confucianism is not a religion is based on a misjudgment of the facts. On the contrary, Confucianism is a religion in a double sense. Confucius stood throughout on the platform of the ancient national religion of China and shared most of the beliefs of his countrymen of that age. His entire moral system has its roots in the most essential factor of this religion, ancestral worship; in the absolute faith in an almighty supreme ruler, the Deity of Heaven; and in the unchangeable will of destiny. He sanctioned and adopted the whole system of ancient rites including the complicated ceremonial of burial and mourning. All this is religion. It is a religion, the fruit and final logical consequence of which is moral instruction, and which terminates in the exposition of the principles of good government and the sane laws of the family, not in the sense of an abstract civil law, but always imbued with a deeply religious character.

² Giles, *Introduction to the History of Chinese Pictorial Art*, p. 8. Biot, *Essai sur l'histoire de l'instruction publique en Chine*, p. 194 (Paris, 1847).

The development of Confucianism bears the same religious stamp. There are paintings and images of the Master; he is honored like the gods with sacrifices, dances, music and hymns. Temples have been built in every town in his memory; he has been set up as the object of a regular cult. He is certainly not worshiped as a god. Prayer is not offered to him nor is his help or intervention sought. The ceremonies employed at service in his honor are the same as those used in the temples of past emperors. He is venerated and praised as the promoter of learning and civil conduct, as the great benefactor of his country, as the greatest teacher and model of all ages. The service is one of grateful remembrance, and his birthday is observed as a holiday in all public departments. But he must be worshiped in his own temple, and it is forbidden to set up any image or likeness of him in a Buddhist or Taoist temple. It is right for the child to do him obeisance in the school, and the student in the college, for these are the institutions where his teaching and influence are felt. In this aspect we must understand the early development of Confucian pictures.

In 194 A. D., the prefect of I-chou (Ch'eng-tu in Sze-ch'uan) erected a hall in which to perform the rites (*li-tien*) on behalf of Chou Kung. On the walls of this hall, he had the images of P'an-ku, the ancient emperors and kings, painted; further he painted on the beams Chung-ni (Confucius), his seventy-two disciples and the famous sages downward from the age of the Three Sovereigns. These paintings were restored or renewed several times, first by Chang Shou who was prefect of I-chou in the period T'ai-k'ang (280-290 A. D.) of the Tsin dynasty; then by Liu T'ien in 492 A. D. In the Kia-yu (1056-64 A. D.) period of the Sung dynasty Wang-kung Su-ming made copies of these wall-paintings distributed over seven scrolls on which 155 figures were represented; and in the Shao-hing (1163-64 A. D.) period of the Southern Sung dynasty Si Kung-yi had another copy made and engraved on stone. It consisted of 168 figures and was placed in the Hall of the Classics of Ch'eng-tu. Nothing of these works has survived.³

But several early Confucian pictures have been transmitted on the bas-reliefs of the Han period in Shantung. The greater bulk of these, numbering forty-six, are now collected in a stone chamber near Kia-hiang; they were discovered and exhumed in 1786 by Huang I and represent the remains of stone carvings which once

³ From *I-chou ming hua lu*, "Records of Famous Painters of Sze-ch'uan" (reprinted in the collection *T'ang Sung ts'ung shu*) by Huang Hiu-fu of Kiang-hia (in Wu-ch'ang) at the time of the Sung dynasty. A preface by Li T'ien-shu is dated 1006 A. D.



CONFUCIUS'S VISIT TO LAO-TSE. A STONE BAS-RELIEF OF THE HAN PERIOD.

decorated the mortuary chambers of three separate tombs of the second century A. D. The scenes displayed on these bas-reliefs comprise two main groups, historical and mythological. Portraits of the ancient mythical sages, Fu-hi and Nü-wa, the Emperor Yü, and examples of filial piety and feminine virtue and devotion are there depicted; we are, further, treated to long processions of warriors, horse-back riders, chariots with their occupants and drivers, scenes of battle and hunting, peaceful domestic scenes and favorite mythical concepts. On one of these slabs we find fourteen, on another nineteen, on a third twenty-two, and on a fourth eighteen disciples of Confucius represented in uniform style. Among these, Tse-lu is distinguished by an explanatory label recording his name.⁴

There are three representations of Confucius himself. One of these, depicting the visit of K'ung-tse to Lao-tse, is of particular interest; the stone is preserved in the Hall of Studies at Tsi-ning chou, Shantung. In the center we see to the left Lao-tse; to the right K'ung-tse holding in his hands two chickens as a present to his host. Between the two sages there is a young boy, the attendant of Lao-tse, busily engaged in cleaning the road with a broom. To the left is Lao-tse's chariot and to the right that of K'ung-tse, followed by three men. Therefore the philosophers are represented at the moment when they have just alighted from their vehicles and are meeting

⁴ Chavannes, *La sculpture sur pierre en Chine*, pp. 39, 42, 57, 60.

for the first time. This event is narrated by the historian Se-ma Ts'ien in his brief biography of Lao-tse (*Shi ki*, Ch. LXIII).⁵ The much ventilated question whether the interview between the two philosophers is historical or was merely invented by Taoists for the purpose of turning the Confucianists to ridicule, does not concern us here.⁶ I for my part see no reason why the two should not have met somewhere to exchange ideas, though their speeches as recorded are certainly later makeshifts. We see that this idea had crystallized during the Han period and that it must have been dear to the people



CONFUCIUS PLAYING THE RESONANT STONES.

of that age. Whether historical or not, from the viewpoint of art this subject is very happily chosen and must be looked upon in the light of an allegory. While the artist was not able to contrast the two philosophers by a sharp characteristic, he had doubtless in mind to impress their worldwide contrast on the minds of his public: Lao-tse, the transcendentalist who made philosophy rise from earth to heaven, and Confucius, the moralist and politician who made philosophy descend from heaven down to earth.

⁵ See text and translation in Dr. P. Carus, *Lao-tse's Tao-Teh-King*, pp. 95-96 (Chicago, 1898).

⁶ The best critical examination of this question is furnished by J. H. Plath, *Confucius und seiner Schüler Leben und Lehren*, I, pp. 29-36 (Munich, 1867); also Chavannes, *Les mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*, Vol. V, p. 299.

In another bas-relief representing Confucius in the act of playing on a row of sonorous stones, this contrast between the Confucian and Taoist way of thinking is also insisted on. We read in the Confucian Analects (*Lun yü*, XIV, 42) the following story, also copied by Se-ma Ts'ien: "The Master was in Wei and playing one day on a sonorous stone, when a man carrying a straw basket passed the door of the house where he was, and said: 'Truly, he has a heart who thus strikes the sonorous stone.' A little while after he added: 'What a blind obstinacy (to be intent on reforming society)! Nobody knows him (appreciates his doctrine), so he should stop teaching. If the ford is deep, I shall cross it with bare legs; if it is shallow, I shall hold up my clothing to my knees.'" The Master said: 'How cruel this man is (having no pity with others)! His mode of life is certainly not difficult.'" The basket-bearer is a sage with a taste for Taoist philosophy, tired of active life and hiding himself in a humble calling. When he heard Confucius's music, he recognized at once his love for his fellow mates, but also his obstinate character which caused him to seek constantly for official employment; he reproached him and advised to resign. Confucius's reply shows that such a resignation seemed to him easy; the sage must not be satisfied with an abdication and the life of a recluse, but struggle along against all obstacles.

On the sculpture we observe Confucius in an open hall, the roof of which is supported by two pillars. The nine wedge-shaped sonorous stones carved from jade are suspended in a wooden frame, and he is just striking the second stone with a stick. His music seems to have impressed the two men lying prostrate in front of him, while two others emerge from behind the instrument. The music-master is leaning against a pillar, and the itinerant sage, basket in hand, is standing to the left of him outside the house. Naïve and crude as these early conceptions of the Han period may be, there is, nevertheless, as the Chinese would say, "heart" in them (*yu sin*), and a certain measure of temperament.

Another representation on a stone of the Han period is known among the Chinese as "picture of K'ung, the holy man, traveling through all countries" (*K'ung shêng jên yu-li ko kuo t'u*). It is doubtless symbolic of his thirteen years' wanderings after he had left his native country Lu in disgust, when he went from state to state in search of a ruler who would afford him an opportunity of

¹ Quotation from the Book of Songs (*Shi king*, ed. Legge, p. 53). The meaning is that the sage remains in seclusion or shows himself in public according to the circumstances.

putting into practice his principles of good government. In the upper zone of the sculpture, he is seated, apparently taking a rest, between a man who is making kotow before him, and a woman saluting him on her knees with uplifted hands,—evidently host and hostess who received him in their house. In the lower zone, his traveling cart drawn by a running horse is shown, indicating his peregrinations.

Some twenty years ago, Mr. F. R. Martin, the zealous Swedish collector and editor of several sumptuous publications of Oriental



CONFUCIUS ON HIS PEREGRINATIONS.

art and antiquities, discovered in the possession of a farmer in the village Patiechina, province of Minusinsk, Siberia, the fragment of an ancient Chinese metal mirror which aroused considerable interest, as an inscription in Old Turkish characters was incised into its surface. What interests us more in this connection, is a curious representation of Confucius brought out in high relief on the back of this mirror.⁸ The fact that this figure is intended for Confucius becomes evident from the inscription of six characters saying:

⁸ Compare Martin, *L'âge du bronze au Musée de Minousinsk* (Stockholm, 1893), Plate XXV, whence our illustration is derived.

"Yong K'i-k'i is holding a conversation with K'ung fu-tse." De-véria searched in the *Kin-shih so*, a well-known archeological work published in 1821 in twelve volumes, one of which is entirely devoted to the subject of metal mirrors. There he encountered an engraving illustrating the complete mirror, half of which Martin



CONFUCIUS ON FRAGMENTARY CHINESE METAL MIRROR FOUND IN SIBERIA.

had luckily found in Siberia. On this one we see the interlocutor of Confucius. Who was Yen K'i-k'i? In the Taoist book bearing the name of the philosopher Lieh-tse (I, 9)⁹ we are treated to the following anecdote:

⁹It is doubtful whether or not he was an historical personage. Giles regards him as a mere allegorical creation introduced by the philosopher Chuang-tse for purposes of illustration. The historian Se-ma Ts'ien does not mention

One day Confucius was taking a walk near Mount T'ai when he observed Yung K'i-k'i strolling around in the region of Ch'êng. Clad only with a deer-skin girdled by a rope, he was singing and accompanying himself on a lute. Confucius asked him: 'Master, what is the reason of your joy?' He responded: 'I have three reasons to



THE SAME MIRROR COMPLETE FROM ENGRAVING IN KIN-SHIH SO.

be joyful. When Heaven produced the multitude of beings, it is man who is the noblest of all; now I have obtained the form of a man,—this is the first cause of my joy. In the distinction existing between man and woman, it is man who has the place of honor, and woman who holds the inferior rank; now I obtained the form of a

his name, but Lü Pu-wei, who died in B. C. 235, places him in his *Ch'un Ts'iu* with Lao-tse, K'ung-tse and Mo Ti among the most perfect sages. There are certainly many spurious passages and later interpolations in the text going under Lieh-tse's name. It is, however, by no means a forgery, but whether written by Lieh-tse or somebody else, the work of a brilliant thinker, and makes with its numerous fables and stories perhaps the most entertaining book of early Chinese literature (compare W. Grube, *Geschichte der chinesischen Litteratur*, p. 149). A good German translation of Lieh-tse was published by Ernst Faber under the title *Der Naturalismus bei den alten Chinesen*, Elberfeld, 1877.

male,—this is the second cause of my joy. Among men, coming into the world, there are those who do not see the sun and the moon (i. e., born dead), others who die before they have left their cradles; now I have already lived up to ninety years,—this is the third cause of my joy. Poverty is the habitual condition of man; death is his natural end; since I am in this habitual condition and shall have this natural end, why should I be afflicted?" Confucius said: 'Excellent is this man who knows how to expand his thoughts!'"

On the mirror we see the happy recluse and beggar handling his lute, his deer-skin being accentuated by rows of spots. Confucius is carrying a long staff terminating in a carved dragon's head on the mirror of Siberian origin; such dragon-staves are still used by old people in China, and specimens of them may be viewed in the Field Museum. In the *Kin-shih so*, this mirror is arranged among those attributed to the age of the T'ang dynasty (618-905 A. D.), but the subject there represented is doubtless much older and will certainly go back to the Han period in which Taoist subjects in art are abundant. Also the naive style of the drawing of the figures betrays the same epoch, while, as far as I know, human figures but very seldom occur on metal mirrors of the T'ang period.

The most striking feature about this picture is that it illustrates a scene derived from a Taoist source and to be found in a Taoist writer only.¹⁰ The conclusion is therefore justifiable that the artist who sketched this composition was also a Taoist, and that Confucius was the subject of a school of Taoist artists. In the Han bas-reliefs of Wu-liang we met the scene of Confucius's interview with Lao-tse inspired by Taoist tradition, and the story of the hermit lecturing to the music-loving Confucius on the advantage of inactivity bears a decidedly Taoist flavor,—both of these scenes being noteworthy amidst many others of a definite orthodox Confucian cast, as, e. g., the series of ancient emperors and the Confucian disciples.

There are accordingly, as we are bound to admit, two distinct currents in early art as regards Confucian subjects, a purely Confucian and a Taoist tendency of thought. The latter is conspicuously obtrusive, for in the three designs which we know thus far it is in each case a Taoist saint who celebrates a triumph over Con-

¹⁰ The two brothers Fêng, the authors of the *Kin-shih so*, quote the story from the *Kia yü*, "The Family Sayings," a Confucian book edited by Wang Su in 240 A. D., but Devéria denies that it occurs there. He himself quotes it in a much abbreviated form after the concordance *P'ei wen yün fu* which gives the philosopher Chuang-tse as its source. This cannot be correct either, for I cannot find the text in Chuang-tse. I am inclined to think that it is on record only in Lieh-tse.

fucius and sarcastically or humorously exposes his shortcomings. Neither can there be any doubt that of the two groups the Taoist achievements are the more interesting and attractive ones in tenor and spirit, while those of the Confucian school are stiff, shadowy and inane. Quite naturally, since the Confucianists of the Han period were purely scholars without any religious cult and religious devotion, with no room for images or imagination fostering artistic sentiments; the Taoists, on the contrary, were stirred by a lively power of poetic imagination and animated by a deep love of nature, as well as stocked with a rich store of good stories. Indeed, China's art in the Han period is under no obligation to Confucianism, for the simple reason that this system had nothing to give to art, nor took any interest in art, nor was able to inspire any artistic motives. Greek art was not nourished by the wisest axioms of Socrates or by the lofty idealism of Plato. The Chinese artists turned their eyes with a correct instinct towards the legends and stories of emotional Taoism, and from this soil, paradoxically enough, grew also the figure of Confucius who in an artistic sense was perhaps more of an ideal to them or closer to their hearts than to the Confucianists. But he appears to have been to them rather an allegory by which to inculcate certain of their axioms than a man of flesh and blood.

An adequate representation of China's greatest man was made possible only under the influence of Buddhist art from India, and we now have to view Confucius as seen and portrayed by the Buddhists. While in the Han period the intention was merely to depict Confucius, his disciples and incidents from his life for the instruction of the people, the artistic conception of the sage remained for the glorious age of the T'ang dynasty. This work is the creation of one of the greatest painters of the East, Wu Tao-tse or Wu Tao-yüan. The actual work has not survived, but like several others of his, it is preserved to us, engraved on a stone tablet in the Confucius temple of K'ü-fu. Whoever has seen the famous Kuan-yin, by the same artist, engraved on stone in the Pei-lin of Si-ngan fu, cannot rid himself of the impression that the Buddhist style of folds in the robe was transferred also to this portrait of Confucius. It is not so impressive as we should expect from a painter of such reputation; the face is rather typical and conventional, but it is hard to judge how much was lost in executing this reproduction after a painting from which a drawing had first to be made to be pasted over and chiseled into the stone. Below, there is the signature: "brush (*pi*) of Wu Tao-tse"; above, the following eulogy is engraved: "In virtue he is equal to Heaven and Earth. In reason



CONFUCIUS AFTER PAINTING OF WU TAO-TSE.
(Original 1.50×0.63 m.)

(*tao*), he excels ancient and present times. He edited the Six Canonical Books (*leu king*)¹¹ and is transmitted as a model to all generations."

It should not be presumed that Wu Tao-tse created an original conception of the sage emanating entirely from his own mind. We know that he studied the works and endeavored to form his style on that of the older painter Chang Sêng-yu¹² who flourished in the beginning of the sixth century under the Liang dynasty. The Emperor Ming, says Professor Hirth,¹³ expressed his astonishment that Chang Sêng-yu had painted the figures of Confucius and his disciples in a certain Buddhist monastery by the side of a representation of Rojana Buddha, wondering how those worthies had come among the Buddhists, whereupon the painter said nothing but: "The future will show." And indeed when all the Buddhist monasteries and pagodas were burned in a general persecution of the Indian religion during the Posterior Chou dynasty, that one building escaped destruction because it contained a portrait of Confucius. Although there is no actual record to show that Wu Tao-tse depended on a model of his older colleague in his creation of Confucius, there is reason to believe that in his close study of his predecessor's works he had come across such a sketch and received from it some kind of inspiration. This dependence can now be gathered from a unique painting in the wonderful collection of Mr. Charles L. Freer in Detroit. It was acquired by him from one of the Buddhist temples on the West Lake (*Si hu*) near Hang-chou where it was kept as a relic, and according to a lengthy testimonial written on the scroll, contains "genuine traces" (*chên tsi*) of the brush of Chang Sêng-yu, i. e., the fundamental work is from the hands of the great painter himself, while restorations have been made from time to time, according to circumstances. The subject of this painting is a walking Kuan-yin holding a basket with a goldfish in it (i. e., Avalokiteçvara the Saviour),¹⁴ imbued with life and spirituality. The face is enlivened by a more naturalistic flesh-color than exists in any other

¹¹ In this enumeration, the *Yo ki*, "Record of Music," is added as the sixth to the old standard series of the Five Canonical Books (*wu king*) which are the *Yi king*, *Shu king*, *Shi king*, *Li ki*, and *Ch'un ts'iu*. The *Yo ki* is now incorporated in the *Li ki*.

¹² Giles, *loc. cit.*, p. 47.

¹³ *Scraps from a Collector's Note Book*, p. 59.

¹⁴ After a long research of this subject I have no doubt that Avalokiteçvara is a Buddhisized figure of Christ, or at least Christian in its fundamental elements, but the exposition of this subject would require a special monograph. The two pictures published in *The Open Court*, July, 1911, p. 389, are patterned after the above painting of Chang Sêng-yu.

Chinese painting. This admirable work of art renders it quite clear to us from what source Wu Tao-tse drew inspiration for his Kuan-yins, and I am therefore inclined to assume a similar source of inspiration for his Confucius.

The Emperor Yüan of the Liang dynasty (reigned 552-554 A. D.), equally famous as poet, art patron and practical artist, also



CONFUCIUS AFTER A PAINTING OF
WU TAO-TSE.

(Original 66×26 cm.)



CONFUCIUS AFTER A PAINTING OF
WU TAO-TSE.

(Original 48×23 cm.)

Painted a portrait of Confucius and added a eulogy on the sage, composed and written by himself, which caused his contemporaries to style him a *San-tsüeh*, a "past master in the three arts" (i. e., painting, poetry, and calligraphy).¹⁵

¹⁵ Amiot in *Mémoires concernant les Chinois*, Vol. XII, p. 432, and Hirth, *loc. cit.*, p. 61.

We add two further portraits of Confucius ascribed to Wu Tao-tse, both variations of the first picture, this type being known as "the standing Confucius." The eyes and the expression of the countenance are different in these two which are more genial and humane, with a touch of good humor; it is the type of the kind-hearted old gentleman. The three stone engravings differ considerably in size. It will be noticed that the blazon with the star-ornament on the lower edge of the robe in the large portrait is wanting in the two smaller ones. But the close agreement between the three shows how well the tradition of the original painting of Wu Tao-tse has been preserved.

It is striking that in the three pictures Confucius is carrying a sword. The sword-guard is shaped like the petals of a lotus, and the rectangular hilt is surmounted by a hanger suspended from a band laid around the shoulder. No such statement is to be found in any ancient text, and no attribute could be more inappropriately chosen for the sage who was always operating with moral suasion. Wu Tao-tse adhering to Buddhist thoughts, it might be argued, had in mind the sword of wisdom brandished by Mañjuçri, and the artists, intent on adorning their figures with characteristic attributes as taught by Buddhist tradition, were certainly at a loss as to how to decorate Confucius.

There is a bust portrait of him preserved on a stone tablet in K'ü-fu said also to go back to Wu Tao-tse. While much is chronicled in the *Lun-yü* in regard to Confucius's habits, deportment and dress, his disciples have recorded little about his appearance. The later legend assigning to his figure "forty-nine remarkable peculiarities" was evidently woven in imitation of Buddha's marks of beauty, and the later descriptions of his person seem to have been made from portraits then in existence. He is described as a tall man of robust build, with high and broad forehead, with a nose curved inward and rather flat; his ears were large—a sign of sincerity—his mouth rather wide, and the upward curve of the corners of his mouth, as well as his small but broad eyes gave to his countenance the expression of a genial old man heightened by a long and thin beard. Some of these features are reproduced in this portrait which remained the permanent typical model for all subsequent representations. A copy of it was dedicated for the Museum of Inscriptions (*Pei lin*) of Si-ngan fu in 1734 by the sixth son of the Emperor Yung-ch'eng, Prince Kuo (Ho-shê Kuo Ts'in-wang), his seal in Chinese and Manchu being attached to his name in the inscription.

It should not be presumed that Confucius's portrait has become a household picture in the Chinese home. It is nowhere found on the walls of a private mansion or a public office; he is considered too holy to be exposed to the profane eye, and his name and teachings are too deeply engraved into the hearts of his countrymen to require an outward symbol.



CONFUCIUS IN THE MIDST OF TEN DISCIPLES.

After painting in Buddhist style by Wu Tao-tse.

A stone engraving, the original of which, I think, is actually from the hands of Wu Tao-tse, offers the most curious representation of this subject in art in that it is conceived in an entirely Buddhistic style. It demonstrates the embarrassment and helplessness of the artists in coping with the problem of making sober

Confucianism an inspiration for art. Philosophers and moralizers of the type of Confucius, prosaic and without a gleam of imagination, are hardly a stimulus to art, and Wu Tao-tse certainly did not know what to make of it and how to picture him. If we did not read it in the accompanying inscriptions, we could hardly guess that Confucius and ten of his disciples are supposed to be represented here. The disciples are clad in the robes of Buddhist monks and are actual counterparts of the Arhat (*Lo-han*). Confucius is characterized merely by his higher seat and his umbrella; it is remarkable that he is placed in the background. The composition is not bad, but it is dull, and from the viewpoint of Confucianism the picture is a travesty. The stone is preserved in K'ü-fu and was engraved in 1095 A. D. Above the picture are inscribed two eulogies on the sage, one composed by the Emperor T'ai-tsu (960-976 A. D.)¹⁰ the other by the Emperor Chên-tsung (998-1022 A. D.), both of the Sung dynasty. Old Father Amiot (*loc. cit.*) reports that Tsung-shou, a descendant of Confucius in the forty-sixth generation (i. e., in the first part of the eleventh century) makes mention of a portrait of K'ung-tse represented seated, ten of his disciples in front of him. This portrait, he adds, was painted by Wu Tao-tse who lived under the T'ang; it resembles in its physiognomy the portrait of small size preserved in his family. Indeed, the inscription below this picture gives the name of this Tsung-shou as having caused this engraving to be made after a painting of Wu Tao-tse in his possession. Amiot refers to another family portrait of the philosopher mentioned by his descendant in the forty-seventh generation (end of the eleventh century) who says that the family K'ung still keeps some garments which had belonged to their illustrious ancestor, his portrait in miniature, and a portrait of his disciple Yen-tse, and that the family knows by an uninterrupted tradition that these two portraits are true likenesses. It is hardly credible that this family tradition is founded on any substantial fact, and that the portrait referred to could be traced back to any model contemporaneous with Confucius.

The Buddhist character of such pictures as this one struck also the Chinese, still more when statues of the sage came into vogue which are reported as early as in the T'ang dynasty (618-905 A. D.). Under the Sung dynasty, in 960 A. D., clay images of Confucius and the disciples were prepared by order of the Emperor Tai-tsu and exhibited in the *Wên miao* (Temple of Literature devoted to his cult). In 1457, the Ming Emperor Ying-tsung had a statue of Confucius cast of copper which was placed in a hall of

¹⁰ Compare Biot, *loc. cit.*, p. 324.

the palace and had to be respectfully saluted by all ministers before they were allowed into the imperial presence for the discussion of state affairs.

An end was made to these idolatrous practices in 1530 when the statue of Confucius was removed from his temples in conse-



ALTAR IN HONOR OF CONFUCIUS. IN NAN-YANG COLLEGE NEAR SHANGHAI.

quence of the severe remonstrance of an official, Chang Fu-king, who strongly protested against making an idol of Confucius and thus defiling the memory of the sage who was a teacher of the nation greater than any king or emperor. In his memorial he recalls the fact that in early times the plain wooden tablet inscribed with the name of Confucius was found sufficient to do homage to his memory,

and that the usage of portraits and statues sprang up only after the introduction of Buddhist sects. At the present time, all statuary is removed from the Confucian temples, the tablet with the simple words "The Perfect Sage, the Old Master, the Philosopher K'ung" taking its place, as shown in our illustration of the altar of Confucius



CONFUCIUS AND HIS FAVORITE DISCIPLE YEN-TSE.

Style of the painter Ku K'ai-chih. Engraved on stone in the Confucian temple of K'ü-fu.

in Nan-yang College near Shanghai, with the four words on the walls: *Ta tsai K'ung-tse*, "Truly great art thou, Confucius!" There are, however, two exceptions to this rule, in the great temple of Confucius in K'ü-fu and in a small temple dedicated to him on the T'ai-shan, the sacred mountain in Shantung, where Confucius and his four main disciples, the so-called Four Associates (*se p'ei*), Yen-

tse, Tsêng-tse, Tse-se and Mêng-tse are represented, not by tablets, but by their images.

There are several other pictures of Confucius attributed to Wu Tao-tse by tradition, which, however, seem to be less founded than in the case of the previous representations. One of these is a drawing representing the sage in half-profile walking along, followed by his disciple Yen-tse. Two copies of it have been handed down, the one in Si-ngan fu, first engraved on stone in 1107 A. D. under the Sung, and afterwards under the Ming in 1563 A. D.; the other copy, preserved in the Confucius temple of K'ü-fu, was cut in 1118 A. D. and is the one here reproduced. The differences between the two are slight; on the latter, the sage appears taller, leaner and older. According to another tradition, the original picture is traced back to Ku K'ai-chih, the famous painter of the fourth century, and I am under the impression that this tradition is correct. To my feeling, the style of this sketch is not that of Wu Tao-tse, but plainly that of Ku K'ai-chih as revealed in the collection of wood-engravings made after his paintings, entitled *Lieh nü chuan* ("Scenes from the Lives of Virtuous Women"). It is very possible, of course, that his work has passed through the hands of Wu Tao-tse and was imitated by him, as we know he actually did in other cases.¹⁷ Also here, both Confucius and his disciple are carrying swords, and Wu Tao-tse may have adopted this feature from his older colleague.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

¹⁷ Binyon in *Burlington Magazine*, 1904, p. 43.

WHAT THE WORLD IS WAITING FOR.

BY HAR DAYAL.

WE live in an age of unrest and transition. The old order is changing in all countries and among all nations, but the new is not yet born. The time-spirit is in travail, but the Ideal, which shall be a Messiah unto humanity, has not yet been ushered into light. We are all looking for some great spiritual force, which should rescue us from the slough of despond and sensuality in which civilization seems to be perishing. And civilization knows it. Like the bird that is drawn into the serpent's mouth, the advanced nations of the world feel that they are helplessly driven to death and disintegration by the strange, irresistible power of luxury and selfish materialism. But they cannot remedy the evil. Their wisest men and women deplore the moral and social anarchy that prevails around them. They sing Jeremiads or burst into Carlylean fits of anger and vituperation. But how can mere petulant fury stem the tide of mammon-worship, race-hatred, love of ease and rank, and the other fatal forces that are working havoc in our midst? Whither are we drifting? Will all this sweet and beautiful fabric of civilization fall to pieces again? Will history only repeat itself? Will liberty and justice, science and toleration, equality and law, all be wrested from us by the ruthless hand of time, that breeds corruption everywhere, in the corpse, in the fallen tree, in the painfully-reared, slowly-evolved institutions of the human race? So all lovers of humanity are asking to-day, in sad and mournful accents: "What can save us? Lo! conscience is being palsied; idealism is dying by inches; poverty is becoming a sin and a crime. All the old sanctions of morality are giving away beneath the strain of reason and industrialism. Everywhere one sees decay, indifference, moral atrophy. The times are out of joint. And who will set them right?"

And the lamentations of the world's prophets are not without

a basis of truth. It is true that the idealist is always dissatisfied with his generation, and every age has been branded as an epoch of infamy and disaster by its representative thinkers, from Juvenal to Max Nordau. But we are to-day actually in the midst of a crisis, and we must face it. The problems that confront us grow in number and complexity from day to day.

a. The vast majority of educated men and women have no definite philosophy of life. The churches have lost their power on account of their absurd dogmas, their intolerance, their worldliness and the dependence of the ministers on the rich for support. The churches of Europe and America are only fashionable clubs, and violin solos are being added to the time-honored organ performances in order to make "religion" attractive. The pastors always hear a "call" from a richer congregation, whenever it happens to come. Young men and women have thus lost all respect for their spiritual teachers, and the spiritual life is regarded as a dream of the evangelists' imagination. The higher criticism, the rational modes of thought produced by science, the study of Oriental religions, and the diffusion of education have contributed to the destruction of the old simple faith in the catechism and the Lord's prayer. In the Mohammedan world, too, very few educated men believe in Islam. Those who have received their degrees at the colleges of Paris and Berlin cannot revere the Koran as the holiest book in creation. The same religious unrest is noticeable in Japan and India. The new wine of science and comparative religion has burst the old bottles of established religions.

b. Along with this intellectual advance, a moral set-back is clearly discernible. Periods of culture and refinement are not always noted for moral progress and social purity. One aspect of the Italian Renaissance is mirrored for us in Boccaccio's Decameron. Even so it is at present. Men are growing wiser, but more avaricious, and immoral. It is sad to see young men and women in Paris and elsewhere questioning the very possibility of the higher life of renunciation and selfcontrol. They live under the pernicious influence of such false guides as Spencer, Nietzsche, and Omar Khayyam. A morbid craving for excitement dominates their waking and sleeping hours. Passion is to them a deity. St. Francis, St. Bernard and other spiritual heroes are objects of derision, simply because they were Catholics and wore dirty clothes. Even Bernard Shaw, who is very sane in some respects, sneers at St. Francis for his love of poverty and at St. Anthony for his love of the animal creation. A false gospel of individualism, enjoyment, and philistinism is per-

verting the minds of our young men and women. It is bad indeed when practice falls short of the ideal. But it is infinitely worse when theory itself betrays its trust, and panders to our lower nature. Idealism, with its great message of poverty and suffering, has fallen among the thieves and robbers of "evolution," "socialism," and the rest. The truths of evolution and the inspiring economic program of socialism are mixed up with spurious generalizations about ethics, which are swallowed with avidity by our impressionable youths. Asceticism is in disgrace, and is regarded as incompatible with "civilization." Woe unto such a civilization!

I shall not cite figures from reports of commissions in this short article, as the pedantry of the statistician is out of place here. Juvenile crime is increasing. The number of men who desert their wives is growing. Divorce has become a subject for jest and light-hearted comment. Insanity is claiming more victims in every decade. The sexual morality of students of both sexes leaves much to be desired. The call for sacrifice falls on deaf ears. Every sermon has its price and no one is expected to deliver a lecture without "remuneration." Race-prejudice is gaining in intensity. The respect for individual rights is diminishing. Ante-natal infanticide is terribly common. The lust for wealth is seizing larger and larger circles of society every year. The strain on the nervous system of the average man in such an atmosphere has reached the breaking-point. Philosophy is becoming commonplace and trivial. Journalism is becoming more and more irresponsible and vulgar. All symptoms point to a general exhaustion of the vital force of a community—viz., its moral energy. He who runs can read these signs of the times. I will only quote the testimony of an American writer on one point. I had never believed, before I read it, that things had come to this pass in the land of the Pilgrim Fathers. Prof. William James says: "Among us English-speaking peoples especially do the praises of poverty need once more to be boldly sung. *We have grown literally afraid to be poor. We despise any one who elects to be poor in order to simplify and save his inner life. We have lost the power of even imagining what the ancient idealization of poverty could have meant; the liberation from material attachments, the unbribed soul, the manlier indifference, the paying our way by what we are or do and not by what we have, the right to fling away our life at any moment irresponsibly,—the more athletic trim, in short, the moral fighting shape. . . . It is certain that the prevalent fear of poverty among the educated classes is the worst moral disease from which our civilization suffers.*" (The italics are mine).

Here is an absolutely correct diagnosis of the malady that is sapping our vitality. What shall we do then? What is the pressing need of the times? Nothing but what has been hinted at by Professor James. Renunciation, and renunciation alone, will save humanity. All other devices will be efficacious only on condition that renunciation should first find her devotees. Poverty, the lovely bride of St. Francis, the saviour of nations, the guardian of liberty and science, must be enthroned on the pedestal from which the Reformation, the crude philosophy of the eighteenth century, the modern theory of "success in life" and the pseudo-ethics of the evolutionists have dragged her down. The worship of rags, dirt, penance, homelessness, and obscurity in the individual must be re-established if humanity is to get rid of poverty, disease, dirt, inequality and ignorance. Asceticism must be brought to the aid of science and politics, in order that this mighty edifice of civilization may be prevented from tottering to its fall in the twentieth century. Let us bring back the age of St. Francis and St. Bernard, adding to their purely spiritual zeal our knowledge of science, our experience of politics, our wisdom in dealing with social evils, our wider outlook upon life, and our keener appreciation of the solidarity of humanity beyond the bounds of creed. This is the work of the new Franciscans, whom I already see with my mind's eye, beautifying and glorifying and vivifying this our civilization with their moral fervor and their intellectual gifts.

Renunciation, applied to science and politics, will be the keynote of the new era. The older formula of renunciation had no content of reality, or it was made to include only a small number of human interests. But as superstition and its offspring, intolerance, false piety, are dead and buried, let us proclaim the union of rationalism in religion with practical renunciation in ethics. I already see the country dotted with monasteries devoted to scientific research and sociological studies, where men and women, living together in purity and spiritual love, will be trained as missionaries of liberty, equality, hygiene, racial fraternity, scientific knowledge, education, toleration, and the rights of oppressed nationalities. The old friars of the Middle Ages neglected science and politics, and thus lost touch with the realities of the world. They thought that love and prayer would be sufficient for all time. But we who have lost faith in prayer, substitute a more intelligible ideal for their half-earthly, half-heavenly reveries. Renunciation, based on human needs and practical genius, will convert our earth into a paradise. At present what is this earth of ours? A charnel-house, the sham-

bles—a hospital—a field of battle—a slave-market— a prison—a Vanity fair—alas! every one and all of these similes can be applied with perfect truth to the state of things that we see around us to-day.

Yes, the new orders of monks and nuns, correcting whatever was fantastic, unnatural, foolish and superstitious in the medieval ideals, will usher in the golden age of the future. Thus will the ideals of St. Francis, St. Rose, Rousseau, Voltaire, Marx, Bakunin, Mazzini, and Haeckel be united in one beautiful whole. And that is to be the Ideal—Messiah of the twentieth century. Our Messiah will be an ideal and not a person, for our ideal is so vast and grand that no one person can realize it in its entirety. Therefore we put the Ideal first, and then we shall have devoted servants of the Ideal as our prophets and seers.

From India, the land of living spirituality, comes this great message to the Western world. From the Middle Ages, the period of spiritual awakening in Europe, comes this voice borne on the wings of time. Thus the past and the present combine to make the future. To all my American sisters and brothers who are perplexed and doubt-tossed I say: "Touch science, politics and rationalism with the breath of life that renunciation alone can give, and the future is yours."

THE EXAGGERATION OF REMORSE IN RELIGION.

A COMPARISON OF THE PURITAN AND ORIENTAL POINTS OF VIEW.

BY JAMES G. TOWNSEND, D.D.

THE New England attitude, an inheritance from the teachings of Jonathan Edwards (who sits yet in his "magisterial chair"), is that of self-analysis, of self-accusation, of repentance. In the Oriental or Indian scheme of life, there is no room for self-scrutiny, no time for repentance. The novitiate, the pupil, knows that he makes mistakes, that he sins, but he ceases to think of them; he gains by his increased knowledge, and enters upon a new and better day.

Is not this fore-looking wiser than the New England habit of self-interrogation and repentance? May not this self-accusation, this continual repentance, become morbidness, whose only fruit is sorrow?

We admit that we have no right to judge others, to censure or to criticise them. Why then should we condemn ourselves? Should we not be as courteous, as charitable, with ourselves as with others?

It is not this tyrannical self-condemnation that brings the greater life, the nobler vision, but the larger *truth* that we have gleaned. We must cut these self-imprisoning cords and let the self free for ideality, spontaneity, affection, faith, adventure. How can we do our work well with a spirit *à la dimanche*?

In the Dark Ages, in the long line of popes, the name of Gregory shines like a star gleaming through a cloudy sky, because he composed his immortal chants. One of his chants is worth more than a million of the morbid, petty self-revilements of a Thomas à Kempis. For surely the *love* of good is higher than the *hatred* of evil, the passion for truth than the despising of falsehood, the worship of the beautiful than the detestation of the ugly. How wide the gulf be-

tween the one who feels himself mean, petty, full of shame, smitten with sin, and the serene, cosmic soul who knows he has the expansions as well as the limitations of the universe; between the one mourning in dust and ashes over his imaginary sins, and the lofty soul of a Channing, "balancing equivalent of infinitude."

I was reared in a Methodist home, and my parents were gentle and good. My grandmother was known to all the Methodist churches of Pittsburg as a saint. She taught me the duty of self-introspection, the awfulness of *sin*. For years after I became a minister, how many nights lying on my bed would the old pain for my sins (I do not mean crimes, for of them I was innocent) return to me, the old accusations pierce me with an agony too deep for tears. I could no longer believe that the sufferings of *another* could atone for my sins and wash my unclean soul as white as snow. But in my Unitarian life taught by Channing, Parker and Emerson, I found a saner, sweeter religion. I became a reader of *The Open Court* and other independent journals; I found such friends as Barber, Hosmer, Batchelor, Chadwick and Jones. But still the old pain of the New England conscience *would* come back to me, to poison every pleasure, mar every happiness, until, in these later years, the thought has come, that I have no right to accuse myself,—my part was but a drop, that of the universe a sea. The lights and the shadows which chase each other across my soul, are reflections from the whole of humanity, and the vast orrery of the stars. I seem to hear the voice of Jesus saying, when he rose to his highest self: "Neither do I condemn thee, go and sin no more." But to learn that the universe is more to blame than I does not make me less vigilant, less careful, less religious, only more free, more alert, more cosmic.

When I walk, as I do daily, down the streets of my city, I see the faces seamed with sin, many broken lives, broken in body and in soul, and I say, it is not they, no, no, no! I am forced in honesty to cry out as I see these social outcasts: "There, but for God's grace, go I." But if I am without merit when I rise to a higher level, am I not sinless when I sink to a lower one? At least should we not see that it is a waste of time to number our sins and another waste to repent of them? We should turn away from the filths of depravity which were discovered by the old saints prying into the crepuscular depths of their being, and live in the feeling of the infinite beauty, the courageous soldiers of the ideal.

In Hawthorn's marvelous story of the "Marble Faun," the theory is evolved that sin was necessary in human education. Donatello must commit an awful crime to become conscious of his soul.

There may be a grain of truth in this theory, but I do not believe in any religion founded upon the theory of sin. In my view the inward-looking, self-accusing, sin-mourning one is smaller, than the unconscious, unaccusing, aspiring soul turning intuitively to the light. In the old Greek mythology the hapless Orion, turning patiently his sightless eyes to the sun, received his sight.

Let, then, our faults and sins sink away like a stone cast in the sea. We shall come to the supreme good through human service, ever looking beyond towards that which is beautiful and divine.

In those exquisite lines of Matthew Arnold we find a deep meaning:

"Weary of myself and sick of asking,
What I am, and what I ought to be,
At the vessel's prow I stand, which bears me
Forwards, forwards o'er the starlit sea."

DISCUSSION OF CHRIST'S FIRST WORD ON THE CROSS.

BY EB. NESTLE, CHARLES CAVERNO AND W. B. SMITH.

EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION.

THE first word of Christ on the cross recorded in Luke xxiii. 34 is decidedly the most beautiful and noble utterance of the dying Saviour, and yet it is not genuine and must have been super-added to the text in later editions. It is absent in all the oldest manuscripts, and if it had been in the original completed version of St. Luke it would certainly not have been omitted by any copyist. This omission is ominous, yet we can understand that Christians feel dissatisfied to let it go. Mr. Kampmeier made a comment on this question in our February issue, and we have also received communications from Prof. Eberhard Nestle and the Rev. Charles Caverno in which they argue in favor of the genuineness of the passage. At first sight their position seems well grounded, but on reading the arguments of Prof. William Benjamin Smith which here follow their comments, we feel its untenableness. We present the statements side by side, and leave the final judgment to the reader.

DR. EB. NESTLE ON "FATHER, FORGIVE THEM."

On page 45 of *The Open Court* for January it is said, "that the grand words of Christ at the cross, 'Father forgive them, for they know not what they do' do not appear in the New Testament before the *ninth* century"* and it is suggested "that they were inserted by some thoughtful scribe who did not want to let Christ be surpassed in nobility by Socrates who died without any animosity against his enemies."

If "ninth" century be not a misprint, the statement is quite

* The quoted passage should read: "not much before 190 A. D." or "not before the end of the second century."
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wrong. The words are found among Greek manuscripts, to name but one, in the *Codex Sinaiticus*, which is generally ascribed to the *fourth* century, by the first hand. A second hand bracketed them, a third one removed the brackets.

Among *Versions*, at least seven MSS. of the *Old Latin* Version contain them, among them the codex *Palatinus* at Vienna, which is ascribed to the fourth, fifth, or at the latest, sixth century; further all the MSS. of the Latin Vulgate, among which the codex *Fuldensis* was used by bishop Victor of Capua between 541 and 546. The origin of the Latin Versions might be sought in the third, if not in the second century.

They are further contained in the Curetonian MS. of the *Syriac Version*; the origin of this version is certainly not later than the fourth century. They are missing on the other hand in the Sinaitic manuscript of the Syriac Version, which gives another recension of this Version.

The earliest Father of the Church, who is believed to quote them, is *Irenaeus* of Lyons, who died after 190.

The verdict must be, as it seems, that they do not belong to the earliest form of the Gospel of Luke, but were inserted in some copies in a very early time, not later than the second century. And certainly it was not parallelism with Socrates which led to their insertion; but if they are not a true record of what Jesus really said, a nearer parallelism than Socrates is the first martyr Stephen (Acts vii. 60: "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge") or the very brother of Jesus, James, who, according to Hegesippus (a writer of the second century, preserved by Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* II, 23) prayed when he was being stoned: Παρακαλῶ κύριε θεὸς πατήρ ἄφες αὐτοῖς, οὐ γὰρ οἶδασιν τί ποιοῦσι ("I beseech thee, Lord, God, Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do"). But why shall we not assume that Stephen as well as James followed the example set by Jesus? The acknowledgment that the passage does not originally belong to the book in which it is now included, is compatible with the assumption that it is a true record of what Jesus really said from a source of which the origin is no longer known.

EB. NESTLE.

MR. CAVERNO IN RE CRITICAL STANDING OF LUKE XXIII, 34.

In an editorial article on "The Significance of the Christ Ideal" in the January *Open Court*, I notice on p. 45 the following sentence: "The grand words of Christ on the cross, 'Father forgive them for they know not what they do,' do not appear in the New Testament before the ninth century." I have not much in the line of critical

material under my hand. But if I take Alford's Greek Testament *in loc.*, I find that the words are inserted in some uncial MSS.; that they appear in the Vulgate, Syriac, Coptic versions, and in the Canon of Eusebius and the Homilies of Clement; and that they are cited by Irenaeus. That would seem to show that they were of record from five to seven hundred years before the date assigned in the passage quoted. In fact the citation by Irenaeus shows that they were recognized as words of Jesus at a time separated by only one life—that of Polycarp—from the days of the apostles. Irenaeus was a pupil of Polycarp, and the latter was a disciple of the Apostle John.

REMARKS OF PROF. W. B. SMITH.

The passage in question is very richly attested by very ancient authorities. It is given by great numbers of manuscripts, some uncials, and very old, reaching into the fifth or sixth century, which I need not name; they are all found cited on pp. 710, 711 of Tischendorf's New Testament, Vol. I. The passage is also found in the Fathers as early as the 2d century, being quoted by Irenaeus (A. D. 185), Origen (A. D. 245) and others. It is also found in Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, Ethiopian and Latin versions; also in the Clementine Homilies, etc. So that the attestation appears overwhelming. Nevertheless, it is *still an interpolation*. For it is not in the oldest Greek manuscript, the Vatican (called B and dating from the fourth or early fifth century; not in D; it is enclosed in brackets in the next oldest, the Sinaitic (Σ); it is not in the oldest Syriac version, our very oldest authority; not in various other excellent manuscripts and versions. Its *presence* in any number of MSS. and other authorities is easy enough to understand, even if it were not originally in Luke's Gospel; but its *absence* from so many of the very oldest is impossible to understand if it had been originally there.

Some person, perhaps some copyist, invented it in the second century, after the Gospel (according to Luke) had taken form and become current. It was inserted (by some copyist) in some MSS., and not inserted by others. Hence it appears in many MSS. but not in the very oldest MSS. and translations (like the Syriac translation recently discovered on Mt. Sinai). The great text-critic Lachmann put it in brackets [] in his edition of the New Testament, and the great English editors, Bishop Westcott and Dr. Hort, in their edition of 1881, the best thus far, put it in double brackets [[]], as being an interpolation. Recent critics entertain no doubt on the point. Wellhausen, for instance, says it "is without any doubt interpolated."

But the interpolation was made in the second century, before A. D. 190, or at least the verse was invented before that time. Just when it was actually first written in a copy of Luke's Gospel, no man can say within one or two hundred years, certainly however before the ninth century, for some MSS. containing it are much older than the ninth century when men had ceased to think such great thoughts.

In my article in the *American Encyclopedia* it is merely said to be interpolated, which is correct and enough.

The notion that the verse was first introduced into the text in the ninth century is perhaps due to Scrivener's remark that the corrector who introduced the sentence into D was earlier than the ninth century. On p. 68 of "Notes on Select Readings," Appendix to Westcott and Hort's edition of the New Testament, 1881, we read: "The documentary distribution suggests that text was a Western interpolation, of limited range in early times (being absent from *D a b* though read by *e syr. vt., Iren., Hom., Cl., Eus., Can.*), adopted in eclectic texts, and then naturally received into general currency.

"Its omission on the hypothesis of its genuineness, cannot be explained in any reasonable manner. 'Wilful excision, on account of the love and forgiveness shown to the Lord's own murderers,' is absolutely incredible." Then, after discussing the Constantinopolitan lection, the editor continues:

"Few verses of the Gospels bear in themselves a surer witness to the truth of what they record than this first of the Words from the Cross; but it need not therefore have belonged originally to the book in which it is now included. We can not doubt that it comes from an extraneous source."

This admission by the chief English editors is decisive and of the farthest-reaching importance. Still more recent critics entertain no doubt whatever. Says Wellhausen, it "is without any doubt interpolated." The great importance of this fact is clearly brought out in *Ecce Deus* (recently published in Germany and almost ready for the market in an English version). The ravings of Miller in the new edition of "Scrivener's Introduction" (Vol. II, pp. 356-358) are natural but migratory.

Wellhausen's exact words on the subject are:

"Der Spruch 'Vater vergib ihnen u. s. w.' (xxiii. 34) fehlt im Vat. Sin. und D. in der Syra und einigen Vett. Latinae; er ist ohne allen Zweifel interpolirt."

This is not absolutely accurate. The verse is in Sin. but en-

closed in curved brackets put there by an early corrector (A), and afterwards deleted by a later corrector. A seems to have known that the verse was an interpolation. Tischendorf's words are: "A (ut videtur) uncos apposuit, sed rursus deleti sunt. Moreover, the verse appears in some Syriac versions, but *not* in the oldest, the Sinaitic."

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE RELIGION OF SELF-DENIAL.

In the days of the Reformation the opposition to several typically Roman Catholic institutions was so great that they were abolished without considering the *raison d'être* of their existence. Among them we must mention monasteries and the principle of renunciation which underlies them.

It is peculiar that in these days when Protestantism itself is in a state of transition toward new religious ideals and when reformed churches begin to be ripe for a new reformation which in its main tendency is of an intellectual character, the old idea of renunciation turns up again, although it is now no longer based on dualistic principles, presupposing the nobility of asceticism, but on the longing of the human heart to sacrifice its own ego and egotism on the altar of humanity. One contemporary instance of this tendency, so ancient in its general character and yet modernized in its application, is the institution of the Coenobium in Lugano, Switzerland, well known through its periodical of the same name ably edited by Enrico Bignami.

Mr. Har Dayal, author of the article "What the World is Waiting For" in the present number, who does not seem familiar with this interesting enterprise, preaches the ideal of self-denial, which seems worthy of consideration and even support.

Mr. Dayal hails from India. He was educated at the University of Panjab at Lahore where he took his B. A. degree in 1903 and M. A. in the following year. In 1905 he was awarded a government scholarship and left for England studying history and economics for two years at Oxford where his wife joined him. In January, 1908, he returned to India, and having taken a deep interest in religion since 1904, he decided in the following month, with the permission of his wife, to become a friar and lead the higher life. He belongs to no sect and intended to devote himself to the moral and civic education of his people, but conditions in India being quite disturbed at the time made his undertaking difficult, and so he returned to Europe in August, 1908. Having spent some time at London and Paris in work at the British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale, his health gave way and he retired for six months to Switzerland and Italy in 1909. After a brief visit to Algeria and a stay in the West Indies he reached the United States in February, 1911, where he spent some time in Cambridge, Mass., and in California. His article in the present number expresses the main results of his various studies and experiences.

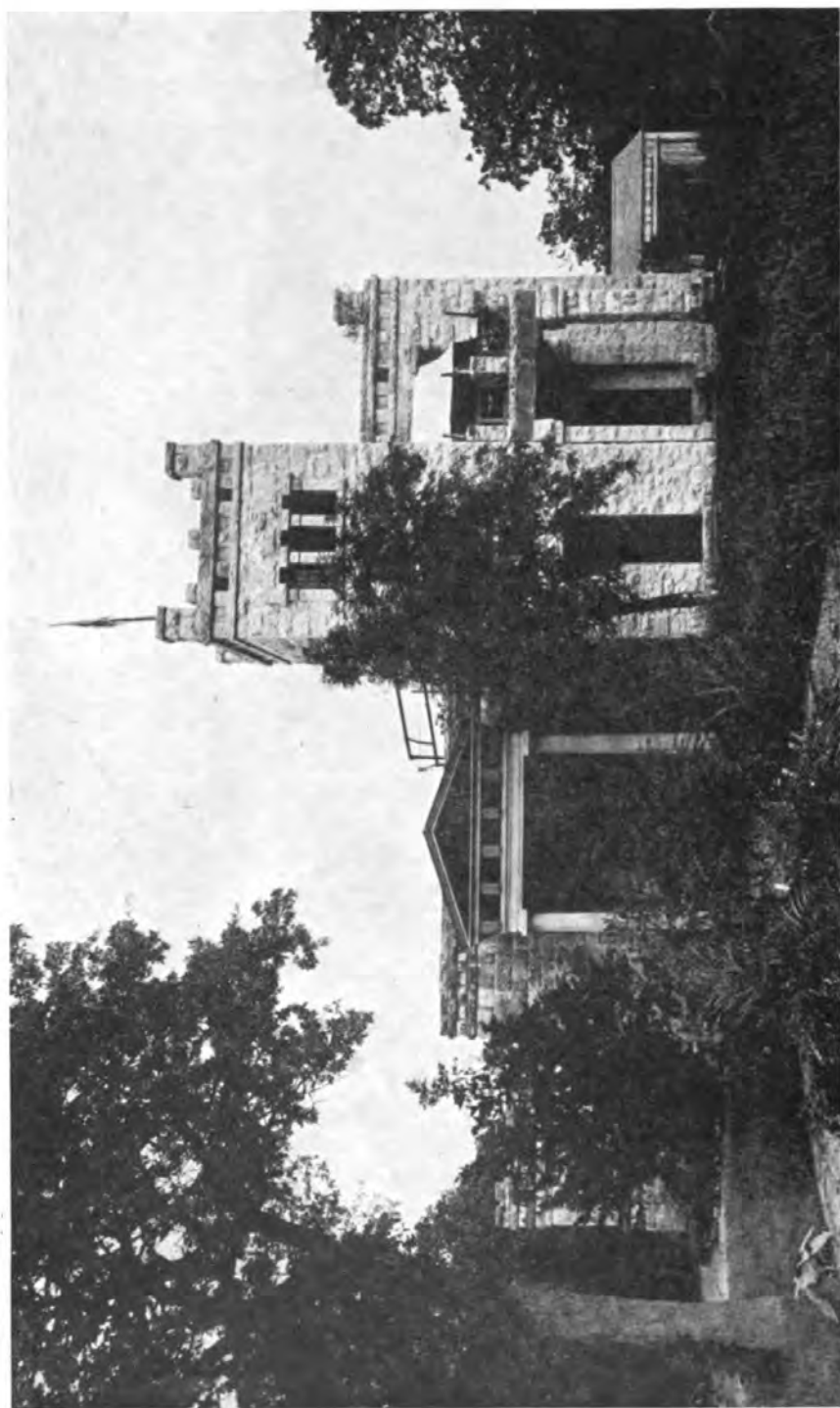
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THE TEXAS FINE ARTS ASSOCIATION.

Under the auspices of Mrs. Joseph B. Dibrell, of Austin, Texas, the Texas Fine Arts Association has been formed, and many prominent people of Texas



ELISABET NEY AS A GIRL.



ELISABET NEY'S STUDIO AT AUSTIN, TEXAS.

and Washington have joined it. The founder, Mrs. Dibrell, was a personal friend of the late Elisabeth Ney, and has bought the studio of that prominent artist from the estate of her late husband, Dr. Edmund Montgomery, a physiologist and philosopher. Our readers may remember that she was a niece of Marshal Ney, the famous general of Napoleon I, known as the most courageous and most faithful of his paladins. Further particulars of interest concerning Elisabeth Ney may be found in *The Open Court*, Volume XXI, pages 592 ff., and concerning Dr. Montgomery in *The Open Court*, Volume XXV, pages 381 f. An aftermath concerning Dr. Montgomery's philosophy appears in the current number of *The Monist* (April, 1912).



DR. EDMUND MONTGOMERY.

The article on Elisabeth Ney is fully illustrated, but in the meantime we have received some additional pictures which we here reproduce. In addition to the two portraits in later years, we offer here a picture which shows Miss Ney in her younger years. Her broad forehead with intelligent eyes show her unusual talent during the time when she chiseled busts of several kings and prominent men, among whom we mention Bismarck, Liebig and also the great pessimist and woman hater, Schopenhauer. Her last great work was *Lady Macbeth*, also here reproduced, which expresses the physiognomy of an agonized conscience with exquisite artistic skill. The portrait of Dr. Montgomery shows him at the prime of his life with his beautiful thoughtful features and his full white curly hair.



INTERIOR OF STUDIO. LADY MACBETH IN THE FOREGROUND.

FIRE PREVENTION.

F. W. Fitzpatrick, consulting architect of Washington, and a zealous advocate of protection against fire, has written, for the American School of Correspondence Fire-Prevention course, a little pamphlet entitled *Fires and*



THE CITY HALL OF SAN FRANCISCO BEFORE THE FIRE.

Fire Losses as a warning to architects to safeguard their buildings by the use of proper materials, and by taking proper methods in their construction. Our readers may remember Mr. Fitzpatrick's article on the subject which appeared in *The Open Court*, Vol. XX, 726. As an instance of how effective the proper

way of protection against fire may be we here reproduce the picture of the San Francisco city hall before and after the fire, showing the immunity of the



THE CITY HALL OF SAN FRANCISCO AFTER THE FIRE.

top of its tower due to a tile floor which must have effectively checked the progress of the fire.

NOTES FROM JAPAN.

We learn through Professor Ernest W. Clement, who has recently been called again to the University of Tokyo, of the unusual circumstance that

three young Chinese Buddhist priests recently arrived at Yokohama for the purpose of completing their education in Japan. They were led to take this step through the influence of Admiral Togo and General Nogi, who stopped at Penang where these students were stationed while on their way to Europe to attend the English coronation ceremonies. One of the three will enter a medical school so as to become a medical missionary in his tropical home. The other two expect to study the philosophy of Buddhism and fit themselves for ecclesiastical positions.

Another item of interest gleaned from the same source is the recent conversion to Mohammedanism of Baron Hiki and his daughter and son-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. U. Hatano. This was the first conversion to Islam to take place in Japan. In April 1910 the *Islamic Fraternity* was established in Tokyo as an organ to represent Islam in Japan. Mr. Hatano, who was a neighbor of the editor, Mr. Barakatullah, by serving occasionally as interpreter became interested in the tenets of Mohammedanism and was especially struck by the simplicity of its creed. When he was informed that suicide was a rare occurrence among the followers of the Prophet he said (as reported in the *Islamic Fraternity*): "This is the religion for me; I will try my best to introduce it among my countrymen, to save the community from the curse of suicide, which claims thousands of victims annually from this otherwise happy land of the cherry-blossom and chrysanthemum."

A recently striking incident of the prevalence of suicide in Japan, which gives emphasis to Mr. Hatano's remark is that of the station master at Moji who killed himself to acknowledge his responsibility when the Emperor was delayed in a journey because his private car had been derailed at Moji and was not in readiness for him. Although the suicide was highly lauded by many, there are serious thinkers among the Japanese who recognize the danger to society if death is treated so lightly.

The simple ceremony of receiving these Japanese into the membership of Islam took place on December 3, 1911, and was performed by Mr. Barakatullah. "He stood facing the Caaba, Mr. Hatano in front of him, Baron Hiki at his right hand and Mrs. Hatano at his left. Then the whole assembly rose to their feet. Mr. Ibraheem Ahmad recited the last portion of the second chapter of the Koran, which deals with the creed of Islam. Then, having recited the sacred formula uttered at the time of pilgrimage Mr. Barakatullah asked Mr. Hatano to repeat the declaration of the faith in Arabic and English thrice, which he did accordingly. Following this came a short address and a few prayers in Arabic. The new brethren in the faith were then cordially greeted with a hearty shaking of hands. Baron Hiki, Mr. Hatano and Mrs. Hatano received the Muslim names of Ali, Hasan and Fatimeh respectively."

Many foreign guests were present from Turkey, India and Malay Asia, Switzerland, Germany and Austria. America was represented in this company by Prof. Philip Henry Dodge and his wife, and also by Miss Beatrice E. Lane, of New York, who less than a fortnight later became the bride of Mr. Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki, the translator of *Ashvaghosha's Awakening of Faith*, Shaku's *Sermons of a Buddhist Abbot*, and other valuable Oriental works, and an associate for several years in the editorial department of *The Open Court*. p

THE METAPHYSICAL POINT OF VIEW OF ITALY IN THE
TURKISH WAR.

Prof. L. Michelangelo Billia, of Turin, following up his open letter to M. Frederic Passy (published in the December number of *The Open Court*) with another communication in which he emphasizes the justice of Italy's cause especially in relation to the annexation of Tripoli and Cyrene.

"I declare I am no polemic. The Italian war in Turkey is a fact, but it is not an ordinary fact; it can not be subjected to the same judgment as facts of petty chronicles; above all it is a fact of thought, a fact of which thought is the principle and source and not simply a reflection following upon it. True positive science must take into consideration in these facts the real action of thought. I wish to draw attention to a point of view commonly overlooked in considering the Italian war. Even in France and Switzerland where the feeling has not been so unfavorable to Italy as elsewhere in Europe they have been and are still far from considering our undertaking in all its nobility and significance.

"What is really to be deplored is that Italy has lost its opportunities and wasted its time and precious strength in declarations of war and other formalities which have no justification in connection with Turkey. Turkey is not a nation to be fought; it is an assassin to be chastised and overthrown.

"An event has taken place in which our friends have not sufficiently understood us. We have thoroughly approved the wise rashness, the energetic achievement of our king in proclaiming the annexation by Italy of Tripoli and Cyrene. The foreigner does not seem to have shared this enthusiasm. It has been discovered that this act was not in accordance with rule but instead that it was premature. The press of France, Switzerland and the United States, with exceptions too slight to mention, is distinguished from the press of other countries by a very just and sympathetic disposition towards us. Hence it is desirable to state what the Italian point of view in the matter really is. The objections raised against us are serious ones and worthy of all respect, but they are founded upon a hypothesis which is not a settled principle. I do not say that you are wrong and we are right. I only say that it is right for you to know what we think on the subject. This hypothesis is the international law according to which Turkey is looked upon as a power, a state having rights equal to those of civilized nations. According to these principles Italy would not have the right to proclaim its sovereignty over the provinces which are not entirely subjugated, or at least this provisional proclamation would have no value.

"This hypothesis has indeed governed (from my point of view I had rather say misgoverned) international relations long enough. But it cannot be seriously contested that the admission of Turkey to the rank of the powers, and the principle of the integrity of the Ottoman empire, have been merely conventional fictions constructed on account of the jealousies of the European powers and especially from fear of Russia. But this conventionality having only a temporary value cannot last always. The fiction will fall of its own accord when its validity ceases to be recognized and when action is taken without regard for Turkey—a system of law created by one fact and destroyed by another.

"I grant that men may say that we Italians are madmen and should be

sent to an asylum, and indeed that we are brigands and blunderers who spend much money and transact business among the Shylocks of Frankfort and London, but I wish to call attention to only this one fact, that Italy at this time has the effrontery to possess the illusion that it can pass over established law for the reason that it is originating and establishing a new law.

"There are times in history when law becomes bankrupt and philosophy triumphs; when the nation says that the treaty is violated and justice is promoted. But in this case the destruction and establishment of law exceeds the limits of an ordinary affair. Italy is not acting in her own interest but in a higher cosmopolitan interest, in the interest and supreme law of human progress. Mankind ought to form but one family in rank and privilege. Now there still exists on earth an obstacle to order, to law and to progress; to security of the life of many millions of human beings who are delivered over to massacre; to the power of laws and of peace, to the economic and ethical development of many nations who are excluded from the benefits of civilization, among which there is one that in the history of its ancestors has deserved the very best at the hands of Europe; an obstacle to the cultivation of the soil; an obstacle to the respect due to human personality. This obstacle must yield; it must be overcome. Events show that the bigots who give the world to understand that this obstacle may itself become an agent of peace and civilization either do not mean what they say or do not say what they mean.

"Now is indeed the time to put an end to this state of things. Europe will have only too much to atone for in having held out so long. After all it is not Italy that is conquering the two provinces; it is all Europe. It is the civilized world that is snatching them from the barbarian and restoring them to civilized life. Italy is merely performing her duty. It is her share of glory, of peril and fatigue, as France has had hers in Tunis, Algiers and Morocco, and England in Egypt,—and why not also the United States in Asia Minor and Germany in Palestine? We now wish that France would soon follow our example and put an end to the shackles of protectorates and every trace of barbaric dominion.

"The infectious fever now becoming manifest in Tunis demands this remedy. What is the poor Bey doing these days in Tunis? It would be of great interest to know what his public and private conduct has been in the troubles which have stained his city with blood. If he is at fault he should be condemned, punished, and placed where he could do no more harm. But I think the poor fellow is innocent. Still he is in danger; he is the butt of the fury and vengeance of his fellow countrymen and coreligionists who regard him as a traitor. We must then think also of his security and health. He must be removed to a refuge in a rustic spot where the climate is mild but where he will be removed as far as possible from business matters and perplexities.

"Italy would have no right to immolate her youth for purposes of conquest and exploitation. The movement must be understood in its true significance; its purpose is the overthrow of the Ottoman empire, the deliverance of humanity. The annexation of Tripoly by Italy is the first step in solving the Oriental question, and first of all in restoring Crete at last to Greece. This happy result is inevitable and can not be long delayed. Properly to understand these things one must rise to the metaphysical point of view,

to the unity of history. In spite of all hatred and faintheartedness it must be recognized that Italy is not an accidental object like the column in Trafalgar Square. The very life of the Italian nation is law itself, reason in action; its benefits are wide spread, and tend in the direction of the unity of the human family.

"In short permit us to make the experiment. It will not cost so much in soil snatched from cultivation, in victims immolated to the most ferocious and insensate cruelty as does the wise device of an international law which would make Turkey into a state like our own. At least let us think so; because I only wish to tell you what we think, namely that we are departing from a false and superannuated legality in order to establish true order; that we are overthrowing the shadow of right in order to put right itself on the throne."

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

THE GREAT EPIC OF ISRAEL. By *Amos Kidder Fiske*. New York: Sturgis & Walton Company, 1911. Pp. 376. Price \$1.50 net.

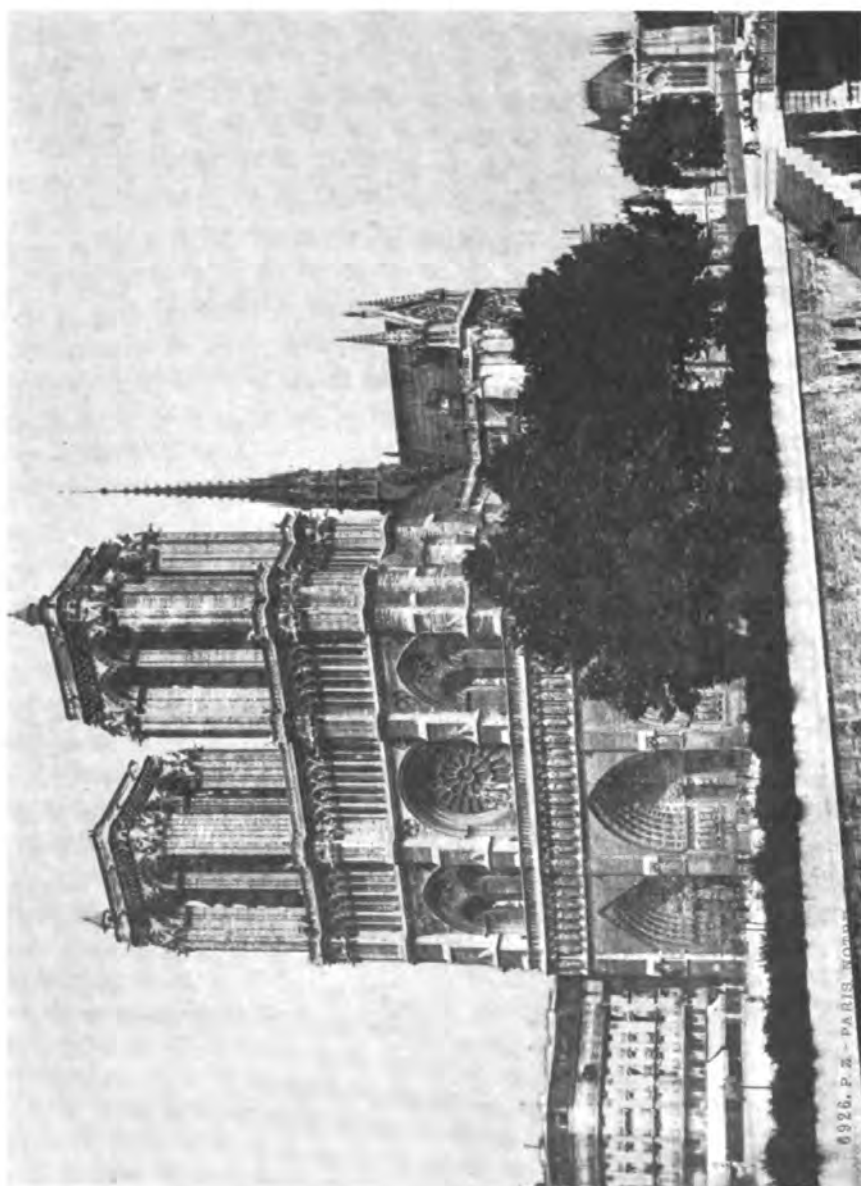
The purpose of the author is primarily to make the Hebrew Scriptures contained in the Old Testament attractive to the general reading public, and to revive interest in them. He pretends to no new discovery himself but finds what he has to say upon researches of the many scholars whose labors are known to teachers and preachers, but not sufficiently familiar to the world at large, he thinks. His aim is to keep his work in a form which will be interesting to the popular mind, and so he gives only the results of his studies, and does not cite authorities, making a general reference in the preface to the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, to which he directs all readers for details, reasons and conclusions. He treats the sacred writings of the Jews as an epic of the people of Israel in their great days, and presents them in the order of their development rather than in that in which tradition has placed them. With this in view he begins with the myths of Israel and its heroic and historical legends, then come David and Solomon, and a theocratic account of the two kingdoms. One chapter is devoted to the prophets of the kingdoms, and the other to the prophets during and after the Exile. After the prophets come in turn a consideration of the Jewish law, the priestly history, the illustrative tales of Ruth, Jonah and Esther; the lyrical writings, the wisdom and philosophy of the Old Testament, and finally the books of Job and Daniel. The author hopes that this introduction to the study of the Old Testament will serve the end of making it "more read, better understood, and more profitable to the soul of man."

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THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By *Houston Stewart Chamberlain*. John Lane Company, 114 West 32d Street, New York, 1911. Two volumes. Price \$10 net, postage 50 cents.

The first appearance of this work occurred in Germany 10 years ago and attracted conspicuous attention as one of the classical works of our time. Its author is an Englishman by birth, but German by education and residence from his early days. The present work is a translation into English which will prove to be a notable contribution to English literature, both because of the excellence and dignity of the original work and from the merits of the translation which is worthily introduced by Lord Redesdale.

p



NOTRE DAME DE PARIS.
 The Church where Father Hyacinthe Preached.
Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

**Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.**

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FATHER HYACINTHE'S BREACH WITH THE CHURCH.¹

A LETTER TO THE REVEREND FATHER GENERAL OF THE
BAREFOOTED CARMELITES AT ROME.

PARIS, PASSY, September 20, 1869.

MY VERY REV. FATHER:

During the five years of my ministry at Notre Dame de Paris, and in spite of the open attacks and secret accusations of which I have been the object, your esteem and your confidence never for an instant failed me, and I have preserved many testimonies of them written by your own hand and bearing upon my sermons as much as upon myself personally. Whatever happens I shall always hold them in grateful remembrance.

To-day, however, by a sudden change, whose cause I do not seek in your heart but in the intrigues of an all-powerful party at Rome, you bring accusation against what you formerly encouraged, you blame what you approved, and you require me to speak a language or to keep a silence which would no longer be the perfect and loyal expression of my conscience.

I do not hesitate for a moment. I could not step again into the pulpit of Notre Dame with a message falsified by a word of command or mutilated by omissions. I hereby express my regret to the intelligent and courageous archbishop who opened that pulpit to me, and who has retained me in it in spite of the ill-will of the men of whom I was just now speaking. I express my regret to the im-

¹ This article and the following have been translated by Lydia G. Robinson from the memorial number of *Les droits de l'homme*, the reform journal edited by Paul Hyacinthe Loyson.

posing audience that has surrounded me with its attention, its sympathies, and—I was about to say—with its friendship. I would not be worthy either of that audience or of God if I should consent to play such a part before them!

At the same time I am leaving the convent which has been my home, for under the new circumstances in which I am placed it has become a prison to my soul. In taking this measure I am not in any degree faithless to my vows. I promised monastic obedience, but within the limits of the honesty of my conscience and of the dignity of my personality and my ministry. I made the promise under that higher law of justice and of perfect liberty which according to St. James is the proper law of the Christian.

For ten years I have asked of the monastery the most perfect practice of this sacred liberty in a burst of enthusiasm free from all human calculation—I do not dare add free from all the illusion of youth. If to-day I am offered chains in exchange for my sacrifices, it is not only my right but my duty to reject them.

The present hour is a solemn one. The church is passing through one of the most violent, the most obscure and the most decisive crises of its existence on earth. For the first time in three hundred years an ecumenical council has not only been convoked but is declared *necessary* in the very words of the Holy Father. At such a time a preacher of the Gospel—even were he the very last of the race—can not consent to hold his tongue like the “dumb dogs” of Israel, faithless guardians whom the prophet reproaches that “they cannot bark”; *Canes muti, non valentes latrare*.

The saints have never kept silence. I am not one of their number but still I know I am of their race—*filii sanctorum sumus*—and it has always been my ambition to put my steps, my tears, and if need be my blood in the tracks where they have left their own.

Therefore before the Holy Father and before the council I have raised my voice in protest as a Christian and as a priest against those doctrines and those practices which are called Roman but which are not Christian, and which in their constantly bolder and more fatal encroachments are tending to change the constitution of the church, the basis as well as the form of its instruction and even the spirit of its piety. I protest against the impious and senseless divorce which men are striving to bring about between the church, which is our mother in eternity, and the society of the nineteenth century, whose sons we are in time, and towards which we owe our duty as well as our affection. I protest against the still more radical and more appalling opposition to human nature, at-

tacked and offended by these false teachers in its most indestructible and holy aspirations. I protest above all against the sacrilegious perversion of the Gospel of the Son of God himself, both the spirit and the letter of which are equally trodden under foot by the Pharisaism of the new law.

It is my most profound conviction that if France in particular, and the Latin races in general, are led into social, moral and religious anarchy, the chief cause certainly does not lie in Catholicism itself but in the way in which Catholicism has long been understood and practised.

I appeal to the council, which is soon to convene, to seek remedies for the excessive evils of to-day, and to apply them gently but firmly.

But if certain fears (which I fain would not share) should be realized, if the august assembly should have no more liberty in its deliberations than there has been during its preparation, if—in a word—it should be deprived of the essential characteristics of an ecumenical council, I would cry out to God and men and demand that another one should be convened truly in the Holy Spirit, not in any partisan spirit, and should actually represent the church universal, not the silence of some and the oppression of others. "For the hurt of the daughter of my people am I hurt. I utter cries of sorrow, and dismay hath seized me. Is there no balm in Gilead; is there no physician there? Why then is not the health of the daughter of my people recovered?" (Jer. viii.)

And, finally I appeal to thy tribunal, O Lord Jesus! *Ad tuum, Domine Jesu, tribunal appello!* It is in thy presence that I write these lines; it is at thy feet that I sign them, after having reflected much, suffered much, and waited long. I rest in the confidence that if men condemn me upon earth thou wilt approve me in heaven. Whether living or dying this is enough for me.

FR. HYACINTHE,

Superior of the Barefooted Carmelites at
Paris, Assistant Superior of the order
in the Province of Avignon.

THE MARRIAGE OF FATHER HYACINTHE.

AN OPEN LETTER DATED AT PARIS, JULY 25, 1872.

The determination which I have taken belongs by its nature to private life; it belongs to the most intimate, the sweetest and most sacred things that private life contains. My character as a priest, which I neither can nor will renounce, imposes upon me in spite of myself a clamorous publicity, I would even say a terrible solemnity. If my marriage were to be only a personal satisfaction for myself, I would not consider the step for an instant. I am well aware that the pure and humble home which I am establishing will be insulted by some, avoided by others, and that anguish will be mingled with its joy.

My greatest sorrow is that I should have offended—entirely against my will, to be sure—but that I should have indeed offended many of these little ones who believe in Christ, and for each of whom I would give my life. I am furnishing to wicked and to trifling men—two large classes who lead the human race—a new and powerful weapon not only against me personally but against my cause. “He wanted to marry,” they cry on all sides, “but he did not have the courage to say so.” “He has been talking of infallibility and it was only an excuse.” “This fine drama has ended in a comedy!”

Resolved in advance to keep silent in the face of the attacks which will be directed against me, I shall now once for all give to the thoughtful public, and more particularly to the Christian public, some explanations which are compelled to assume the character of a confession, but which seem to me to be a duty towards those consciences which my example must necessarily confuse or enlighten.

If I had left my convent for the purpose of marrying—which is not the case—I would admit it without hesitation, for I would have done nothing which could not be acknowledged aloud before those who place natural law with its inalienable rights and duties above human laws, and especially imaginary contracts. It is blame-

worthy and disgraceful to wear without conviction and too often without morality the chain of obligations to which one is no longer bound except by the prejudices of the world, and by personal interest. What ought to excite censure, and what for my part I have always considered with horror, is not marriage but sin! Stubbornly faithful to the principles of the Catholic church, I do not consider myself bound in any way by its abuses, and I am persuaded that perpetual vows range among the most disastrous of these. Luther's error did not lie in the chaste and pious marriage which most of those who curse him ought to imitate; it lies only in his break with the legitimate traditions and essential unity of the church.

Therefore I repeat that if I had left my convent in order to marry, if I had sacrificed the glorious pulpit of Notre Dame de Paris to a great and legitimate affection of the soul, perhaps to a duty of my conscience, I would not believe that I needed to defend myself. But if I had not the courage and the frankness of my conviction, if in order better to arrange my secret designs I had covered them with the cloak of dogmatic questions, I would have been to blame, very greatly to blame, and I would deserve to see myself disowned and scorned by all honest hearts.

And yet, if I may be permitted the observation, this shameful course would at the same time be a foolish one. In the face of the prejudice rooted for centuries and all-powerful among the Latin peoples and especially among the French, I could not really hope that some writings against papal infallibility and against enforced celibacy would change as if by magic the current of public opinion. By stating (as I have not ceased for an instant to do and as I continue to do this hour) that I intend to remain a Catholic and a priest, I would not in any way improve my practical position with regard to marriage; on the contrary I would aggravate it, and I would create to some extent a position which would appear to the majority to be illogical, untenable and without effect.

Oh, if I had made such a sport of my conscience and the consciences of other people, if the most formidable religious problems were to me only pretexts for my own interests or my own passions, I would have done Protestantism a wrong it does not deserve, and deceiving the good faith of the eminent friends whom I count in its ranks, I would have found among them the justification which I vainly sought in my opposition to the council and to infallibility.

No, my marriage has nothing to do with my religious convictions, nor with my action of September 20, 1869, or rather I am mistaken—it is intimately connected with it, but in that general and

liberal manner in which all the steps of progress accomplished by one's soul in light and liberty are connected.

I shall explain my position with perfect frankness. I owe to religious celibacy some of the most exquisite joys, some of the most profound and positive experiences of my life. Since I made my choice at the age of eighteen years I have observed it with a faithfulness for which I praise God. If then to-day at the age of 45 years, in calmness and in the maturity of my judgment, of my heart and of my conscience, in fact of my whole being, I deem it my duty to renounce it, it is because I am impressed that marriage is one of those laws of the moral order which can not be resisted without violating the will of God. I do not say that this law is imposed upon all—I believe in celibacy as in a sacred and glorious exception; I simply say that this law is now imposed upon me. When a man has borne within his heart, as it were, another exception just as rare, just as holy, just as glorious as that of celibacy, namely, that great and chaste love in which the world does not believe because it is not worthy of it, this man, whether priest or monk, possesses an absolute proof that he is not one of the number of voluntary victims of which the Gospel speaks. Such a man am I, and again I praise God for what he has wrought in me. His works appear contradictory but he knows wherein their harmony consists. When I was about to be abandoned, denied by my friends, and by my near of kin, exiled in turn by my church, my country, my family, he sent upon my solitary and desolate path a noble and holy affection, a sublime devotion, poor in the goods of this world, rich in those of intelligence and heart; and when everything has fallen away, this support alone, or almost alone, has remained to me. Indeed this support would not be what it ought to be—I would not recognize the gift which God has given me—if I hesitated any longer to seek its consecration in Christian marriage.

And why should it be otherwise? I see no reason to prevent the marriage, for I can not accept ecclesiastical law as such and still less the prejudice of my fellow citizens.

I shall always submit to the laws of the church when I am not presented under this name with what Jesus Christ, when speaking of the Pharisees of old, called "the commandments of men which make of none effect the commandments of God" (Matt. xv. 6, 9). It must be confessed that celibacy is not a dogma; we must recognize that it is not even a Catholic discipline, but simply a Latin discipline. Even to-day the Catholic clergy in the Orient marry with the full approbation of the Holy See. It is true that such mar-

riages must precede ordination and not follow it; but this restriction besides being inconvenient is without value in the eyes of sound reason, and contradicts the principle that in the judgment of the church there is no real incompatibility between the two great sacraments, holy orders and matrimony.

The contrary prejudice proceeds from a perversion of moral ideas which may justly surprise Christian people. How have they come to contrive this base and shameful conception of marriage which is repugnant to all the finer and generous instincts of the heart as well as to the teachings of revelation? Oh, if marriage were only a concession to the weakness or the passions of our nature I confess that it would be a degradation and a stain for the priest, but I do not see how then it is in accord with the dignity conferred by baptism, with the sanctity that it requires, and to be logical, we ought, like Tatien, to forbid it to all true Christians. But no, a thousand times no! Christian marriage, the only kind of which I speak, is not a concession to our weakness, it is not even merely a means to perpetuate the race. It is, if I may be permitted to quote myself, "the fullest, the most intimate, and the most holy of all unions which can exist between two human creatures." This is the way I defined it five years ago in the pulpit of Notre Dame, and I added with St. Paul and all Catholic tradition, that since the time of the Gospel it has become the mysterious and radiant image of the union of the Word with our flesh, of the union of Christ with his church; *Sacramentum hoc magnum est, ego autem dico in Christo et in Ecclesia* (Eph. v. 32). It is because we no longer understand the teachings of the apostles nor the examples of the primitive Christians, that we have ceased to see in the union of husband and wife a thing which is honorable in all people, *honorabile connubium in omnibus* (Heb. xiii. 4); that it is looked upon as incompatible with the state of the perfect life, and that one thinks only with horror of the proximity of the eucharistic altar and the family hearth, which ought also to be a sanctuary, and in one sense the most important of all.

Another error no less fatal and no less widespread consists in regarding the state of celibacy as capable of becoming the object of a perpetual contract. Just because it touches upon what is most intimate, most delicate, and, I may add, most critical in the relations of the soul with God, celibacy ought to remain at each moment of its duration the work of grace and liberty. The Holy Spirit alone can draw into celibacy and retain there the small number of exceptional beings whom it renders capable of it. But no human authority

either of councils or of popes can impose as an eternal commandment what Jesus himself did not wish to do except merely by advice. "Now concerning virgins," wrote St. Paul to the Corinthians, "I have no commandment of the Lord; yet I give my judgment" (1Cor. vii. 25). It is the mission of the church to transmit this judgment to all people down through the centuries, but without imposing it upon anyone; and to speak my whole mind there is not a single case in which it could prevent the marriage of its priests where there is not a thousand in which it ought to command it of them.

The individual himself has not the power absolutely to renounce a right which is susceptible of changing at any instant and in so many ways into a duty. Once when I questioned one of the most scholarly and the most pious bishops of the Roman church on the liberty of the priests and monks with regard to marriage—it is easily understood why I do not give his name—he wrote me these words: "Such a step is always permitted, often necessary, and sometimes holy!" There are similar convictions in the minds of the most enlightened, especially of those who have the light of experience and who are familiar with the real state of the clergy and the practical conditions of human life. If they do not express themselves so freely, the blame must lie with the iron yoke which rests upon bishops as upon priests, and also with the culpable connivance of public opinion.

I have mentioned public opinion. I respect it in its manifestations and in its legitimate demands as much as I scorn it when it rests only upon prejudice. To be restrained by prejudice is to be restrained by what does not exist, and at the same time to give body and strength to this vain phantom. And yet is not this done daily from a mixture of childish fear and hypocritical deference by the best minds, who ought to correct the errors of their time? Fatal power of the lie which has been and still is the ruin of our unhappy country! It is this which obliges me to-day to seek in a foreign land the consecration which the law, or to speak more accurately the magistracy of the France of 1872, would refuse to my marriage, because I have both the honor and the misfortune to be a priest. But further than this I will not yield to it. I will come back holding high my head, with a calm heart, without fear and without anger; and nothing will prevent me from dwelling on this soil, from breathing this air, which are and will remain dear to me in spite of the evils with which they are defiled. Nothing will prevent me from entreating for each of my brethren in the priesthood the legal right to mar-

riage—that elementary right whose violation, not only in an entire class of citizens but in the person of a single man, should suffice to put the legislation of a nation under the ban of truly civilized countries.

Yes, I am convinced that France, as well as the church, needs the example I am setting and of which the future instead of the present shall reap the fruits. I know the true condition of my country, and whenever it wished to listen to my voice I have never ceased to preach to it salvation through the family. Remorselessly tearing aside the sumptuous and deceptive veils of the prosperity of the time, I laid bare the two sores which consume it and breed each other, “marriage apart from love and love apart from marriage, which means marriage and love apart from Christianity.” (*Conférences sur la famille*, 1866). I am also acquainted with the true state of our clergy. I know the devotion and the virtue contained within it, but I am not unaware how great is the need for large numbers of its members to be reconciled with the interests, the affections and the duties of human nature and civil society. Only by tearing down the traditions of a blind asceticism and a theocracy more political than religious, will the priest, once more a man and a citizen, find himself at the same time more truly a priest,—“one that ruleth well his own house,” as St. Paul says, “having his children in subjection with all gravity; for if a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the church of God?” (1 Tim. iii. 4, 5).

This is the reform without which, I make bold to say, all others will be vain and fruitless. May the spirit of God, if we believe in its power, maintain in our midst a select number of priests and sisters of charity whose celibacy will always be free and always voluntary, in truth a state of purity, a state of joy, or at least of peace in sacrifice! But at the same time let us hasten the day when the law of the church and the law of France will establish in liberty, in chastity and in dignity the marriage of the priest, that is to say, the union in a model home of all the forces of family and all the forces of religion.

I myself am nothing, O God, but I feel called by thee to break asunder the chains which thou hast never wrought and which weigh with so much heaviness and often alas! with so much shame upon the holy people of thy priests. I am but sinful, and yet thy grace has given me the strength to brave the tyranny of opinion, the firmness not to bend before the prejudices of my contemporaries, and the right to act as if there were naught in the world but my conscience and thou, O God!

HYACINTHE LOYSON, Priest.

CONFUCIUS AND HIS PORTRAITS.

BY BERTHOLD LAUFER.

[CONCLUDED.]

Yen Hui (B. C. 514-483) was the favorite disciple of Confucius. His father Yen Wu-yu was a disciple of the sage and sent his son, while still a boy, to the same great teacher. Yen Hui soon became the most distinguished of all the disciples and was unbounded in his love and admiration for his master whom he regarded as a father. Untiring in love of learning, he studied with unrelenting diligence, and tried to practice the rules of conduct which he imbibed. He was silent and attentive, seldom asked questions and never offered criticisms; the master's doctrines were to him sublime and faultless. He lived a life of poverty and was content with the pursuit of virtue and wisdom. A bamboo joint for a cup, a gourd for a bowl, his elbow for a pillow, rice and water for his food, and a hovel in a lane for a house—such was his lot, over which he never lost his cheerfulness. He won the lifelong affection of his master whose despondent moods could always be charmed away by Yen Hui's harp and song. Se-ma Ts'ien compares him in his friendly relations to Confucius with a fly which travels far and fast by clinging to the tail of a courser. The sage looked to him for the future propagation of his doctrines, but was cruelly disappointed when "the finger of God touched" the disciple and took him away "in his summer day" at the age of thirty-two. The old master wept bitterly in despair and exclaimed that Heaven had ruined him. From the time of the Han dynasty, he was associated with Confucius as the object of worship, and he has received various titles and designations. He is usually known as Fu shêng Yen-tse, as written on the top of our picture, a term variously explained, probably "the sage who reported the lessons taught by the master." Of all Confucian portraits, that of Yen Hui is the most intellectual in conception. The stone tablet on which it is engraved is preserved in his an-

cestral temple in K'ü fu; it is not known by what artist the original was made.

Facing Yen Hui's tablet and next to it in order of succession



YEN HUI OR YEN-TSE, THE PHILOSOPHER YEN.

is that inscribed *Tsung shêng Tsêng-tse*, i. e., "the Philosopher Tsêng, the Founder-Sage," or as Legge translates, "Exhibiter of the Fundamental Principles of the Sage." We see him pictured on

a stone engraving in the Museum of Inscriptions (*Pei lin*) at Si-ngan fu, which is undated and ascribed to an artist Wên Yü-kuan;¹⁸



CONFUCIUS AND THE PHILOSOPHER TSÊNG.

Confucius is sitting on a bench, holding a *Ju-i*, a scepter of good augury fulfilling every wish, and the disciple is standing in front

¹⁸ I cannot find any references to him in the Chinese catalogues of painters.

of him, apparently listening to his instructions. Tsêng, whose full name was Tsêng Ts'an (B. C. 506-437), was an extremist in the practice of Confucian morality and carried filial piety to a point where the sublime is nearing the boundary of the ridiculous. On one occasion while weeding a garden of melons, he accidentally cut the root of a plant. His father took a stick and beat him almost to death. As soon as he was able to move, he approached his father and expressed his anxiety lest the old man might have hurt himself in administering such a strong dose, and then sat down playing the lyre to put his father's mind at ease. Confucius rebuked him for his conduct as going to excess, since by quietly submitting to such a punishment he might have caused his father to kill him—the worst possible act of unfilial conduct on the part of a son. This and several other absurd stories—e. g., that he divorced his wife for serving up to her mother-in-law some badly stewed pears—have probably been concentrated on his life for no other reason than because the small book, the Canon of Filial Piety (*Hiao king*) is ascribed to him, and so he had to be made a model of filial piety himself.

A Confucian iconography would be incomplete without a picture of his great successor and the most ardent champion of his tenets, Mêng-tse (or, Latinized, Mencius, who lived B. C. 372-289). The story of his education by his mother—the father died when the boy was at the age of three—has become a classical example of pedagogical principles to the present day. He first lived with his mother near a cemetery, but they moved away from there because the boy imitated in play the funeral ceremonies daily before his eye. She then took a house near the market-place, but her child soon began to play buying and selling and to learn the bad ways of tradesmen. So she moved a second time near to a public school where the imitating faculties of the boy were soon developed in copying the ceremonial observances interchanged between scholar and master. Another story goes to tell how his mother roused him to learning by cutting asunder the thread of a woof, in order to exemplify the disastrous effect of want of continuity in learning—a household anecdote to this day and a subject represented in art as early as by Ku K'ai-chih in the fourth century A. D.

Subsequently Mêng-tse studied under K'ung Chi, a grandson of Confucius and endeavored to put into practice the master's maxims in several states. He was a man of stern and firm character, but not wanting in self-appreciation. The basis of his teaching, a continuation and development of Confucius's doctrines, was that man is born good, but that his spiritual nature re-

quires careful fostering and training. Mêng-tse dwells with predilection on the problems of practical life and on the moral obli-



MÊNG-TSE (MENCIUS).

gations of those who rule and those who are ruled; a commonwealth on a strongly ethical foundation was his ideal aim. The book handed down under his name recalls to mind Plato's Republic and is also composed in the form of dialogues; the nature and method of his dialectics are similar to those of Socrates. His thoughts and language are more definite and precise than those of Confucius, his style is bright and eloquent, betraying a writer of keen individuality. He was the first real author, orator and dialectician of the Confucian school, and it is his merit that the ideas of his master became propagated and popularized. "The Sage who is Second" is therefore the posthumous title bestowed upon him. His tomb and ancestral temple are in the town Tsou in Shantung. The stone on which his portrait is engraved is provided with a dated

inscription which is unfortunately so much effaced that it is only partially legible.

On the burial-place of Confucius near K'ü-fu is a stone tablet on which the decayed trunk of a tree is engraved. (See the illustration on the following page.) This is entitled "Picture of a Juniper (*kui*, *Juniperus chinensis* L.) planted by the Sage with his own hand." A story to this effect is not to be found in the ancient traditions, nor is it recorded in the accompanying inscription which merely tells us that this tree had existed during the Chou, Ts'in, Han and Tsin dynasties uninterruptedly for nearly a thousand years until 309 A. D. when it decayed; but the descendants of the sage protected it for 309 years more, not daring to destroy it, until the year 617 A. D. when it was planted anew. This tree again

rotted away in 667 A. D., but was flourishing in 1040 A. D. In 1214 A. D., under the Kin dynasty, it was burned by soldiers, but under the Mongols, in 1294, the old root shot forth anew, and in 1373 the trunk reached a height of three hundred feet. The inscription was composed and the monument erected in 1496 by a descendant of Confucius, Shên-hing, who was not brilliant in arithmetic, for he calculates at the end of his composition the time which has elapsed since B. C. 479, the death of Confucius, at 2975 instead of 1975 years. It is not a mere slip of his pen, for he adds: "In twenty-five years from now it will be three thousand years." This error is excusable in view of the fact that the writer was a young boy who died at the age of twenty-one. The story of the juniper tree is a pleasing tradition, though not of historical value. It is a symbol of the Confucian doctrine: imperishable like this tree, it may temporarily decline but will always rise again to new beauty and grandeur. The trunk of a tree very similar to the one depicted on the stone tablet is standing beside it and is still pointed out to the visitor as the one planted by Confucius. The juniper is a tall, very common tree in the northern provinces of China and is remarkable for the dimorphism of its leaves, resembling in general those of the common cypress. It is once mentioned in a song of the *Shi king*



(ed. Legge, p. 102), oars made of its timber being used in boats of pine.

* * *

The oldest pictorial representations extant, which describe the scenes from the life of Confucius, are from the hand of the painter Wang Chên-p'êng (or Wang Ming-mei, or Wang Ku-yün) of the time of the Yüan dynasty, who flourished at the period of the Emperor Jên-tsung (1312-1320). He is praised as a master by Chinese critics and excelled in power of composition and coloring. An original work of his in the collection of the present writer tends to confirm this judgment. He has left to us a precious album containing ten oblong paintings, each accompanied by an explanatory notice and poem written by the celebrated calligraphist Yü Ho from Hang-chou. In the second part of the sixteenth century, this album was in the possession of a reputed connoisseur, Hiang Tse-king by name, and was preserved in his family until the fatal year 1900, when it fell into the hands of an Englishman whose name is unknown. The latter generously placed it at the disposal of Mr. Têng Shih, editor of an important series of art publications (*Shên chou kuo kuang tsi*) at Shanghai who brought out a half-tone reproduction of the pictures in 1908 as No. 2 of his Series of Albums (*tsêng k'an*), under the title *Shêng tsi t'u*, "Scenes in the Life of the Saint." From this edition, our reproductions are derived. The work of the Yüan artist is not only interesting for its artistic merits and qualities, but it is also of historical importance, since it was the forerunner of the subsequent illustrated lives of Confucius. In the great Confucius temple of K'ü-fu, a collection of 112 stone slabs with engravings displaying an illustrated biography of the sage are immured in a wall and come down from the year 1592. On a visit to K'ü-fu in 1903, I obtained a complete set of rubbings from these stones which is now preserved in the American Museum of New York. Unfortunately the stones are much damaged and mutilated, and most pictures have to be restored by guess-work. Seven of Wang's paintings have been reproduced in this series of stone engravings. The latter gave rise to a volume depicting the life of Confucius in woodcuts (reedited in 1874, at Yen-chou fu, Shan-tung) which are very coarse and without the fine spirit of the originals; they are merely intended as a souvenir for the pilgrims visiting K'ü-fu.¹⁰

The first of Wang Chên-p'êng's memorable paintings conveys

¹⁰ Eight of these illustrations have been reproduced by E. H. Parker in the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*, April, 1897.

an allusion to the birth of the future sage. His mother is sacrificing on the summit of Mount Ni, invoking the spirits for the birth of a child. As Dr. Carus²⁰ correctly points out, most of the birth-stories of the sage are of later origin and show Buddhist influence. They were invented because the followers of Confucius did not want to see their founder outdone in honors, and so they vied with Buddhist traditions in claiming a supernatural origin for their great sage as well.



THE FUTURE MOTHER OF CONFUCIUS PRAYS FOR A CHILD ON THE MOUNTAIN NI.

Painting by Wang Chên-P'êng.

This picture is doubtless conceived in a Buddhist spirit: It is a scene of great impressiveness due to the majestic simplicity of the composition. The background is filled with wandering vapors and rising clouds screening the little party off from the world and spreading a veil over their thoughts of the future event. A huge tree-trunk is breaking forth from the mist in vigorous outlines and setting off the hazy distant peaks in the corner. The future mother is preparing the offering in a brazier placed on a carved wooden stand; a servant-girl is bringing some ingredients enclosed in a

²⁰ *Chinese Thought*, p. 115 (Chicago, 1907).

box, respectfully carrying it on both hands covered by her sleeves. Two attendants are waiting behind. The rocky platform on which the ceremony takes place may be symbolic of the peculiar shape of the boy's skull which, according to tradition, bulged out into a hill-shaped protuberance and gained him the name *K'iu*, i. e., hillock.

The painter has not illustrated any scene from Confucius's boyhood and early manhood, but shows him in the next picture in an incident occurring in his fifties, in B. C. 496, very well chosen indeed, as it presents a turning-point in his life. At that time he was minister of justice in his native country, the principality of Lu, under the Duke Ting who was envied by the neighboring prince of Ts'i, who feared lest Lu might become too powerful under the enlightened guidance of the famous politician. To cause Duke Ting to neglect the affairs of government, his rival sent to his court a gift



CONFUCIUS FORSAKES THE STATE OF LU.

of eighty (according to Han Fei-tse, six) beautiful dancing-girls and thirty quadrigas of horses. The acceptance of this present was disapproved by Confucius and led him to resign his post. The artist has represented this scene with a true dramatic instinct. We see in the center the Duke of Lu on horseback, shielded by two halberd-bearers and protected by an umbrella. Ki Huan who had gone out in disguise to inspect the arrival and enticed the duke to look at the bait is kneeling in front of him pointing at the women, seven of whom are playing on instruments, while two are engaged in the performance of a dance. The group of eight horses on the right is a masterly work reminding us of the style of the great horse-painter Han Kan. Separated from this scene and turning away from the frivolous gayety, Confucius is standing on the left, giving orders to harness his cart which will take him off on a long peregrination ;

a man is oiling the hubs of the wheels, and another driving on the bullock to yoke to the cart.

On his travels, Confucius had to pass by K'uang, a place in the present province of Chihli where, owing to an inconsiderate utterance of his cart-driver, he attracted the attention of the people and was mistaken for Yang Hu, their old enemy who had once cruelly oppressed them and whom Confucius happened to resemble. In the third picture we see surrounding his chariot a throng of infuriated peasants armed with clubs, while he remains seated under the canopy of matting, unmoved and calm. His disciple Yen Yüan is trying to appease the excited people. The contrast between their wild passion and the divine calmness on the sage's countenance furnished the artist a welcome opportunity of showing his force of characterization. He apparently took his studies from the stage, for



CONFUCIUS IS THREATENED BY THE PEOPLE OF K'UANG.

the group of four men are engaged in a war-dance like those which may still be seen in the Chinese theaters in the class of dramas known as military plays (*wu hsi*). It is noteworthy that in this as in the following cases the painter follows the plain historical records and resists the temptation to introduce the inventions with which the more imaginative later traditions are adorned. Only a minor artist would have followed here the poetic account of Confucius winning the hearts of the people of K'uang by his songs or his play on a lute.

The fourth picture illustrates Confucius alone at the east gate of the capital of Chêng in Honan. A man from Chêng shouldering a folded umbrella who had passed by him meets the philosopher Tse-kung and describes to him the appearance of the sage. He recognizes in his exterior the signs of a holy man and closes his description by saying, "He seems much embarrassed like the dog in a

family where somebody is dead." Tse-kung repeated his account to Confucius who joyously replied: "The outward form of a body is of no account; but that I resemble a dog in a family where somebody died, is very true."



CONFUCIUS SOLITARY AT THE GATE OF THE CAPITAL OF CH'ENG.

The fifth picture shows us the master sitting on a fur-covered, drum-shaped seat of pottery receiving instruction in playing the lute from the music-teacher Siang-tse. The pottery seat as well as the



CONFUCIUS RECEIVES INSTRUCTION IN PLAYING THE LYRE.

stool of the teacher are anachronisms, for in the time of Confucius the Chinese used only to squat on mats spread on the ground. It is even stated expressly in this story that at the end of the lessons

Siang-tse rose from his mat and prostrated himself twice before the sage. But Chinese artists were always intent on poetic truth and never cared for historical correctness of detail; costume, architecture and domestic surroundings always remain those of their own age, to whatever period the scene may refer.

In the sixth picture, Confucius is represented as again riding in his ox-cart and descending the steep bank of a river. A boat is ready to take him across. Not being able to obtain a position in the country of Wei, he decided to go westward into the country of Tsin to see Chao Kien-tse. Arriving at the Yellow River, he received the news of the death of two sages and officials of Tsin and abandoned his plan. He is said to have then exclaimed with a sigh: "How beautiful these



CONFUCIUS ABANDONS HIS PLAN OF CROSSING THE YELLOW RIVER.

waves, their extent how immense! If I, K'iu, do not cross this river it is the will of destiny."

It will be noticed that from the matting in the interior of the cart a gourd or calabash is suspended. This doubtless implies an allusion to the much discussed passage in the Confucian Discourses (*Lun yü*, XVII, 7).²¹ The master was inclined to go to see Pi Hi, governor of Chung-mou in Honan, who had come into possession of this place by rebellion. Tse-lu warns him from this evil-doer, but the master retorted: "Is it not said that if a thing be really hard it may be ground without being made thin? Is it not said that if a thing be really white it may be steeped in a dark fluid without being made black? Am I a bitter gourd? How can I be hung up

²¹ Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, Vol. I, p. 321.

out of the way of being eaten?" (Legge's translation). Chavannes²² translates in accordance with the generally accepted opinion of the Chinese commentators: "Am I a calabash which may remain suspended without eating?" The meaning is that the calabash, because it does not eat nor drink, may always stay in the same place, while Confucius is a being that eats and must consequently move around. The empty shell of the calabash was used as a bladder tied around the body to keep it afloat in crossing a deep river, as we see from a song in the *Shi king*²³ and a passage in the *Kuo yü* cited by Chavannes. With reference to this practice, the above sentence would allow also of the translation: "Am I a calabash which can be fastened to the body, but which cannot be eaten." Though this interpreta-



CHAO, KING OF CH'U, IS PLANNING TO GRANT A FIEF TO CONFUCIUS, BUT IS DISSUADED BY HIS MINISTER.

tion is somewhat forced and excludes the essential point in Confucius's explanation "to remain suspended in the same place," it almost seems as if our artist Wang Chên-p'êng had adhered to this mode of understanding the passage, as he introduced the calabash into this scene where Confucius is ready to cross the river.

On the seventh painting, Wang has depicted the scene in which Chao, king of Ch'u, deliberates with regard to offering Confucius as a fief a territory comprising a group of seven hundred families. The king is sitting before a screen at a table on which a paper roll is displayed evidently purporting to be a map on which to point out the villages to be selected. But his councilor of state, Tse-si, stand-

²² *Les mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*, Vol. V, p. 348.

²³ Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, Vol. IV, p. 53.

ing in front, a jade emblem of rank in his hands, dissuades him from this plan for political reasons, on the ground that Confucius would grow too powerful and prevent the small state from aggrandizement. On this remonstrance the king desisted from his intention. On the left-hand side, an agent of the king is negotiating with the sage who remains in his cart. The king died the same year, B. C. 489, and Confucius left his country to return to Wei.

After his long series of trials and disappointments, the sage shines in his full glory in the eighth painting where he is represented after his return to his native country Lu, worn with sorrows and age, resigning from active service and busily engaged in imparting instruction to his disciples and in revising the texts of ancient literature. The artist could have chosen no more significant



CONFUCIUS REVISING THE ANCIENT BOOKS AND INSTRUCTING HIS DISCIPLES.

theme to celebrate the apotheosis of his hero, and he has accomplished his task with an eminently skilful composition entirely freed from the burden of tradition. He did not load himself with the complete array of the official number of seventy-two disciples, but has arranged easy groups of scholars, reading, reciting or arguing. True it is, the paper rolls, the books, the writing-brushes, the tables, the tea-pots are all gross anachronisms, but all this does not detract from the beauty and spirituality of this fine work of art which is doubtless the best conception of Confucius in Chinese art. The Chinese painters always possessed too much artistic sense and instinct to be rigid antiquarians and wisely refrained from that stilted and pathetic theatrical style in which our painters of historical subjects have sinned, much to the detriment of art.

The *Tso-chuan* relates that in the fourteenth year of the Duke Ngai of Lu (B. C. 481) a strange animal was captured on a hunt by Ch'u-shang who took it for an inauspicious omen and killed it. It was brought before Confucius who recognized in it the supernatural Lin which is described as having the body of an antelope, the tail of an ox, and one horn. According to the *Kia yü* ("The Family Sayings"), Confucius exclaimed on this occasion: "It is a Lin. Why has it come? Why has it come?" He took the back of his sleeve and wiped his face, while his tears wet the border of his robe. Tse-kung asked the master why he wept, and he replied: "The Lin appears only when there is an intelligent king. Now it has appeared when it is not the time for it to do so, and it has been injured. This is why I was so much affected."



CONFUCIUS, VIEWING THE "LIN" KILLED BY HUNTERS, FEELS A PRESENTIMENT OF HIS DEATH.

Another book, *K'ung ts'ung*, has the following tradition. The disciple Tse-yu asked the master: "Among the flying creatures, the most honorable is the phenix, and among the running creatures, the most honorable is the Lin, for it is difficult to induce them to appear. May I be permitted to ask you to whom this Lin corresponds which now makes its appearance?" The master replied to him: "When the Son of Heaven spreads his beneficial virtue and is going to produce universal peace, then the Lin, the phenix, the tortoise, and the dragon announce in advance this auspicious augury. At present, the august dynasty of Chou is nearing its end, and in the world there is no sovereign (worthy of this name). For whom does this Lin come?" He then shed tears and said: "I am among men what the Lin is among the animals. Now when the Lin appears, it is

dead; this is proof that my career is terminated." Thereupon he sang: "At the time of the Emperors Yao and Shun, the Lin and the phenix were strolling about. Now since it is not the right era for them, what may I ask? O Lin, O Lin, my heart is tormented." It seems to me that our artist has taken this or a similar tradition as his starting-point to compose a scene of great dramatic force and emotion. Confucius supported by two of his disciples stands erect, his head thrown back, and points at the animal's body. He is uttering words in deep emotion, and the impression conveyed by them is wonderfully brought to life in the startled faces of the hunters. The presentiment of death, the feeling "it is all over" is vividly expressed in a masterly manner; it is the Chinese version of the Last Supper.



THE EMPEROR KAO-TSU, FOUNDER OF THE HAN DYNASTY, OFFERING AN OX, SHEEP, AND HOG IN THE TEMPLE OF CONFUCIUS.

With the true instinct of the genuine artist, Wang Chên-p'êng refrained from representing the death of the master. In his final dignified theme, he conceives him as a spirit, as the deified intellectual principle of the nation. The Emperor Kao-tsu (B. C. 206-195), the founder of the Han dynasty, is worshiping in the temple of the sage, offering the three victims which are a bull, a sheep and a pig (the *suovetaurilia* of the Romans), spread on a table below the altar. Se-ma Ts'ien, in his Biography of Confucius,²⁴ relates this event as follows: "The princes of Lu handed down from generation to generation the custom of offering sacrifices to K'ung-tse at fixed times of the year. On the other hand, the scholars too performed such rites as the banquet of the district and the practice of archery near the tomb of K'ung-tse. The hall formerly inhabited by the

²⁴ Chavannes, *Les mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*, Vol. V, p. 429.

disciples (during the three years of mourning) has been transformed into a funeral temple by the following generations who deposited there the robe of K'ung-tse, his ceremonial hat, his lute, his chariot and his writings. All this was uninterruptedly preserved for more than two centuries until the advent of the Han. When the Emperor Kao-tsu passed through the land of Lu (B. C. 195), he offered a sacrifice of three great victims (at the tomb of K'ung-tse). When the lords, the high dignitaries and councilors arrive there, they always go first to pay homage to his tomb, and not until this is accomplished do they devote themselves to the affairs of government."

In glancing back at the series created by Wang Chên-p'êng we notice that he carefully avoided exploiting the subject for cheap genre-pictures, such as were turned out later by the draughtsmen of the Ming period, but set himself the nobler task of illustrating the spiritual progress of the life of the greatest of his compatriots. The spiritual element is emphasized in each production, and only a master mind could have evolved these high-minded conceptions. The birth, the death and the final deification of the national hero are merely alluded to in the form of visions in which transcendental elements of a highly emotional quality are blended. Exceedingly fortunate is the artist in his choice of the incidents in the philosopher's varied career; with preference he dwells on the grief and renunciations of the sage, on the manifold sufferings which have endeared him to the hearts of his people, but he does not neglect to bring him near to their innermost feelings by glorifying him as lute-player and expounder of his teachings, both pictures being symbolical of the Book of Songs (*Shi king*) and the Book of History (*Shu king*) which Confucius edited. In a similar manner the subject of the Lin is emblematic of his work, the Annals of Lu (*Ch'un ts'iu*), his part of which terminates with the record of this event. These three paintings will certainly remain of permanent value in the history of art.

M. DESHUMBERT'S ETHICS OF NATURE.

AN association has been formed both in Paris and in London which calls itself The Ethics of Nature Society, and its leading prophet is M. Deshumbert, of Dunheved Road, Thornton Heath, England. The foundation of their creed is incorporated in a book by M. Deshumbert, entitled *Morale de la Nature*, published by Schleicher Frères, 8 Rue Monsieur-le-Prince, Paris, 1911.

The English edition has been translated from the French by I. M. Hartmann and contains an introduction by Henry James. The latter endorses M. Deshumbert's system, calling his work wholesome and refreshing, and he adds that it is especially so "when compared with the efforts of various recent iconoclasts." M. Deshumbert is not negative but constructive, building upon nature's own ground, and the contents of the book are truly so commonplace that they might be considered almost too simple for any one to controvert its arguments. Mr. James says: "There is no mention of religion in it from beginning to end, but it is eminently honest, it is logical, it has a sound basis in physical science, and its outcome is the inculcation of the highest morality."

Further down he makes the following comment: "The fundamental error of most philosophers, moralists, and founders of religions is that they have not realized man to be a constituent part of the universe, an integral part of nature, a portion of the whole. Man, the writer insists, is completely and unavoidably subject to the same laws as the rest of the universe, and since that is the case he should, just like other beings, follow the way that nature marks out for him. And here M. Deshumbert really enters upon his task. His work is to show the moral laws in the natural world. He deals with the vegetable and the animal world in order to show how nature works in regard to the preservation of life, the propagation of species, and in various other ways. . . . Life is no mere matter of individuals; it is a matter of species and of race, and it is one of continuous, if gradual and slow, progress. What conclusion, then,

ought we to draw from this picture of regular ascent? It is that we should make the most of the life that has been given us, in the sense of husbanding our powers, and using them to the greatest extent. This life, however, must not be lived for ourselves alone, but more and more for our fellows and as a part of the life of the universe. There was a time when men's sympathies did not extend beyond their families, every one outside the family being an enemy. Then the friendship extended to the tribe, to the cities in which men learned to dwell, and afterwards to the nation. Now we are going even beyond this, and our affection is becoming so enlarged as to embrace all humanity. '*Elle (la nature) veut que notre cœur s'élargisse assez pour contenir tout l'univers.*' At the end of the main argument are chapters dealing with 'Certain Duties towards the Body'; 'Certain Duties towards the Intelligence and Esthetic Sentiment'; 'Certain Duties towards Others,' with a concluding chapter 'On Death.' "

The definitions of good and evil as stated by the association are as follows:

"Good is all that contributes to the enlargement of life, to the full physical, intellectual, moral, and esthetic development, to the employment of all our energies, to the harmonious and complete expansion of ourselves and others; evil is all that tends to diminish life, all that hinders this full development, this harmonious expansion."

M. Deshumbert traces morality all through nature. He says:

"If we study nature without any preconceived idea, we shall very soon be convinced that she appears to have three chief purposes.

"These are (1) *to produce life*. We see everywhere a superabundance of life, on the earth, in the air, in the water. In fact we find life where we should the least expect it; for instance, at the very bottom of the sea where absolute darkness prevails.

"(2) *To produce the most intelligent life possible*. We know that as soon as the ocean had sufficiently cooled down, life appeared in the shape of single-cell weed. Then, jelly-like specks were evolved; these specks were more than plants, and not yet animals. But the ascending movement continued with—successively—sea anemones, starfish, annelids, molluscs, arthropoda, ganoid fish, batrachia, dinosaurs, marsupials, birds, placentals, finally man. These many stages have always been on an ascending plane: with each new series of beings the domain of activity and intelligence was enlarged.

Every new series was more capable of higher activities than the preceding one.

"(3) *To produce the most moral life possible.* If we admit that wherever there is care for more than the self, there is morality, then we must admit that plants obey the fundamental laws of ethics in the loving care and great thoughtfulness they display for the welfare of their seeds. Undoubtedly plants show us the earliest example of maternal morality.

"Moreover, just as intelligence increased with each new species of animals, so did morality.

"All animals care for their young, provide them with food, and defend them at the risk of their own lives until the little ones no longer require help. Gregarious animals perform not only fatherly and motherly duties, but brotherly duties as well—duties of mutual help, protection, union. In time of danger the males always expose themselves to defend the females and the young; often sentinels are placed to warn the herd of coming danger, and the mere fact of some members of a flock or of a herd faithfully doing watch for the safety of others, instead of eating or resting, denotes a high degree of morality.

"If, without going into details, we simply throw a glance at the past, we shall see that the laws of nature have been what they are for millions of years, that life dating back from the remotest period, countless species of plants and animals have successively appeared, and that this long evolution has produced thinking and moral beings. Are we not, then, compelled to admit that the march of things tends towards higher thought and morality? For thousands and thousands of centuries billions of billions of beings have lived in order to lead up to this result. Is not the trend of nature clearly shown? Are we not, then, entitled to say that a comprehensive study of the cosmic process, so far as it relates to our earth, does show that morality is grounded in nature, is in harmony with it, is sanctioned by it?

"We can, then, truly say that in all that relates to ethics, nature is our authority.

"Now we may ask, what part should man play in all that is going on round us? What is his duty?

"Man, being part of the universe from which he is derived and into which he will again be absorbed, is bound to follow, as far as his knowledge allows it, the order and laws of the universe."

Among the publications of M. Deshumbert (Paris, Schleicher Frères, 1911) there is one which is quite original. It appeared under the title *Ma Vie*, and bears as author the name "Jesus of Nazareth."

In this the author analyses the psychology of Christ expressed in the first person and makes him address the apostles, the holy women and other adherents of his reform in explaining his birth and his ideals. The discussions with Judas are not the least interesting in this little book.

Besides the writings of M. Deshumbert the Schleicher Frères have also published in book form a course of lectures delivered in the winter of 1910 under the auspices of the French branch of the society. It is entitled *L'Education d'après les Lois de la Nature*, and contains a preface by Dr. Jean Finot, the editor of *La Revue*, who though too skeptical to become a member of the society, sympathizes with its aims, wishes it well, and feels sure that it will meet the needs of a large number of people. The book consists of lectures by Is. Polako (president of the French branch), Dr. P. Regnier, P. A. Dufrenne, Ferdinand Buisson, R. Broda, and G. Sauvebois.

The Ethics of Nature Society also publishes at London an English organ called *The Ethics of Nature Review*. The society intends by means of this *Review*, of books, lectures, leaflets, articles in newspapers, etc., to propagate the theory of ethics as explained in *The Ethics of Nature*, so as to help those who seek for a rational and scientific base as a guide for their conduct. The *Review* (as well as the English edition of M. Deshumbert's book) is published by D. Nutt, 57-59 Long Acre, London, W. C., 1s. net, or 1s. 2½d. by post; and may also be had from the Honorable Secretary, "Dewhurst" Dunheved Road West, Thornton Heath, Surrey.

The issue of this review for April, 1911, discusses one of the burning questions of ethical conduct in a lecture given by Dr. C. W. Saleeby, delivered on March 14th of that year. The subject is "Natural Ethics and Eugenics," and the treatment is both scientific and sensible. We notice that it upholds monogamy as based upon natural conditions and the facts of social interrelations of mankind.

"By eugenics I understand the project of making the highest human being possible.' The chief factors in this process, as especially named by Sir Francis Galton are nature and nurture. The eugenics which concerns itself with the natural or hereditary causes, is called by Dr. Saleeby the primary factor. The nurtural, or environmental, takes the place of secondary factor. This is inverting the customary order, where environment is generally represented as answering most, if not the whole of the question. But although neither of the factors could stand without the other, eugenics on biological grounds insist that environment is distinctly secondary. . . .

"As regards the relation of eugenics to the theory and practice

of natural ethics, positive eugenics in the first place is a process evidently approved by nature, being simply the process of natural selection by which those beings who are capable of reproducing their species survive and multiply. Only one point arises here, which has to be met: there are some eugenists (and Mr. Bernard Shaw is amongst the number) who propose that this business of encouraging parenthood on the part of the worthy must be carried out by the abolition of marriage. Marriage—and more especially monogamous marriage—is strictly in keeping with the principles of the Ethics of Nature Society, being conducive, not of most life as concerns a high birth-rate, but certainly of most life as concerns a low death-rate. Also, marriage makes the father responsible psychologically and socially for his children; this aspect of monogamy has to be considered.”

There are additional reasons why monogamy is the highest and best and most natural form of marriage. Monogamy originated in northern countries where the struggle for life is hardest, and we may assume that polygamy, if it was practised in northern countries at all in prehistoric times, disappeared under the general stress of the hardships of life. In southern countries polygamy became prevalent, but even there it defiled the higher life and rendered it impossible to reach the high standing of a vigorous enforcement of power which finally was actualized in the north. One of the main reasons that militate against polygamy was the formation of different families belonging to one and the same man. The stories of the Old Testament, of the several families of Abraham, David and others, show that the children of one wife are pitted against the other, and the most infamous outrages between brothers of the same father and a different mother are a matter of history. When Solomon assumed the kingdom through the intrigues of his mother, his first act was the execution of his older brother who had been born to David by a former wife. No wonder that royal families, and in a similar degree aristocrats and families of wealth, soon died out because the members of these families and their heirs waged a bitter war against each other. This alone was sufficient to exterminate polygamy, if it ever existed in countries where the struggle for existence is hardest.

We further quote from the *Ethics of Nature Review* in continuation of its report of Dr. Saleeby's lecture.

“Positive eugenics will endeavor to work through marriage, which is a natural institution far older than any decree or church, and to improve it for the eugenic purpose. The chief method of

positive eugenics to-day is education for parenthood. The education of the young should be from the very start a preparation for parenthood, and should not cease, as it now most commonly does, at that time when it is most needed; namely, at the age of adolescence.

"Negative eugenics certainly has a natural sanction. Natural selection might with equal truth be called natural rejection. Now the question arises, are we to apply the principle of natural rejection to mankind, with the object of preventing the parenthood of the unworthy? It would certainly appear to be a natural proceeding. But here the Ethics of Nature Society says: We are not to kill, on the contrary, we are to fight for those who cannot fight for themselves; whereas nature says these are to be exterminated.

"This apparent opposition between the natural and the moral course of action was dwelt upon at some length by Huxley, in his Romanes Lecture, on 'Evolution and Ethics.' In this lecture he describes cosmic evolution as being a ruthless process where life advances by means of a general slaughter, and where it is merely a case of 'each individual for itself and the devil take the hindmost.' Moral evolution, he said, is the absolute antithesis to the natural; moral evolution is the care of the hindmost, and necessitates at all times a course exactly opposite to the model we have in nature. There are different opinions as to Huxley's reasons for expressing himself in this unjustifiable manner on a subject which he was obviously viewing at the time in a totally false light....

"There are eugenists who want us to throw moral evolution overboard, as being mere sentimentalism, and to go straight for the destruction of the unfit by means of exposing degenerate babies, as the Spartans did, by means of lethal chambers, and by reverting to all the horrors of our grandfathers' time, the gallows, chains, and death by starvation for the feeble-minded. These are the eugenists who take this sacred name of eugenics in vain. Eugenics has nothing to do with killing anybody at any stage of life whatever. Human life, such as it may be, is a sacred thing, and cannot be treated with contempt at any stage whatever of its development. What the eugenist may do, however, is this, he may distinguish between the right to live and the right to become a parent. And this is the simple solution which both Huxley and Darwin missed. In this simple solution the antinomy which both Huxley and Darwin saw between cosmic and moral evolution disappears....

"Passing to the third division of eugenics, it seems that whilst we try to encourage parenthood on the part of the worthy, and to discourage it on the part of the unworthy, we must be prepared

also to oppose the degradation of healthy stocks through contact with, or as a result of racial poisons.

"Of these poisonous agencies, there are some which we are certain of; how many there may be that are yet unknown, remains to be proved. Alcohol, lead, arsenic, phosphorus, and one or two diseases are decidedly transmissible to the future, commonly by direct transference from parent to offspring. These are the poisons which eugenists must fight against, and they are false to their creed and to their great mission, if they fail to do all they can to root them out. The chief, most urgent, most important task seems to be to interfere with maternal alcoholism."

In concluding this announcement we wish to reproduce M. Deshumbert's concluding chapter "On Death," which he says is to some extent taken from an article by H. de Parville and which may be compared with similar sentiments which have appeared in publications of the Open Court Publishing Company.¹

"You think of the pain that you will feel, as you imagine at the moment of death, and you are afraid.

"Remember that death is very rarely a painful trial.

"Your end will almost surely be preceded by a comfortable feeling, or at least by a cessation of pain. Indeed, as your blood will no longer rid itself of the carbonic acid, the latter will accumulate, benumb all suffering in you, and put your body to sleep, just as any other anæsthetic would do. Pain having ceased you will perhaps have the illusion that your recovery is near, and you will make plans for the future. And then you will fall asleep in peace. If, however, you had no illusions, and kept your lucidity, you would see death approach without terror, and without uneasiness: you would not fear it, you would calmly await it, and that without any effort on your part, and as a natural thing. It is nature who wishes it. Indeed, the fear of death which nature has put into us, disappears at the moment when all hope of recovery must be given up. We are afraid of dying as long as there is a possibility of avoiding death, and as long as our efforts towards that object might succeed; but as soon as that possibility ceases, fear also ceases.

"This fear of death, when the end is still far away, proves nature's foresight. If we were not afraid of death, we might seek it at the slightest annoyance, or at least we should make no effort to avoid it, and nature wants, on the contrary, that life should be con-

¹ See "The Beauty of Death" by Woods Hutchinson, *Open Court*, IX, p. 4639, republished in his *Gospel According to Darwin*. See also Carus, "The Conquest of Death," in the *Homilies of Science*, p. 155, and the chapters immediately following.

tinued. As nature only produces the minimum of pain, our terror ceases as soon as the struggle becomes useless, and at that moment the wish to live disappears also. Therefore, death is only feared during the fulness of life; but the nearer death comes to us, the less it frightens us.

"William Hunter said a short time before he died: 'If I had the strength to hold a pen, I should like to use it to express how easy and pleasant it is to die.'

"But, you say, 'All men do not die of disease, many are killed by accidents.' A violent death is much less painful than you think, one might even say not painful at all. Here are some examples: Let us question Livingstone about his encounter with a lion, which mauled his shoulder. He said: 'I was on a little hillock; the lion leapt on to my shoulder, and we fell together to the ground. The shock produced a stupor similar to that which a mouse feels after the first shake by the cat. It was a sort of dreamy condition, in which there was neither sensation of pain, nor feeling of terror, although I was absolutely conscious of all that was taking place. Fear did not exist for me, and I could look at the animal without horror. This particular state is probably produced in all animals killed by carnivora.'

"The Alpinist Whymper, in speaking of his fall of 220 feet from the Mont Cervin, when he rebounded from one glacier, and from one ragged rock to another, wrote: 'I was perfectly conscious of what was happening to me, and I counted every bump: but like a chloroformed patient, I felt no pain. Naturally every bump was more violent than the preceding one, and I remember thinking very distinctly, that if the next was more violent, it would mean the end. What is even more remarkable is, that my bounds through space were not at all disagreeable; however, if the distance had been a little more considerable, I believe I should completely have lost consciousness; therefore I am convinced that death, when caused by a fall from a considerable height, is one of the least painful which one can undergo.'

"Admiral Beaufort, who in his youth fell into the water, says: 'From the moment when I gave up all efforts, a feeling of calm and almost perfect tranquility took the place of tumultuous sensations: it was apathy, not resignation, because it seemed to me that to be drowned was not a bad thing. I no longer thought of being saved, and I did not suffer in any way. On the contrary, my sensations were rather agreeable, recalling the feeling of benumbed contentment which precedes sleep, when caused by physical fatigue.'

"Therefore, as Livingstone said, there is a benevolent mechanism which in a case of accident performs the same function as carbonic acid does in a case of death by illness.

"One may suffer during the illness which precedes death, but one does not suffer at the moment of death.

"Death in itself is absolutely free from pain, just like sleep."

POEMS BY BUDDHIST PRIESTS OF JAPAN.

TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY ARTHUR LLOYD.

Identity of Self and Buddha.

"I" lives within material walls of flesh:
Yet when "I" was not, "Self" was ever there,
For "Self" is Buddha.

Anon.

Seek Truth Within.

Whom shall I ask to preach the Law to me?
Whom but my own true mind?

Tou-a.

Care in Seeking.

Through bush and brake you climb to seize the branch
Of the wild cherry-tree that lures you forth,
To seek it for its beauty.

When 'tis seized,
Beware lest, in the hour of joy, you shake
The quickly falling petals from the branch.

Bukkoku Zenji.

One Truth in Various Forms.

a. The teaching of the Buddhas is but one;
Yet in a thousand ears its varied sounds
Are thousandfold repeated.

b. Look you now!
The Lotus of the Holy Law hath bloomed.
All men are turning Buddhas.

Saving Faith.

I stand upon the unknown ocean's brink,
 My long land-journey done, and by the strand,
 The good-ship "Saving Faith" lies anchoring
 To waft me, with fair tides and favoring gales,
 To the pure land upon the other shore.

Ta-a.

This World and the Next.

This world, the fading grass, the world to come
 The peaceful pine whose boughs are evergreen.
Shōyō-in.

Endless Life.

Why pray for length of years,—a life prolonged
 To the full century? Lo! Mida's¹ life
 Is endless, and that endless Life is thine.

Hōnen Shōnin.

The Joys of the Hermit's Life.

A hermit's cell, and by its lowly door,
 A formless mist; but by and by the mist
 Transforms itself into the purple cloud
 That forms the vestibule of Paradise.

Hōnen Shōnin.

Nothingness.

If I that sing am nought, and they that live
 With me are nought, and nought the world I see,
 How shall this nought hinder my mind to grasp
 The sole true *Ens*,—Infinite Nothingness?

Akazome Emon.

Spring and Autumn of Life.

The spring flower comes and goes; the autumn moon
 Waxes and wanes

And wanes the life of man.

Osuke.

¹ Mida = Amida, the Buddha of endless Life and Light.

Impartiality of Divine Grace.

The "light that shineth" shines on all alike,
 Without distinction made of this or that:
 Nor do men differ, save that, here and there
 One turns his face from light, and thinks 'tis dark.
 Jikkyō.

Two Songs about Life.

In my curved palm I hold a tiny drop
 Of water, where, for one brief space of time,
 I see the moon reflected: Such is life.
 Ki Izurayuki

The dew-drops fall on the broad lotus leaf,
 Linger a moments' space, and then roll off,
 One here, one there, and are not, Such is life.
 Tōjō Henjō.

The Evil Days.

Ah me, the light that lighteth every man
 Burns dimly, with unsteady light, and none
 Can fan the dying flame of truth to life:
 Thus may we know ill days are near at hand.
 Engaku.

Youth is Blind.

In spring the young colt gambols on the plain
 This way and that, nor heeds the rightful path,
 Which only they can find who know the marks
 That lead them to the Way.
 Kūya.

No Flowers Without the Tree.

Spring bids the cherry-blossom fill the land
 With fragrant brightness: yet, cut down the tree,
 And Spring herself can bid no flowers bloom.
 Anon.

The Law Within Us.

- a. Only on some tall rock, that towers aloft
 High o'er the splash and turmoil of the waves,
 Can I inscribe the Law.
- b. 'Tis something more,
 This Law, than the mere breath of spoken words:
 Upon the wayside grass it leaves no sign
 To show that it has passed.
- c. 'Tis like a flower,
 Born in my own heart-land, and where it blooms,
 'Tis always spring for me.
- d. Whether in May
 The flowers bloom, or, in the summer brakes,
 The cuckoo tunes his song, or Autumn fields
 Are bright with silver moonlight, or the snow
 Lies deep on winter hills,—'tis always spring
 In my heart-land that has the truer light,
 And knows the Law.
- e. The gathering night falls fast.
 With deepening clouds, yet ever through the gloom
 The fowl, unerring, finds its homeward way,
 Trailing across the sky a long black line.
- f. So flies my soul back to her native rest
 Deep in the mountain fastness—to herself.
 Dôgen.

The Inner Light.

The envious clouds obscure the silver moon
 Through this long darksome night. Let it be so:
 There is no darkness where the golden beams
 Of truth illuminate the happy mind.
 Sangyo.

The Value of Moments.

The moment flies unheeded by, and yet
 'Tis pregnant with immeasurable good
 Or endless mischief.

Who can tell its worth?
Therefore be jealous of thy fleeting hours.
Saigyo.

Mercy.

'Tis good that thou show mercy. Lo! the Path
Of all the Buddhas is naught else but this.
Anon.

Two Songs on the Light.

The light that shineth in the silver moon
Shineth in thee; there is no other light,
And happy they that know this only Light.
Narishima Ryohoku.

Thou say'st, "The light that shines in yonder moon
Shineth in me; and yet my mind is dark!"
Burnish the mirror of thy soul, and lo!
'Twill shine as brightly as yon silver moon.
Senkwan.

The Mind of Man.

The waves that dash against the rock exhaust
Their rage, and presently are lulled to peace;
But the live coals burn, flameless, on the hearth,
Nor cease their glow.

And such a fire is hell,
Unceasing, flameless, kindled by no fiend,
Inmate or denizen of Tartarus,
But kindled, fed, and fanned within the heart,
By mind alone.

Mind, working endlessly,
Produces Hell; and endless are its pains
To them that know not the true power of mind
In all, to make or mar.

Yet, oh, the joy
To be a man, and have it in my power
To know the path of Truth, and traveling thus
To reach the goal where Hell and Heaven cease
In one Nirvana of Unconscious light.

Gyōkai.

Mind and Phenomena.

Yon glassy mirror of the placid lake
 Reflects the sky, and trees, and twinkling stars.
 Approach it closer, lo! the scene hath changed:
 Instead of stars and sky thou seest thyself;
 For 'twas thy mind created stars and sky
 Reflected in the mirror of the lake.
 Thus may'st thou learn that all phenomena
 Are but *φαινόμενα*, but things that seem
 To thy reflecting mind, and not the truth
 And essence of eternal verity,—
 Which essence is the all-informing mind.

Anon.

Happy Old Age.

Happy the peaceful years that gently glide
 Towards their certain end, without a cloud
 Cast on them by the deeds of former days.
 Is old age happy, with one hope fulfilled,
 And two, three, four, still unaccomplished?
 Truly, old age at sixes and at sevens?

Komachi.

Local Coloring.

The water in fair Shirakawa's stream
 Flows red beneath the autumn maple groves:
 Yet, when I draw, from that red-flowing stream,
 A cup to quench my thirst, 'tis no more red.

Teishin (a nun).

The Evening of Life.

The daylight dies: my life draws near its end:
 To-morrow night the temple bell will sound
 Its wonted vesper call,—but not for me.
 I shall not hear it,—not as "I"; but, merged
 In the great sum of things, I too shall hear.

Anon.

Brief Life Our Portion.

A dew-drop, life! A brief and sparkling hour
 Upon the lotus-leaf! And, as I gaze around,
 My fellow-drops that twinkled in the sun
 Have vanished into nothingness, and I
 Am left alone to marvel at my age.

Saigyō.

The Sum of Knowledge.

Know thou canst not regulate thy mind
 Just as thou wouldst, and when thou knowest this,
 Thou knowest all.

Izumi Shikibu.

Life Reviewed.

My parents bade me come a little while
 To stay, an honored guest, upon this earth;
 Now that the feast is over, I retire,
 Well sated to my home of nothingness.

Rin Shihei.

An Epitaph.

Here, where a dew-drop vanished from the leaf,
 The autumn wind pipes sadly in the grass.
 Tora, at the grave of her lover, Soga Gorō.

All Things Change Save Buddha.

Year after year the annual flowers bloom
 Upon the selfsame bush, and, blooming, die,
 Yet the bush lives uninterruptedly.
 Thus Buddha lives unchanged; while we, that are
 But shows and shadows of the inner soul,
 Bud, bloom, and die, as rolling years speed on.

Anon.

The Mind is Buddha.

The mind is Buddha; not that mind alone,
 One and the same, that dwells in nature's whole,
 But mine, the surface wave upon the sea
 Of matter, that is Buddha.

Can there be
Ocean distinct from ocean's surging waves?
Anon.

The Way of the Gods (Shinto).

[I do not know who the author of this poem was, but probably a Buddhist priest as I found the poem in a Buddhist preachers' Manual. The Buddhist uses the thought underlying this poem in precisely the same way as a Christian would, to emphasize the need of an incarnation.]

Men talk of the Gods' Way. If there be such,
'Tis not for men to tread it; none but gods
Can tread the holy pathway of the gods.
Hagura Toman.

Crossing the Ferry.

[The boatman here is Amida, and the main thought is salvation by faith alone.]

I take no oar in my unskilful hands,
Nor labor at the thwarts to cross the stream.
The boatman whom I trust will row me o'er
To the safe haven of the shore beyond.
Anon.

The Worth of Silence.

When I give utterance to my surging thoughts,
I oft repent me of my foolish words.
When, self-repressed, I hold my peace, my heart
Flutters itself to rest and happiness.
At such time, where is he that sits enthroned,
Ruling my heart, Buddha, the Lord of Peace?
Where, but within the secret citadel
Which passions reach not, finite thought ne'er grasps?
The Mother of the Priest Ikkyu.

Uncertainty of Life.

[Shinran (end of 12th century) was a very celebrated priest and founder of the Shinshu sect.]

Say not, "there'll be a morrow," for to-night
The wind may rise, and e'er the morning dawn,
The cherry-bloom lie scattered on the earth.
Shinran Shōnin.

Carpe Diem.

"The world is nothing but to-day." To-day
 Is present, yesterday is past, and lo!
 Who know what will be when to-morrow dawns?
 Anon.

The One Way.

[Ito was a Confucianist and as such a very strong opponent of Buddhism. The Zen, or contemplative, Buddhists are nowever very near the Confucianists in their strict ideas about morality and watchfulness over self.]

The more I think thereon, the more I know
 That but one way exists for men to walk,
 The way by which man learns to keep himself.
 Ito Jinsai.

The Need of a Guide Outside of Man.

[Kōbō Daishi, beginning of the 9th century, was one of the great founders of what may be called "theistic" Buddhism in Japan. His supreme God was a mysterious Buddha named Vairocana, whom he identified with Amaterasu, the sun-goddess, and thus paved the way for a reconciliation between Buddhism and Shinto which lasted until 1869 when the Imperial Government insisted on the purification of Shinto.]

What human voice can tell me, "this is good
 For man to do," or, "this is bad for thee"?
 The voice of man speaks as the mind of man
 Dictates, and mind is naught but constant change.
 Kōbō Daishi.

Filial Piety.

[There are several temples in Japan which commemorate the filial piety (*yōrō*) of the devoted son who goes every day to the forest to cut wood in order to supply his aged parent with liquor, and is at last rewarded by finding a cascade of the purest *sake*.]

To quench his father's thirst, the filial son
 Toiled to fair Yōrō's stream, and, drawing thence
 A vessel full of water from the well,
 Bore it home lovingly.

The admiring gods,
 Seeing the filial deed set to their seals,
 And turned the sparkling water into wine.
 Anon.

What is After Death?

[The sentiment is more Confucianist than Buddhist. The author was a Buddhist priest of the extreme Zen sect which is very closely allied to Confucianism.]

Where goes the flame when the too envious breath
 Of heaven tears it from its burning wick?
 Where, but to its primeval home, the Dark?
 Muso Kokushi (13th century).

Take no Life.

[Buddhism takes the commandment "thou shalt not kill," in its widest sense, and forbids the taking of all animal life. I believe this to have been one of the reasons why Buddhism has had so very little hold on the *samurai* or warrior class, who have always been addicted to sport as well as the practice of arms.]

The life thou takest, is it not the same
 As that thou lov'st to feel?
 Then take it not.
 Gyokai.

God in Nature.

[God (Buddha) to the Buddhist is immanent in all nature.]

The golden hues upon the sunlit peak,
 The water babbling o'er its pebbly bed,
 Are they not Buddha's Presence and His Voice?
 Shōyō.

The Traces of a Former Existence.

[The similarity to Wordsworth will not escape the reader. It is a commonplace of Buddhism.]

The image thou beholdest in thy soul,
 What is it but the trail of glory brought
 From some prenatal life yon side the womb?
 Muso Kokushi.

Forgiveness.

[Ikkyū was famous as a priest, a poet, a preacher and a painter. He was also a humorist, and it was possibly to his humor that he owed his success in other lines of life. Though a Zen priest, he seems to have believed in the forgiveness of sins through Amida. Sumeru is a fabulous mountain of the Buddhists. Yema is the King of Hades and the judge of departed souls.]

My sins, piled up, reach to Sumero's top,
Yet, praised be Buddha's name, King Yema's book
Shows my unhappy record blotted out.

Ikkyū (1394-1481).

The Name of Salvation.

Great 'Mida's name² sounds constant in my ears,
And as I hear the oft-repeated sounds,
The veil is drawn aside that hides the truth,
And the bright light of Heaven fills all my soul.

Gyokū.

Consciousness is a Sense of Loss.

All day the wind blows rustling through the pines,
Yet my dull ears heed not the wonted sound;
But when the rustling wind doth cease to blow,
My soul starts, conscious of a Something missed.

Rengetsu.

One Substance Under Different Forms.

Rain, sleet, and snow, the gathering mist that creeps
Adown the mountain side, the dashing stream
That clatters o'er the pebbles to the sea,
We give them different names to suit their forms,
But th'underlying substance is the same.

Anon.

We Came from Nothing and Return to Nothing.

You gather stones from off the waste hill side,
And therewith build a cottage, snug and warm;
But the hut falls with age, and by and by
There's naught but just the waste hill-side again.

Anon.

² *Mida* = Amida. The prayer-formula of the Shinshu and Jōdo sects consists of a constant repetition of Amida's name.

Man's Life.

[I have not been able to find anything about this writer whose five poems I have here strung together. He was probably a priest.]

a. What is man's life?

A bubble on the stream,
Caused by the splashing rain which merrily
Dances along the swiftly moving wave,
Full of apparent life, then suddenly
Breaks and dissolves, and lo! it vanishes,
Leaving no trace.

b. A fragile summer moth,
Hovering at night around the candle-flame,
And finding there its transient joy of life,
And there its death.

c. A frail banana leaf,
Spreading its glories to the morning wind,
And broken in a trice.

d. A dream that comes,
Luring the soul with sham realities,
But fading in a moment, when the eye
Opens to the world of truth.

e. A shadow cast
That has no substance, echo without voice,
A phantasy of action.

Such is life.
Zeisho Atsuko.

COMMENTS ON VACCINATION IN THE FAR EAST.

BY EDMUND M. H. SIMON.

A SHORT time after I had paid a visit to the International Exhibition of Hygiene at Dresden in 1911, where I had seen in the excellent Japanese Section some instruments used in ancient times in Japan for the medical treatment of smallpox, and also a number of books and pictures treating the question of the introduction of vaccination into the Country of the Rising Sun, I happened to read an article written by Berthold Laufer concerning the same subject.¹ Supported by some statements from the official catalogue² and by a small pamphlet published in German on this occasion,³ I may add some remarks to those already offered in Dr. Laufer's article.

According to Japanese statements the first credible record of an epidemic of smallpox in China dates from the Tsin Dynasty (265-419 A. D.)⁴ The first description of the disease is found in a medical book *Chou-hou-fang*, written by the physician T'ao Hung-ching in the Liang dynasty (502-556).⁵ Further, the *Ping-yüan-hou-lun*, published by Ch'ao Yüan-fang in 601, dealt with the symptomatology of smallpox.⁶ During the Sung dynasty some special works on smallpox were written which also found their way to Japan. In the second year of the Japanese era Shōō (1653), a Chinese physician Tai Man-kung arrived in Nagasaki who published

¹ Berthold Laufer, "The Introduction of Vaccination into the Far East," *The Open Court*, Vol. XXV, pp. 524-531.

² *Katalog der von der Kais. Japan. Regierung ausgestellten Gegenstände*, Dresden, 1911.

³ *Vakzination in Japan*, Dresden, 1911.

⁴ We regret that no exact details are given as to where these records are to be found.

⁵ *Vakzination*, p. 1.

⁶ *Ibid.*

a book *Ta-chi-ch'uan-shou* treating of the course and prognosis of smallpox varying according to the place of outbreak and according to color and form. Ikeda Masanao, the medical adviser to the Prince Kikkwa, received instruction from Tai, and afterwards handed down his knowledge to his family from which was descended Ikeda Kinkyo, the famous specialist for smallpox treatment. Kinkyo was appointed medical adviser to the Shogun in 1796 and founded at Yedo (Tokyo) a special course in his science at the Medical Academy (Igaku kwan). He also published drawings of the lip and tongue of smallpox sufferers, and the minute details of his sketches give evidence of very careful study of the disease.

To check the virulence of smallpox the practice of inoculation was introduced into Japan in the second year of Enkyō (1744) by a Chinese from Hangchow called Li Jên-shan,⁷ but it was not followed to any great extent by the Japanese. It is only since the middle of the eighteenth century, when a Chinese book treating of inoculation was published in Japan under the title *Shutō shimpō* ("A Novel Method of Vaccination"), that this method was put more and more into practice. One physician who applied inoculation with good results is said to have been Ogata Shinsaku from the Province of Hizen in Kiushiu. This man also invented some instruments which proved very helpful in fighting an epidemic that raged in the clan of Akizuki⁸ in 1788. He also recorded the results of his investigations in a book, *Shutō Hitsujumben*, in 1795.

Vaccination became known in Japan not long after it was introduced into China by Dr. Pearson by means of the *Yin-tou-lüeh*, a book written and published in 1817 by the Chinese physician Ch'iu Hao-chuan of Manhai who had applied Jenner's method with good results.⁹ The tract written by Dr. Pearson and the *Yin-tou-lüeh* were translated into Japanese by the botanist Itō Keisuke in 1840.¹⁰

The Japanese obtained practical knowledge of Jenner's method from two different sources at about the same time. In the first case the knowledge was brought to them accidentally from Russia when a Japanese official named Nakagawa Gorōji, imprisoned in 1808 on the Kurile Island Iturup on suspicion of espionage, became acquainted with vaccination as conducted by the Russians. After his release he introduced it in his native town Matsumai of Hok-

⁷ *Vakzination*, p. 2.

⁸ In Chikuzen.

⁹ *Vakzination*, pp. 4, 5, where the name of the book is given as *Jin-tou-lüth*.

¹⁰ Shisei Oyama published the *Yin-tou-lüeh* in 1847 in a revised and enlarged edition under the title: *Intoshimpō-zensho*.

kaidō, having obtained not only two books on the subject but some of the cow-lymph as well. Therefore Nakagawa was able to check the force of epidemics which raged in 1824, 1835 and 1842, but on account of the remoteness of his field of operation from the capital his successful work remained unknown there. However, this fact confirms the truth of a statement made by a Russian physician,¹¹ that in consequence of measures he had employed vaccination had been propagated from Jekutzh as far as Jakutsk and Ochotsk; but we suppose that the writer of this did not know that he had also been indirectly the teacher of Japan, which at that time was still closed to foreigners except a few Dutch merchants.

The other occasion was when the famous German physician and naturalist Philipp von Siebold, who was employed by the Dutch East India Company, introduced Jenner's discovery into Japan, importing cow-lymph from Java to Nagasaki in 1824. Originally the efforts made by him and some others did not meet with much recognition, but when Narabayashi Sōken,¹² medical adviser to Prince Nabeshima Kansō, Daimyō of Saga, having been ordered to provide cow-lymph, had obtained it from the Dutch physician Mohnike, and had vaccinated some children with good results in 1849, the new method gained a victory. Narabayashi also published a book *Gyūtō shōkō* describing the method of vaccination and reported a conversation he had had with Mohnike on the same subject.

Although the Bakufu, the government of the Shōgun, sympathized with the physicians of the old style and forbade the study of European medicine, the new method of vaccination made rapid progress in Japan. The most celebrated books of foreign medical authorities were translated into Japanese and published by Miyake Shinrai. Institutes for vaccination were established and pamphlets as well as colorprints distributed among the people. Specimens of these were to be seen at the exhibition held at Dresden which were very similar to the specimen described by Dr. Laufer. Finally in 1874 the new regime made vaccination compulsory after the Japanese institutes had been successful in preparing cow-lymph of good quality.

When the 100th anniversary of Jenner's discovery was celebrated in 1896, the united medical societies of Japan erected a monument in Ueno-Park at Tokyo in acknowledgment of the great genius of the discoverer.

¹¹ Cf. J. J. Dyer Ball, *Things Chinese*, 1903, p. 757.

¹² *Katalog, ibid.*, gives the name Narabayashi Wazan.

AN EASY WAY TO FIND EASTER IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.*

BY EBERHARD NESTLE.

THE newspapers report that the negotiations which recently went on between the states of Europe to put an end to the vacillation of Easter, have been unsuccessful, at least for the time being. It is therefore desirable to know an easy way for the determination of Easter.

It is a well-known fact that in determining the date of Easter two traditions have been combined: the Jewish, which kept and keeps Passover on the day of the first full moon in the spring; and the Christian, which led to the observance of the following Sunday. Two questions are therefore united, when we ask on what day Easter will fall. We must know:

1. on what day of the month will be the first spring full moon, and
2. on what day of the week it will fall.

Following the good rule *divide et impera*, we can answer both these questions very easily.

1. Multiply the year (*annus*) a by 11, divide the product by 30, subtract the remainder from 45 and you have the day of the first full moon in the spring by counting from the first of March. The formula then will be $45 - (11a - 30m)$ in which m is the largest whole number of times 30 will be contained in $11a$, here ignoring the remainder.

Examples:

$(19)12 \times 11 = 132$; $132 : 30$ leaves 12; $45 - 12 = 33$. March 33 = April 2.

* Eberhard Nestle, D.D., Ph.D., a professor at the theological seminary at Maulbronn, famous for his Syriac and Hebrew works and also as a Semitic scholar in general, takes great interest in his leisure hours in mathematical studies, and we take pleasure in publishing one of his lucubrations in the line of his hobby. It may be of interest also to our readers that Dr. Nestle, having lived for two or three years in England, speaks and writes English with facility.

(19) $13 \times 11 = 143$; $143 : 30$ leaves 23; $45 - 23 = 22$. March 22.

(19) $14 \times 11 = 154$; $154 : 30$ leaves 4; $45 - 4 = 41$. March 41 = April 10.

Observation 1: If a (the year) be greater than 19, simplify the operation by subtracting 19 or multiples of 19.

Observation 2: If the result be smaller than 21, add 30.

Example for observations 1 and 2:

1943. $43 : 19$ leaves 5; $5 \times 11 = 55$; $55 - 30$ leaves 25; $45 - 25 = 20$;

$20 + 30 = 50$. March 50 = April 19.

2. Now comes the second task: What day of the week is the day thus found? Denoting the desired day of the week by x , the day of the month by d , and the year by a we have the formulas

a) for April. $d + [a + (\frac{a}{4} - r)] : 7$ leaves x ;

b) for March. $d + [a + (\frac{a}{4} - r)] + 4 : 7$ leaves x ;

in which r equals the remainder of the previous operation being the division of the year by 4. In the resulting numerical values of x , 1 indicates Sunday, 2 Monday, etc.

To use the same examples as above:

1912, April 2. $2 + 12 + (3 - 0) = 17 : 7$ leaves 3 = Tuesday.

1913, March 22. $22 + 13 + (3\frac{1}{4} - \frac{1}{4}) + 4 = 42 : 7$ leaves 0 = Saturday.

1914, April 10. $10 + 14 + (3\frac{1}{2} - \frac{1}{2}) = 27 : 7$ leaves 6 = Friday.

1943, April 19. $19 + 43 + (10\frac{3}{4} - \frac{3}{4}) = 72 : 7$ leaves 2 = Monday.

Observation 3: It is clear that I can at once simplify every member by subtracting 7 or multiples of 7. Instead of saying March 22, April 10, April 19, I say 1, 3, 5; instead of years 12, 13, 14, 43, I say 5, 6, 0, 1.

Observation 4: That I must add to the year a its fourth part, comes from the leap years.

Easter then always comes on the Sunday following the day thus found; i. e., in 1912 it will be April 7, in 1913 March 23, in 1914 April 12, and in 1943 April 25, which is as late as Easter can fall, while in 1913 it will be almost as early as it can be.

3. There are two exceptions in the general rules for finding Easter; but as they are very rare, they may be neglected here. To explain how it is possible to bring the rules for Easter, which are regarded as very complicated, to such a simple form in the 20th century, will lead us too far here. Suffice it to say that the moon keeps a period of 19 years; therefore the 1900 years which have passed before the years for which we seek the full moon, may be neglected.

4. The above rules under 2 are only a special application of the general rules by which the day of the week of any date can be fixed.

They are based on the continued division of seven. Perhaps the most convenient form which can be given them will be found in the annexed calendar.

UNIVERSAL CALENDAR.

To find the day of the week of any date (for instance of the day of your birth) add the figures in either marginal column corresponding to the day (*d*), month (*m*), year (*a*) and century (*c*), and divide the sum by 7. The remainder will give the required day of the week. 1 meaning Sunday, 2 Monday, 3 Tuesday and so on. For the Julian calendar, which is still used in Russia and has been replaced elsewhere in Europe by the Gregorian since October 15, 1582, use for century (*c*) the figures under J, for the Gregorian under G. For leapyears, use for January and February the bracketed (I), (II).

By letting the letters *d*, *m*, *a*, *c*, stand for the marginal figures (1-7) which appear in our table in the same lines as the corresponding figures of the date, we have the formula,

$$d + m + a + c : 7.$$

To illustrate, let us determine upon what day of the week Washington's birthday fell this year. Then by consulting the table we find $d = 1$, $m = 7$, $a = 1$, $c = 3$. $1 + 7 + 1 + 3 : 7$ leaves 5. Hence the day of the week required is Thursday.

<i>d</i>	<i>m</i>		<i>c</i>		<i>a</i>
			J	G	
	II	III	6	13	
1	8	XI	13	20	1
2	9	—	12	19	2
3	10	—	11	18	3
4	11	—	10	17	4
5	12	—	9	16	5
6	13	—	8	15	6
7	14	—	7	14	7
8	15	—	6	13	1
9	16	—	5	12	2
10	17	—	4	11	3
11	18	—	3	10	4
12	19	—	2	9	5
13	20	—	1	8	6
14	21	—	0	7	7
15	22	—	6	13	1
16	23	—	5	12	2
17	24	—	4	11	3
18	25	—	3	10	4
19	26	—	2	9	5
20	27	—	1	8	6
21	28	—	0	7	7
22	29	—	6	13	1
23	30	—	5	12	2
24	31	—	4	11	3
25	—	—	3	10	4
26	—	—	2	9	5
27	—	—	1	8	6
28	—	—	0	7	7
29	—	—	6	13	1
30	—	—	5	12	2
31	—	—	4	11	3
32	—	—	3	10	4
33	—	—	2	9	5
34	—	—	1	8	6
35	—	—	0	7	7
36	—	—	6	13	1
37	—	—	5	12	2
38	—	—	4	11	3
39	—	—	3	10	4
40	—	—	2	9	5
41	—	—	1	8	6
42	—	—	0	7	7
43	—	—	6	13	1
44	—	—	5	12	2
45	—	—	4	11	3
46	—	—	3	10	4
47	—	—	2	9	5
48	—	—	1	8	6
49	—	—	0	7	7
50	—	—	6	13	1
51	—	—	5	12	2
52	—	—	4	11	3
53	—	—	3	10	4
54	—	—	2	9	5
55	—	—	1	8	6
56	—	—	0	7	7
57	—	—	6	13	1
58	—	—	5	12	2
59	—	—	4	11	3
60	—	—	3	10	4
61	—	—	2	9	5
62	—	—	1	8	6
63	—	—	0	7	7
64	—	—	6	13	1
65	—	—	5	12	2
66	—	—	4	11	3
67	—	—	3	10	4
68	—	—	2	9	5
69	—	—	1	8	6
70	—	—	0	7	7
71	—	—	6	13	1
72	—	—	5	12	2
73	—	—	4	11	3
74	—	—	3	10	4
75	—	—	2	9	5
76	—	—	1	8	6
77	—	—	0	7	7
78	—	—	6	13	1
79	—	—	5	12	2
80	—	—	4	11	3
81	—	—	3	10	4
82	—	—	2	9	5
83	—	—	1	8	6
84	—	—	0	7	7
85	—	—	6	13	1
86	—	—	5	12	2
87	—	—	4	11	3
88	—	—	3	10	4
89	—	—	2	9	5
90	—	—	1	8	6
91	—	—	0	7	7
92	—	—	6	13	1
93	—	—	5	12	2
94	—	—	4	11	3
95	—	—	3	10	4
96	—	—	2	9	5
97	—	—	1	8	6
98	—	—	0	7	7
99	—	—	6	13	1
100	—	—	5	12	2

DISCUSSION OF CHRIST'S FIRST WORD ON THE CROSS.

REMARKS OF PROF. W. B. SMITH.

[The corrected proof sheets of Professor Smith's article in reply to Professor Nestle's and Rev. Charles Caverno's communications reached us after the March number of *The Open Court* had gone to press, and we regret that they came too late for us to make the changes or insert the additions. In justice to Professor Smith, however, we deem it proper to reprint his entire discussion of Christ's First Words on the Cross. The article to which it belongs appeared in the March number, pages 177 ff.—ED.]

THE passage in question is very richly attested by very ancient authorities. It is given by great numbers of manuscripts, some uncials, and very old, reaching into the fifth or fourth century, which I need not name; they are all found cited on pp. 710, 711 of Tischendorf's New Testament, Vol. I. The passage is also found in the Fathers as early as the 2d century, being quoted by Irenaeus (A. D. 185), Origen (A. D. 245) and others. It is also found in Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, Ethiopian and Latin versions; also in the Clementine Homilies, etc. So that the attestation appears overwhelming. Nevertheless, it is *still an interpolation*. For it is not in the oldest Greek manuscript, the Vatican (B) dating from the fourth or early fifth century, nor in Beza's D; it was enclosed in brackets in the next oldest, the Sinaitic (N); it is not in the oldest Syriac version, our very oldest authority; not in various other excellent manuscripts and versions. Its *presence* in any number of MSS. and other authorities is easy enough to understand, even if it were not originally in Luke's Gospel; but its *absence* from so many of the very oldest is impossible to understand, if it had been originally there.

It would seem that some copyist invented it in the second century, after the Gospel (according to Luke) had taken form and become current. It was inserted (by some copyist) in some MSS., and not inserted by others. Hence it appears in many but not in the very oldest MSS. and translations (like the Syriac translation

recently discovered on Mt. Sinai). The acute text-critic Lachmann put it in brackets [] in his edition of the New Testament, and the great English editors, Bishop Westcott and Dr. Hort, in their edition of 1881, the best thus far, put it in double brackets [[]], as being an interpolation.

But the interpolation was made in the second century, before A. D. 190, or at least the verse was invented before that time. Just when it was actually first written in a copy of Luke's Gospel, no man can say within one or two hundred years, certainly however before the ninth century, for some MSS. containing it are much older than the ninth century, when men had ceased to think such great thoughts.

The notion that the clause was first introduced into the text in the ninth century reflects perhaps Scrivener's remark that the corrector who introduced the sentence into D was "not earlier than Cent. ix." On page 68 of "Notes on Select Readings," Appendix to Westcott and Hort's edition of the New Testament, 1881, we read: "The documentary distribution suggests that text was a Western interpolation, of limited range in early times (being absent from *D a b* though read by *e* syr. vt Iren. Hom. Cl Eus. *Can*), adopted in eclectic texts, and then naturally received into general currency.

"Its omission on the hypothesis of its genuineness, cannot be explained in any reasonable manner. Wilful excision, on account of the love and forgiveness shown to the Lord's own murderers, is absolutely incredible." Then, after discussing the Constantinopolitan lection, the editors continue:

"Few verses of the Gospels bear in themselves a surer witness to the truth of what they record than this first of the Words from the Cross: but it need not therefore have belonged originally to the book in which it is now included. We can not doubt that it comes from an extraneous source."

This admission by the chief English editors is decisive and of the farthest-reaching importance. Still more recent critics entertain no doubt whatever. Says Wellhausen, it "is without any doubt interpolated." His exact words are:

"Der Spruch 'Vater vergib ihnen u. s. w.' (xxiii. 34) fehlt im Vat. Sin. und D, in der Syra und einigen Vett. Latinae; er ist ohne allen Zweifel interpolirt."

This is not absolutely accurate. The saying is in Sin. but enclosed in curved brackets put there by an early corrector (A), and afterwards deleted by a later corrector. A seems to have known

that the passage was interpolated. Tischendorf's words are: "A (ut videtur) uncos apposuit, sed rursus deleti sunt." Moreover, the verse appears in some Syriac versions, but *not* in the oldest, the Sinaitic.

Of course, one must not forget, neither wonder, that the Burgons rage (*Revision Revised*, p. 83) and the Millers imagine a vain thing (*Scrivener's Introduction*, Fourth Revised Edition, II., 356-358), but what is the *only* argument they adduce? Simply a catalog of the MSS., Versions, Fathers that attest the words in question. "And there being several thousand—but this story why pursue?" What does a whole "forest" of such testimonies avail? What signify? Merely that the sentiment pleased the prevailing Christian consciousness. Were the witnesses strewn thick as autumnal leaves in Vallombrosa, it would mean no more. If the Associated Press should send out an idle rumor, would any one seek to prove it authentic by heaping up copies of the 'Dailies' in which it appeared? Yet such is the method of the critics who "burn with indignation" against the thoroughly orthodox editors, Westcott and Hort, declaring that "the system which entails such consequences is hopelessly self-condemned."

Like the English masters, Professor Nestle recognizes that the clause is "inserted" and does "not belong to the earliest form of the Gospel of Luke." Nevertheless, like them he still *seems* to hold that the saying is *authentic*, that the verse "is a true record of what Jesus really said from a source of which the origin is no longer known," and he thinks this "assumption" "compatible" with the concession that the clause was "inserted in some copies of Luke." But how can this be? Since admittedly the sentiment was so popular that its interpolation found early and wide-spread adoption, why was it omitted and disregarded by *all* the earliest authorities, by Matthew, by Mark, by Luke, by John, by countless other "Gospels," by the Epistolists, by the Apostolic Fathers, by the Apologists, by all Christian writers down to Irenæus, for 150 years after the words were supposedly spoken? Less than a century separates us from Waterloo. Suppose that in some new edition, by some unknown reviser, of Siborne or Montholon, we should find "inserted," as pronounced by either Duke or Emperor at the crisis, some extraordinary elsewhere unmentioned saying similar to some familiar utterance, under similar conditions, of Turenne or Marlborough. Would Nestle or any other critic accept it as authentic? Would he not dismiss it as a manifest invention? Would he not regard the silence of a century, and of all who were in any position to know, as decisive? Why

then refuse to apply to the New Testament the principles followed in dealing with other documents?

Nestle asks, "Why shall we not assume that Stephen and James followed the example set by Jesus?" Certainly, in the utter absence of evidence no one would deny the *abstract possibility* that Jesus uttered these or any other words on the Cross, IF *Jesus was really a man and really crucified*. But, laying aside the fact that no shred of evidence yet produced indicates clearly his humanity, while volumes of uncontroverted evidence indicate his pure divinity and non-humanity, we must still renew the questions: How was such a saying reported from the crucifixion? How did it gain currency among the disciples? Above all else, why did it remain unheeded by all that knew it, and for well-nigh 150 years, for nearly 5 generations, and why await all this while or longer for a copyist to interpolate it? Such questions admit of no satisfactory answer.

The cases of Stephen and James, if authentic, make not for but only against the contention of Nestle. For *if* the Disciples spake so at their passing, then indeed there was strong incentive and even compelling reason to ascribe such words to Jesus also; for surely "a disciple is not above his master, nor a servant above his lord." Since it is thus so easy and natural to understand the verse as what it obviously appears to be, the pious invention of a later date, the hypothesis of Nestle must be rejected as not only unmanageable but also unnecessary.

The case of Socrates has been cited as offering the original precedent and model of imitation, not because it was unique, but because it was so famous. To be sure, some one may object that the incident was only a pious disciple's invention, to glorify his master. And who can quite deny? But fact or fiction, it had been for centuries familiar to the general mind. For the Lucan interpolator, however, the examples of James and Stephen lay nearer at hand, at least in tradition, if not in historical actuality. On their dying lips such words were appropriate and even probable, though the positive evidence therefor is too frail to be handled. On the other hand, there is no decisive counter-proof, as there is against the *authenticity* as well as the *genuineness* of the Lucan passage.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE LATE REV. ARTHUR LLOYD.

BY ERNEST W. CLEMENT.

It has always been a question which was the better way to address the subject of this obituary sketch. As an ordained clergyman of the Church of England, he was entitled to the prefix "Rev."; and, as an educator, he was entitled to the prefix "Prof." Moreover, he had also a suffix in the form of "M. A." It might perhaps be said, not inappropriately, that he was a reverend professor and a cultured clergyman, who was such an honor to both his professions that it was impossible to keep them separate. He was really the Rev. Prof. Arthur Lloyd.

The bare outline of his life has been sketched as follows in the *Japan Mail*:

"The late Mr. Lloyd was born at Simla in 1852 and was the son of the late Major Frederick Lloyd, Bengal Native Infantry. He was educated at Brewood Grammar School, Staffordshire, and at Peterhouse, Cambridge, where he took first class honors in classics. On leaving College Mr. Lloyd took orders and was appointed curate of St. Barnabas, Liverpool, in 1875. In 1877 he was given a fellowship in his college where he was appointed dean. In 1879 he became rector of Norton, and in 1882 vicar of Hunston, Bury St. Edmunds. He resigned both livings in 1885 to come to Japan as a missionary for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. In 1890 he left Japan to become professor of classics in Trinity College, Toronto, and he also held the post of headmaster of Trinity College school, Port Hope, Ontario, for a short time. In 1893 he was back again in Japan, teaching in the Keiogijuku, and at the close of the China-Japan war he took up an appointment as instructor at the naval academy, a position he had held previously. He was also appointed lecturer on English literature at the Imperial University. Among the other appointments he held were those of lecturer at the Mercantile Marine College, President of St. Paul's College, Tokyo, and teacher in the Tokyo Higher Commercial School.

"Mr. Lloyd's publications on Japan are very numerous, and the proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Japan, of which he was for some years Librarian, bear witness to his learning and industry. Among his works may be mentioned *Development of Japanese Buddhism*, *Imperial Songs* (translations of poems by T. M., the Emperor and Empress), *Life of Admiral Togo*, *Formative Elements of Japanese Buddhism*, *Every-day Japan*, etc. etc.

"Mr. Lloyd had the reputation of being the most brilliant Western scholar that Japan has ever sheltered; but his attainments never interfered with a

modesty and kindliness which endeared him to all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance." He died after a brief illness at his residence in Tokyo, Oct. 27, 1911.

Lloyd was a man, a true friend, with heartfelt sympathy who never hesitated to spend himself for his friends. He was a great scholar but not a pedant: he was a classical scholar of the old type; a fine scholar in French and German; well skilled in Japanese; in fact, it is said that he knew and could use ten or twelve languages. He was also unusually well read in history, both secular and religious. But with all his attainments he was very unassuming. He was an essayist, a critic and a poet; he was an interesting writer and lecturer; he was a delightful conversationalist: in all, he was a very versatile man.

Lloyd was above all a mediator. He first occupied that position in connection with Protestantism and Catholicism. It is an open secret that he once



ARTHUR LLOYD.

(Whose poetic translations of Japanese verses appear in this issue.)

had strong tendencies toward the Roman Catholic church. At any rate, he occupied a position from which he could appreciate the good in Protestantism, Roman and Greek Catholicism. He was not a Catholic, but he was catholic.

In the second place, he was a mediator between Buddhism and Christianity. His profound studies in church history and the history of Buddhism led him to a position where the common points or similarities strongly appealed to his generous heart.

But the best way to present Lloyd's attitude on this subject of comparative religion is to let him speak for himself, as he has written in his little book on *Shinran and his Work*, which is no doubt incorporated into his larger work, *The Creed of Half Japan*. He says in his Introduction to the smaller work: "Throughout this book I purpose consistently to take this line of argument, viz., that, when the Shinshuist recites his Nembutsu, he is (however unconsciously) addressing the same divine person whom the Christian wor-

ships on his knees in the closet or before the altar; and I believe that the witness which God has thus given to the Japanese is one which the Christian missionary would be ill advised to set aside or neglect."

A little later he adds: "It is with no controversial aim that I take up my pen. Rather, I feel that the quarrel between Eastern Buddhism and Western Christianity is one to be best solved by the path of meditation and prayer. For if, through the exercise of faith, we could even for a few weeks only realize that the Lord whom we variously worship, is one and the same, the Source of life and light; and if, with that faith, we could come *just as we are*, Christians and Buddhists, and ask for light, are we to doubt Christ, or are we to doubt Amida, by supposing that light would be withheld from his children by One whom Christians and Buddhists alike delight in calling a loving Father?"

THE BUDDHIST MASS.

The Buddhist High Mass contributed by the Rt. Rev. Mazziniananda Svami in *The Open Court* for February 1912 has attracted some attention, and we publish here a communication received from Prof. Richard Garbe of Tübingen translated from a private letter addressed to the editor:

"The texts employed in this mass are Buddhist only to a small extent. For the most part they are composed of verses and quotations out of the ancient Vedic literature, although to be sure in a distorted form and with astonishingly free translations, some of which have no connection with those passages. The lines at the bottom of page 70 comprise a well-known verse from the Veda (first quoted in the Rigveda 10. 9. 4) and read as follows: "May the heavenly waters be our salvation, may they serve our needs and be our drink; may they descend upon us for our salvation!" Compare this with the translation at the top of page 72: "May the Illuminator of all, the Light of the world, the Dispenser of happiness to all, the all-pervading Divine Being, be gracious unto us so that we may have perfect contentment of mind, and for the attainment of perfect happiness. May the same Being shower blessings upon us from all quarters." The case is the same with the many invocations addressed to the ancient Vedic deities.

"If we have here a copy of a high mass as it is performed in Lhasa, we see that the unsophisticated Tibetan monks have collected a number of old Brahman sayings which they understood no better than they understood the Buddhist Pali texts."

THE CORONATION IN INDIA.

We have received from several quarters from India expressions of great satisfaction concerning the coronation of King George as emperor there, which are symptoms of a genuine loyalty towards their powerful sovereign. Indeed they take pride in having for their ruler a man whose possessions girdle the earth.

This attitude is the more pleasing as heretofore we have met and heard from many Hindus whose bitterness towards England has been extraordinary. In fact we have heard of a student at one of the American universities who came to this country to study chemistry in order to acquaint himself with the nature of explosives, and he pursues his studies with the outspoken pur-

pose of following the example of dynamiters in an effort to wage a war against the high Indian officials of English birth. His professor, however, has given the assurance that this young man would be harmless because he was too stupid to accomplish anything and would never be able to prepare the material without first of all endangering his own life.

Nevertheless, it is astonishing how many Hindus there are even among the intellectual classes who know only that the English govern India and who forget that India has never been in a better regulated condition than it is now. This fact is frequently overlooked by Americans, some of whom have done their worst to stimulate the rebellious spirit in India, and this seed falls on very fertile ground for such rank ideas grow there as rapidly as do the Indian jungles. However true it is that the English rule the Indian empire we ought to bear in mind that the Indian government as it is to-day is the best possible obtainable under present conditions. The English may govern for selfish purposes, in order to extend their own market and hold the balance of power in this enormous country, but after all they serve at the same time the interests of the Hindus themselves, and it would be a misfortune for India if the English rule failed or broke down under Hindu opposition, or if India were conquered by some other European nation.

That King George selected Delhi as the new capital of the country because it is a genuinely Indian city and the history of India is strongly connected with it gives evidence that the intention of the British government is to recognize more and more the Indian character of their Indian empire, and we are greatly pleased to see signs of a recognition among the native population. Among those who express their loyalty to the Emperor of India we will mention only G. V. Swaminatha Aiyar who issued a leaflet containing a poem "In Honor of the Coronation of their Imperial Majesties," and a review of the Durbar sermon of the Bishop of Madras which had for its subject, "The Truth Behind the Coronation Durbar: The Kingdom of the World is become the Kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ." By understanding the word "Christ" in the fullest significance of the word as the Son and Saviour with whom every Hindu is familiar," Mr. Aiyar maintains that the Bishop "has lifted on high the holy flag of truth, and may all true sons of the Empire stand by it and fight for truth which will triumph in the end." Mr. Aiyar represents the Ananda Mission which aims at realizing the permanent value of any empire or any social institution by making real and effective in the world the ideal of brotherly love. It celebrated the twelfth anniversary of its Founders' Day on Jan. 12, and Mr. Aiyar bespeaks for it the sympathy of all in its efforts toward the uplift of humanity. He concludes the solicitations of his open letter "with prayers for the good of the Empire and the long life of their Majesties who have evinced their personal sympathy and affection for their subjects in a truly royal manner."

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

AUTOUR D'UN PRÊTRE MARIÉ. Par *Albert Houtin*. Paris, privately printed, 1910.

This book now becomes of special interest in connection with the recent death of Hyacinthe Loyson. In 1906 at the urgent request of his wife and son, Father Hyacinthe handed over to the Abbé Houtin his private correspon-

dence and journals dating from the time he entered the Carmelite order when he was eighteen years of age. At that time he had destroyed all previous papers in order to begin life entirely anew. His family wished him thus to be able to have some supervision over the autobiographical material so they could feel secure that it would be as he wished. Among the papers which came into Abbé Houtin's hands in this way, he found an extensive and sympathetic correspondence between Father Hyacinthe and Charles Perraud, canon of Autun, bearing upon the latter's secret marriage with Mme. Duval. The Abbé Perraud belonged to a group of interesting priests whose biographies have frequently been written and who are held up as models whom the young priests of the seminaries and the novitiates of monasteries should emulate. But these documents show that the feelings of such priests are often in reality different from what is commonly assumed. The Canon of Autun particularly regretted during the greater part of his life that he was bound to the clergy, and as the law of ecclesiastical celibacy came to be unendurable to him he contracted "before God" a union which he considered a true marriage.

The Abbé Houtin believed that a biography such as he could sketch from the material in hand would be an interesting document and undertook it in no sense in a spirit of apology or controversy. This book he published under the title "A Married Priest, Charles Perraud," but not until sixteen years after the man's death and one year after the death of his brother, the cardinal bishop of Autun. The cardinal's successor wrote urgent letters offering to refund to him his entire expense if he would suppress the book, and even Paul Sabatier, the principal representative of Protestant modernism, did not wish it to appear lest it give the impression that the ranks of Catholic modernists were composed simply of those priests who wished to marry. Advertised by the strong objections of these two opposite leaders the first edition of 1100 copies was exhausted in a month and another of 3000 was issued. The author now thinks that an even more valuable and instructive chapter in religious history is afforded by the entire controversy with regard to this work and it is this documentary material which is offered in the present volume, consisting of the entire correspondence with both the opponents and friends of the book.

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L'ORIENTATION RELIGIEUSE DE LA FRANCE ACTUELLE. Par *Paul Sabatier*. Paris: Armand Colin, 1911. Pp. 320.

In this book the well-known author of the "Life of St. Francis" depicts the present state of religion in France. M. Sabatier truly says that the movement which he portrays has no documents, but modesty prevented him from adding that just such a book as this will be one of its documents for the future historian.

In his first chapter he attacks Reinach's definition of religion as a collection of tabus, and after reviewing the definitions of other thinkers, concludes that any definition is impossible. American philosophers, he adds, have shown its futility, and he quotes Leuba and James. Never, he declares, has church activity in France been as intense and church organization as strong as they are to-day. In a long note he enumerates the most influential organs of the church, known as *la bonne presse*. "Never has a more methodical effort been attempted to take possession of public opinion."

In his second chapter M. Sabatier declares that the Dreyfus affair was at bottom a religious crisis, to the verge of civil war.

In the third chapter he deals with the religious efforts of the Franco-Prussian war. That war was a blow to French Protestantism, while the devotion of the Catholic priests in the ambulance work and on the field of battle itself produced a reaction against the free-thinking of the age. The author himself heard, in 1872, a sermon in Besançon Cathedral which ascribed the war to the divine wrath at the impieties of Ernest Renan!

The fourth chapter deals with misunderstandings between church and people, and the following one with the defects of the anti-religious movement. The sixth and seventh chapters treat of modern religious thinkers, among whom our compatriot William James is quite prominent. Interesting quotations are made from Guyau's book of 1887 on the "Irreligion of the Future." The title is misleading, says Sabatier, for the book has for its theme that religion is life. At the time the book was too poetic for the scholars, too pious for the freethinkers, and of course offensive to the church; but to-day it is more eagerly read than ever.

The eighth chapter deals with the religious trend of literature and art, and the next two with the character and patriotism of the movement, which, says the author, is intensely French. He contradicts the widespread conviction that the French are essentially intellectual. That is the result of the influence of France's eighteenth-century thought abroad. But while French in its essence, the new thought has taken due account of foreign leaders, of Newman, James, Walt Whitman, Tyrrell, Sir Oliver Lodge, and others.

Chapters eleven and twelve deal with the tendencies of Catholicism and Protestantism respectively, and are followed by a discussion of modern free thought. Modernism is of course described, and its name, while popularized by the Papal Encyclical of 1907, is attributed to the Italian Jesuits.

The concluding chapters deal with the school problem: how to teach morals, how to treat the Bible, etc. An affecting anecdote is told of the free-thinking professor who went to Notre Dame, being seized with the desire to study the nature of the mass. A former pupil was seated beside him, duly astonished at finding his emancipated professor in such a place. Upon their departure the older man asked the younger whether he was a believer, to which the latter replied in the affirmative, though not in the theological sense. "I pray you," said he, "don't talk to me of theologians; I hardly ever have occasion to see them. You have asked me a personal question, and I give you a personal answer. As to yourself, so far as I have understood from some of your lectures, faith is the act by which the believer adheres to the dogmas defined by the church. But that is only a very small part of the reality, and in isolating it, one makes it unnatural and false. The adhesion to dogma is only one of the manifestations of faith. It is an external sign thereof, juridical, as it were, but neither its beginning nor its end. For me it is a kind of joy in living which, in communion with the church, finds an extraordinary exaltation!" But we must refer the reader to the charming pages of Paul Sabatier for the rest of the conversation.

ALBERT J. EDMUNDS.

The Wonders of Life by Ida Lyon (New York: Fenno, 1910. Pp. 236. Price \$1.00) is no biological rival of Professor Haeckels' *Lebenswunder*, but is simply a rhapsody on the joy, power and blessings of living written in the manner typical of the so-called New Thought on which subject these publishers have issued a score or more of books.

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THE GOLDEN AGE OF GREECE.
Mural Painting by Kaulbach in the New Museum at Berlin..
Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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**Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.**

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THE THIERS FOUNDATION.¹

A UNIQUE FRENCH INSTITUTION.

BY LUCIEN ARRÉAT.

NEVER has the subject of education received more attention than in our day, but too often has this important social problem been wrongly stated. For instance, it has been proposed that there is no need of taking into account either the duties of the time or the qualities of the race; it has been thought that we could instantaneously mold brains and make them fruitful simply by artificial methods. The psychological conditions of genius, or to express it more moderately, of invention and work, remain the same as formerly. But the economic conditions of life, the means of study and the very needs of science have changed, since science itself has become so complex and so prolific that a division of intellectual labor has resulted which has been carried to the point of compromising the vitality and range of intelligence by the dispersion of forces or by the requirements of specialization.

These changed conditions demand new institutions. The danger of too great a dispersion of forces must be prevented by grouping and relating men's minds even if we are hardly able to combine or carry on several departments of science at once.

The Thiers Foundation in Paris, however, is an institution which does this—an institution I mean whose object is to respond to these new needs and to create useful relations among young men chosen from a select number. The attention of foreign nations has begun to be directed to it, especially of intellectual leaders in Ger-

¹ Translated by Lydia G. Robinson.

many, as is testified by a work of Prof. Hermann Diels (Volume I of the publication *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, Berlin and Leipsic, 1906) and also by a recent article by Prof. H. Schoen in the *Deutsche Rundschau* (September 1911); and even from the United States, although itself so fertile in new ideas, come interested inquiries regarding the origin, management, purpose and results of this institution.



LOUIS ADOLPHE THIERS.
Historian and Statesman.

The Thiers Foundation bears the name of the statesman of world-wide fame who played the most conspicuous part² in France in the second half of the nineteenth century. Its existence is due to the affectionate offices of Madame Thiers and her sister, Mademoiselle Dosne.

In the closing days of her illness which proved to be her last, Madame Thiers, actuated by the desire to honor the memory of

² A part, moreover, which has been most variously judged.

her illustrious husband in a worthy manner and by a lasting memorial, sent for their oldest friend, M. Mignet, and in the presence of her sister laid before him the plan which she had worked out in great detail. This project, involving as it did considerable expense, was not to be put into execution until after the death of Mlle. Dosne who was her only heir.

But Mlle. Dosne preferred to carry out her sister's plans in her own lifetime. After the death of Madame Thiers, she gathered



MADAME THIERS.

together the friends of M. Thiers, Messieurs Mignet, Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire and Jules Simon, and together they discussed plans for the Foundation, drew up by-laws and appointed an administrative council. By a deed dated December 17, 1892, Mlle. Dosne presented the Foundation with a fine estate situated at the Rond-Point Bugeaud at the entrance of the Bois de Boulogne on which the building, planned by the architect Aldroff, was almost completed. At the same time she endowed it with sufficient capital to provide for carrying on the establishment besides presenting it with the

library, maps and engravings which the statesman had left. April 29, 1893, the Foundation was formally recognized as an institution of public utility. On the first day of the following May its doors were opened to its first beneficiaries.

According to a note dated April 6, 1882, and signed by M. Mignet and Mlle. Dosne, Madame Thiers "intended that young men already distinguished by their learning and intelligence should be admitted into this school to complete their education and to per-



MADemoisELLE DOSNE.

fect themselves in the study of science, philosophy and history, to which M. Thiers had devoted himself with so much zeal whenever his consecration to the interests of his country allowed him sufficient leisure."

The manner in which the beneficiaries are chosen satisfies these conditions as we shall see. We find among their number philosophers, historians, geographers, jurists, philologists, chemists, literary men and mathematicians. Catholics, Protestants and Israelites meet each other there, and it seems that the petty political passions



THIERS FOUNDATION.
Front view from the Rond-Point Bugeaud.



THIERS FOUNDATION.
Taken inside the gate.

which are the poison of our country and our time have hitherto not exercised any influence in their selection. Moreover this was one of the conditions expressly stated by the donor.

As to the thought which primarily gave rise to this school, it may be that the personal affairs of Thiers provided the first impulse. Born at Marseilles in 1797, of tradespeople impoverished by the revolution, he had known in his youth the vexations of moderate circumstances. He was admitted to the bar at Aix-en-Provence in 1820, but did not stop to practice, looking at once for higher situations to which the rich gifts of his mind enabled him to aspire. It was at Aix-en-Provence that he became acquainted with Mignet who was a native of that city and his elder by several years. Together they went to Paris where fortune called them, each carrying with him the manuscript of a "History of the French Revolution." Thiers took up journalism, and later engaged actively in politics. His efforts were directed toward the reinstatement of the younger branch of the Bourbons, and he was made one of the leading ministers of the July monarchy. During the eighteen years of the second empire he took no part in public affairs. Every one knows the part it was given him to fill after the war of 1870 as chief executive and first president of the republic. His "History of the Revolution" and especially his "History of the Consulate and of the Empire" remain reference works of note. In addition to these we must mention writings on political and social economy, such as the little volume "On Property" which he wrote in opposition to the communist theories of 1848.

Accordingly, it is not at all surprising that when Thiers looked back upon the beginning of his career he should have conceived the idea of an institution which would assure a select number of gifted young men for some years an independence equally advantageous to the quality of their work and to the dignity of their character. Nor do I agree with Professor Schoen in thinking it necessary to have recourse to the inspiration of Fichte—although I do not disregard his great significance in this respect—in order to find the origin of the Foundation, whether the idea was due to Thiers himself or was suggested to Madame Thiers by one of their friends. Every fact is related to every other fact and comes in its own time. Moreover these questions of priority are of but very slight importance, and it is the institution itself which we shall here try to understand and describe.

The Foundation has been given an annual appropriation of 150,000 francs in order to assure its operation and to render it inde-

pendent of the state, an essential condition of internal liberty and of fidelity to the thought of the founders. Beside the danger of trouble-



THIERS WRITING HIS GREAT HISTORY.

some interference on the part of the state, the Foundation might have had to run the risk of too close a supervision by the university.

or, more correctly, by the spirit of the Higher Normal School. It has escaped this danger by the personnel of the administrative board which connects it more closely with the Institute of France so that it is permeated by a much broader atmosphere.

The first council consisted of M. Hauréan, the first superintendent, member of the Academy of Inscriptions and Literature; Georges Picot of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences; Léon Aucoq of the same academy, formerly division-president in the State Council; Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire of the same academy, formerly minister of foreign affairs; and Octave Gréard, member



AN INTERIOR OF THE THIERS FOUNDATION.

both of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences and of the French Academy and vice-rector of the Academy of Paris.

M. Jules Girard, of the Academy of Inscriptions and Literature followed M. Hauréan as superintendent (1896-1902). He in turn was succeeded by the present superintendent, M. Emile Boutroux of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, who is fitted to fill this delicate position by his prominence as a philosopher and his distinguished personality.

Besides the superintendent, the present council consists of a university man, M. Croiset; a politician who is now a minister of state, M. Alexandre Ribot; a savant, M. Lippmann; and a journalist, M. Francis Charmes, editor of the *Revue des Deux-Mondes*.

This board of five members meets at least once a month, a fee of 100 francs for attendance being allowed to each of its members. At the beginning of each year it chooses five from the many candidates for the annual appointment. It receives the superintendent's report of the work of the present beneficiaries and inquires into the needs and labors of former ones.

The election of the superintendent takes place every five years. He is taken from the membership of the council and can be re-elected. Mademoiselle Dosne herself appointed the members of the first council. Since her death in 1906, when a member of the council dies four electors are added to the remaining members, and these electors are chosen in rotation from the secretaries of the five academies composing the Institute of France, the deans of the four faculties (letters, science, law and medicine) and the heads of the Collège de France, the Higher Normal School, the Charter School, the School of Fine Arts, and the School of Moral and Political Sciences. Each new member of the council is elected for four years; he may be, and always has been, reelected.

The superintendent, who is always a member of the Institute, receives an annual salary of twenty thousand francs. A treasurer and a librarian live with him in the same house.

It must be remembered that the institution has not been established for the purpose of assisting poor young men; it is intended to form a select group of scholars, and the candidates are chosen according to their qualities alone. They must be of French nationality, not exceeding 26 years of age; they must have performed the requisite military service, and must not be married. Most of them have already passed the difficult competitive examinations for fellowships; many are doctors or licentiates, or are provided merely with a certificate of the higher studies; some are simply Bachelors of the Institute or are recommended because of former work. In short, the ability of the candidates is the only thing that counts. The examinations that they have to pass serve merely as evidence of the qualities required of them.

As we have said, five beneficiaries are appointed annually. They remain at the Foundation for three years. Therefore the house usually contains fifteen students. Each of these receives an annual allowance of twelve hundred francs, and disposes annually of six hundred francs more for scientific travels or other expenses connected with his work. Being thus provided for, he is not allowed to give lessons nor to write for periodicals except with the express permission of the superintendent. The value of this last restriction

can not be overestimated. The time of these young men belongs to science, and it is necessary to guard against the habit of hasty journalism which would tend to divert them from it.

The Foundation has its traditions, and these are preserved and transmitted by the presence of the older members. Much liberty is allowed. No special costume or uniform is required. They are allowed to come and go, to move freely within the house and gardens, to take meals outside, and even to stay out until an hour and a quarter after midnight. Within the house there is no restraint. I hardly need to add that each has his own spacious and airy bedroom



THE LIBRARY OF THE THIERS FOUNDATION.

and sittingroom to himself, and the institution contains gymnasium, billiard room, baths, etc.

The library, which to-day contains fourteen thousand volumes, has grown from a nucleus of seven thousand belonging to Thiers, many of which are annotated by his own hand. Otherwise the library is designed not so much to contain many or rare books as to provide a very complete bibliography and sufficient means for information and research.

The Thiers Foundation was not designed, as I said before, to aid the deserving poor.³ No more was it intended to be simply a

³ There are already enough and even too many institutions which serve this end. Our old orders of society very imprudently swelled the numbers of the proletariat and increased the parasitic character of the so-called liberal professions.

“professorial seminar”; at least it was to guard against becoming one. I am certainly well aware of the necessity of having good professors, but independent workers are as influential leaders of men in their way as are teachers. Thiers, Mignet, and Littré were not professors, and long indeed would be the list of eminent men who have exercised a great influence on education even though they have not taught from the elevation of a rostrum.

It is true that from the halls of the Thiers Foundation have gone many teachers in special lines who are to be found in France, in foreign lands or in the colonies. But there are other young men who have followed a different path. Of the 96 beneficiaries received by the Foundation up to January 1, 1911, we can count (with due allowance for error) two men of letters, three physicians, one notary, one lawyer, one magistrate, three managers, three librarians, and one deputy; many are designated simply as doctors of literature or doctors of law.

To sum up, the Foundation welcomes young men of very different abilities. M. Boutroux has rightly emphasized in an article in the *Internationale Wochenschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Technik*, August 28, 1909, the advantages of this sort of collaboration, in which workers devoted to very different lines of study mingle with each other every day. He says that in this way they are prevented from becoming narrow specialists, ignorant of the work and mentality of others, and of the value of the many different groups of men which make up society.

The Thiers Foundation has been in existence eighteen years. What results can it show? What men has it produced? These are questions which will doubtless be asked by certain philanthropists who can not see beyond the present moment, and who are ambitious to receive returns from their pecuniary outlay in the first year, just as they receive the interest from capital invested in an industrial enterprise. No, we can not create superior men at will. There is neither any method nor institution by which it can be done, and the system of pedagogy which pretends to do so is as deceptive as it is dangerous. We must have favorable soil; that is to say, the co-operation of the times, as I said above. The Thiers Foundation has counted among its number many distinguished members whose works I might enumerate; the majority, moreover, have not yet completed their full contribution. But the value is one whose effects can not be appreciated all at once and yet are not for this reason less important. It is the value of individuals taken collectively. It leaves traces which are not visible; it helps to prepare a rich soil

to bring forth in due time the harvest which can not be hastened or produced by artificial means, and it is this harvest alone which never fails.

It is with sociology as with geology, with the development of our societies as with the formation of the globe. Slow operations, those which can not be discerned at the first glance, count more in this field than violent or sudden operations, although these are the only ones which strike the eye of the mass, or even at times retain the somewhat clumsy attention of the historian.

MONISM.

BY WILLIAM P. WHERY.

THE monistic view of the universe would have a wider popular acceptance if it were not that it is supposed by many to be something recondite and ultra-scientific in which only a select class of students are interested. To state them in the simplest terms should, however, attract all who care to know the fundamental facts of this universe. Science ever aims at higher and higher generalizations, and the highest is reached when the many are resolved into the one. This, the universe, is the sum total of all objective reality, and its phenomena are either the forms or the functional activities of existing structures. We are not left without a gnomon, or test, of what is real, as contrasted with the unreal and ideal; for every thinker—we may say, every living animal—is inherently impressed with the certainty of his own existence; and his chief desire is to perpetuate this existence, which is the most real thing to him; and he holds everything real that resembles himself.

A man is to himself the most real being, and he is born with this instinctive assurance. As astronomer, he notes the stars, huge in their immensity, and he holds them real as he himself is real. The totality of earth and stars and meteoric dust, with all the mineral and organic objects that exist on them, is recognized as a monistic entity, every component of which is also an entity. And the man, reasoning outwards from himself, sees that not only his body but also his clothing, his habitation, his country, his earth, his solar system, and his whole environment throughout all space can be considered in a true sense as himself, since he is a real part of the macrocosm.

Then the thinker observes that the things he perceives around him exist under a few different, obvious conditions: as solids, liquids and gases. And next, he becomes a chemist and analyzes the contents of the world in his laboratory, where he discovers and

proves that all objects, irrespective of their physical conditions, are entities composed of certain elements—few in number—and that these elements differ among themselves according to a periodic law that prescribes the size, shape and weight of their respective atoms. Electrical research shows that electrons are almost immeasurably more minute than the smallest chemical atoms; and electrons themselves act as if they are constituted of at least two extremely small corpuscles—the primordial particles, or units, they may be termed—that are too minute to be further divisible, and have no ponderosity, no friction, no internal motion, but, like geometrical points occupy positions in space, yet have no dimensions. A universe consisting of these particles, in entire separation from each other, would, in many respects, resemble the hypothetical ether that is held to fill universal space.

The construction of the cosmos, as it now presents itself to the scientific observer, begins with the primordial units, and these unite in pairs to constitute corpuscles of negative electricity. These may be unaffected by the reciprocal affinities of corpuscles that give origin to the phenomenon of gravitation, yet they have attained a stage of cosmic evolution greatly superior to that in which the primordial particles exist. The next advance is the formation of chemical atoms in all their varieties by combinations of the electrons. And, after this, by combinations of atoms and of their innumerable compounds, all inorganic and organic structural forms are evolved. This is the process of evolution from the very least and simplest things to the very greatest and most complex, or from the incalculable many to the single whole, which is the universal monad.

Now the thinking man, observing these structures that are objective to his senses, gives them the name of Matter—the entity that has position, or extension, in space, possesses form and stability, and seems capable of a vast variety of functional activities that occupy time. He recognizes his own material form—his body, and from analogy calls all forms, from those of the dimensions of Arcturus to the minute primordial particles, by the same name. The term “body,” however, means something more than the mere material form. The man notices that he can do things—his body functionates; and he is not insensible to the fact that all bodies functionate. Every world, every organism, every chemical atom, every electron, every primordial unit is a body and functionates. In a word, there is always combined with the matter of a body a definite quantity of energy, and the two are complementary to each other, and inseparable, and in combination perform work. Matter is the

hypostasis, or substance of the body and energy is its activator, and the two in collaboration produce the innumerable changes of form, composition and position that are called functional activities, or events.

This is the mechanical view of the cosmos. Every structure is, so to speak, a machine for developing and applying energy, and the more complex the machinery the higher is the order of the functions of which it is capable. Now he who develops this mechanical ideal will not fail to perceive that himself, or any other living being, is a machine, and that life is the highest development of mechanical activity. He sees activities even in inorganic machines that very much resemble life in the living. When the mainspring of his watch breaks, the watch is dead. When the fire of a locomotive goes out, the engine dies. Death is the determination of the power of developing energy, and therefore of doing work; and it is only the machine that has been once alive that can be said to die. The developing of energy seems to be invariably a chemical process, as we know it is in man. We see it working too, on a large scale, in the sun and in our earth, and we cannot help thinking sometimes of these great and complex machines as living, as well as doing things. So, when we come to speculate regarding the origin of life, we are forced to admit that although life attains its culminating perfection in organic structures, yet it exists in a lower degree wherever form determines function, wherever chemical processes occur, and wherever there is energy doing work.

The thinking man is now on a plane of knowledge to which the ancient philosophers never attained. They recognized the principle *dynamis*, but they never took the further step that proves that energy is always and inseparably united with matter. Not knowing chemistry, they had no adequate conception of molecular motion, or the products of atomic activities. But now, the man knows that his "body" is not simply a material structure, but is matter plus energy. And, still studying himself, he finds that his "body" is not yet completely expressed, for inseparably united with it is his mind. Body is a term that may be scientifically defined as a trinity of matter, energy and mind. The whole three are always found together, and neither exists isolated. He is sure of his mental element as much as of his energetic one, or of his material substance. These three elements in every "body"—whether it be a huge mass or a particle of impalpable dust—are not fictions, nor ideals. They are real in the most positive sense of the word. And when the man's self-analysis is carried out through several tests, he finds he

has reached a finality in regard to the description of his "body," and that three—and only three—elements constitute its entity.

It is important that the term "body" should always be taken in the sense of an entity constituted of three complementary elements, and that we should cease talking of "mind and body," thus placing them in contrast. Even the people who use the term in the incorrect way are fully conscious that the mind is always a part of the body, and it is as unreasonable to contrast them as to say "the head and the body." All the objects in the universe are bodies, and every body in the universe is a trinity of matter, energy and mind. Some eighty years ago, there was no great objection raised to the recognition of the dual nature of bodies, that is, constituted of matter and energy. But the vestigial notions derived from primeval metaphysics render many college professors reluctant to admit mind into the domain of physics. Still, on all sides we see evidences that psychology is being put in its true place—as a department of physical science, and experimental psychology is a tacit acknowledgment of this fact.

Psychology, the science of the mind, has for ages been an interesting study, yet only very recently has it been freed from religious and metaphysical conceptions and been presented to us as simply a section of somatic study. Many treatises are still used in colleges that tell of the "mind" on one page and of the "soul" on the next. This confusion concerning the psychic element of the body is due to the prevalence of ancient dualistic notions, for which monism is the only corrective. In popular conversation, we find the body and the mind treated as two opposite things, yet every biologist knows that mind is an essential element of body, and is its intellectual endowment, or mental charge. In other words, the thinker is not separable from the doer, and neither mind nor energy can functionate without the other, nor either or both of them without matter, which gives the whole acting body form and a place in the universe. The three are inseparable and the three are one. It is the whole body that thinks and moves and acts. Mind nowhere exists apart from matter, and wherever there is matter there is mind.

Even in the nineteenth century, learned treatises discoursed on the "reason" of man and the "instinct" of lower animals. There was a silly reluctance to admit that brutes could possibly have the same kind of minds as man. It remained for a more honest modern science to show that minds differ not in kind but in degree and that there are countless gradations from the very lowest degrees of awareness, or impressibility, up to the highest rationalistic imagina-

tion. Science shows that man—the most perfect intellectual being—is as much dominated by instincts and habits as any other animal, and that he is moved more by his subconscious emotions than by his reasoned-out decisions. Man is not a member of a special natural kingdom, and anthropology is but a branch of zoology. In the intellectual development of the human child, the hereditary psychology of lower animals is as marked as is the hereditariness of its material form's construction in its embryology.

We do not underrate man's magnificent endowments and exalted position in the universe by insisting that he is still an animal, still a machine, and still a tri-elemental body. We accord him the most perfectly developed form of all creatures—the best eyes, the best ears, the best fingers, and above all, the best larynx, for his most wonderful intellectual progress is traceable to his superior power of articulation, forming real words, which are the necessary symbols of high thinking, as money is the necessary medium of commercial exchange. But man need not arrogantly deny to the lower animals some faculty of reasoning, for assuredly many of them possess it in a minor degree to his own. There are truly many degrees of mentality between the abstract thinking of the philosopher, or mathematician, and the tropisms and sensitiveness of the *amœba*. Yet the protozoan has a mind that responds to sensations and stimuli, rejects the evil and chooses the good. Its small mental equipment is proportional to its material and energetic equipments. Every cell in a multicellular animal, like man, has its own form and energy and mind, and through these three it functionates.

And when we are satisfied that there is a mental element in every animal, however minute and low in the scale, we are prepared to admit that plant cells and plants also possess a mental element. Several books have been written in proof of the existence of mind in plants, and to argue the matter would be merely to repeat what is predicated of animals. The homologies between plants and the lower animals are so numerous and close that it is reasonable to conclude that all fundamental facts that are true of the one may apply to the other.

Moreover, we cannot limit mind to the organic kingdom. Among minerals, chemical atoms and primordial units we can trace it in its simplest expressions, yet very vividly and really. The so-called properties and affinities of inorganic particles are indications of mentality. There is not an insurpassible gulf between the mentality of a bacterium and that of a crystal, and every ion has certainly its

affinities and repulsions, and on these affections all chemical action depends. Because the mental element feels, the kinetic element moves, and the whole atom, or organism, acts. Is not this exactly what occurs with a man?

Our corrected conception of the universe must allow that every primordial particle is a "body," and as such is a trinity of matter, energy and mind. Every particle is hypothetically exactly equivalent to every other primordial particle, and its matter has a mental charge that is proportioned to its minute size and is therefore exactly of the same value as the mental charge of every other primordial unit. The same may be said, *mutatis mutandis*, in regard to the energy charge attached to every primordial unit. And this view does away with all speculations about the whence and whither of energy and mind. They are always there, wherever there is matter or form. The notion that a number of assorted minds are stored up in the empyrean, like drugs in the bottles on an apothecary's shelves, and that, when a babe is being born, one of these is sent down to animate it, dwelling in the body like a canary in a cage, and at death making its escape and still continuing to live as a disembodied ghost,—all this has not a particle of scientific fact to support it; whereas the view that mind is an essential element of the universe, as much as matter or energy, is corroborated by every test that can be scientifically applied. And this view leads directly to the monistic conception of the eternal universe. Every body, that is—every distinct entity, great or small—in the universe is a trinity consisting of three inseparable elements. Its functions depend on two things: first, the numerical quantity of primordial units in its form, and second, the complexity of its mechanical structure. For instance, the moon has a great number of primordial units, but a man has an extremely complex structure, and a complex structure greatly countervails mere quantitative mass.

Now the mental action of a body depends on the active mentality of its component particles. Some of these may be comparatively dormant, as some of its energy may be merely potential. But when, for instance, we refer to a man as a highly active organism, we must not make the mistake of supposing that only his brain cells think. Every cell in his whole organism thinks, yet it is the cortical cells of the brain that are the organ of his senses, coordinate his reasoning, enable his thoughts to get expression, and register with much precision his sense impressions mnemonically. When we regard this terrestrial globe as a "body," we cannot fail to note its multifarious geophysical activities as resulting not from chance but from

a certain determinism that is due to mind. Its mentality is in every second of time active and expressing itself. And the totality of all bodies, constituting the universe, is incessantly thinking out, acting out, and showing out the wonderful functional changes that are termed cosmic evolution. The universe is not blind nor paralyzed, but is a living, thinking, working machinery, evolving through its intrinsic forces age by age from perfection to perfection.

Modern medicine has not been slow to avail itself of the scientific view of psychology as applicable to all the universe. Note is taken of the mentality of the living bodies formed of protoplasm. The unicellular protozoans have undoubtedly the faculty of choosing what suits them and avoiding what is repulsive. Then it is recognized that the human body is composed of billions of living cells comparable to the protozoa. Every such cell lives its own life, does its own thinking, and also cooperates with the community-life of the other body cells. We find a hundred varieties of specialized cells and cell-groups working for the common good. Hence, physicians now do not treat diseases as such, nor morbid symptoms, nor yet the patient as a whole, but direct their therapeutics to the cells and cell-groups, for it is through these that the combat with disease must be waged, and it is these that accomplish the recuperation of the patient. They will do their duty if the conditions for the exercise of their functions be favorable; and it is now the task of the physician to arrange these conditions as quickly and perfectly as possible. Reliance on external forces gives place to dependence on intrinsic powers; and it is seen that what applies to a human body is applicable to even the inorganic worlds—everything happens through the functioning of the internal powers.

The error of the psychology of the past was in making a broad distinction between mind and body. Now, as monists, we are prepared to assert that every body has a mental element, and it is this fact that accounts for the occurrence of mind wherever it is perceived. Mind is not supernatural, it is as natural as matter or energy. The universe could not exist, much less functionate, but that mind is one of its three essential elements. It is a fact of every one's experience that there is such a thing as matter, and such another thing as energy, and such another thing as mind. It is only the influence of ancient and mistaken metaphysics that still blinds some people to this common, irrefutable, and most simple fact. Those who have been teaching the old psychology hate to give up the notion that mind is mysterious and supernatural, just as for a long time after Copernicus the schools continued to teach the geocentric

theory. There was some excuse for this, for apparently the sun went round the earth; but there is no excuse for supernatural psychology, for the whole of it is merely a figment of the imagination incapable of withstanding a single scientific test.

A MONISTIC CONCEPTION OF MIND.

BY THE EDITOR.

SCIENTISTS are agreed that the world-conception of science must be unitary, it must be monism. But the difficulty so far has been the formulation of the character of the one so as to show the contrasts which obviously prevail in this unity. It is easy enough to see that states of temperature are not components of heat and cold, for the thermometer has taught us that there are degrees of temperature; but not everywhere can we comprehend at a glance how the obvious facts upon which any kind of dualism attempts to establish itself can be resolved into a unitary conception.

In the present number of *The Open Court* Mr. W. P. Whery points out the trinity of matter, energy and mind, and treats mind as a kind of universal attribute of existence which of course can be done if we stretch the definition of mind so as to suit this purpose. The editor of *The Open Court* has published a synopsis of the philosophy for which he stands and which he has endeavored to build up as *the* philosophy, the philosophy of science which should be as much a science as chemistry or mathematics; and indeed the true philosophy would be a combination of the two branches of scientific thought, the purely formal sciences and the sciences of the various realms of experience. In this pamphlet¹ he has sketched his world-view in the briefest possible compass and the main points which stand in contrast to Mr. Whery's views shall be briefly indicated.

Mind, as we understand it, is absent in plants as well as in all purely physical phenomena. It originates in animals, viz., in creatures possessing sentiency. Accordingly we can not endorse what

¹ This synopsis has appeared first under the title *Philosophy as a Science* and in a second edition *The Philosophy of Form*. The former contains a full catalogue of the author's publications. The second is somewhat enlarged on a few important points and yet is limited to 50 pages. (Open Court Publishing Company. Price 10 cents.)

Mr. Whery says concerning certain phenomena which in our opinion are non-mental.

The first obvious contrast in all existence is that between subjectivity and objectivity, or states of innerness and external manifestations, the former developing into irritability, sentiency, feeling, consciousness and self-consciousness, the latter being motions which obey in all details the laws of mechanics. The *that* of existence is called "matter," the actions of existence are summarily called "energy." They may be at apparent rest as stresses or strains, which means a tendency to act restrained by a counter-pressure. This is potential energy and when energy actually produces a change of place it is called kinetic energy.

Matter and energy are not things which as such can be produced anywhere; they are generalizations of all the many phenomena that take place in the domain of objectivity, and every one of these phenomena is in a definite place, in a definite time and of a definite form. Time and place are formal relations. Accordingly we can summarize the universal features of objective existence under the three heads, matter, energy and form.

The several sciences investigate all the branches of objective existence, and so far as they are concerned with concrete actualities they are the science of experience, but so far as they concern the nature of pure form we deal with such sciences as mathematics, arithmetic, geometry, logic, etc. They are not based on sense experience but are mental constructions.

Objective and subjective existence are now commonly regarded in scientific circles as two sides of one and the same process, and this theory has been formulated as the principle of parallelism. But it is understood that there is not a parallelism of two things running side by side like two geometrical parallels, but that these two sides of existence are two aspects of one and the same reality. The two aspects are as different as the outside and inside of a curve. They are different in character. Nevertheless neither exists without the other. Thus every transaction in existence would not be unlike a mathematical line AB. AB would be a subjective state while BA presents itself as a definite form of matter in motion. The whole world appears to us as definite forms of matter in motion. It consists of objects and we can never observe with our senses souls, feelings, emotions or any subjective states. We only see bodies hustling around and changing. On the other hand within ourselves we consist of more or less dim states of consciousness reaching down into states of subconsciousness and strongly influenced by

subliminal or unconscious states. Here the whole world appears as a tapestry woven of thought.

The questions of idealism and materialism are gratuitous philosophical somersaults. The objectivity of the outside world confronts us and we call the *thingishness* or the *that* or the *actuality* of existence by the general term "matter," and the changes of the several objects we call energy. The reality of sense-impressions cannot be doubted, and it is superfluous to propose the question whether reality is real.

Objective experience knows nothing of mentality, but it describes and explains the order of the world as an intrinsic quality which in objective existence is as necessary as the wonderful arrangements of mathematics in pure thought. For instance magic squares are as if preconceived by a master mathematician, and yet their interrelations are products of an eternal and intrinsic necessity.

Where we have sentiency combined with the intrinsic mechanical order that universally prevails in nature, mind originates. The intrinsic order produces first sentiency and then mentality. As explained in detail in the pamphlet referred to, animal organisms render possible an interoperation of the subjective elements so as to let inner states cooperate and render potential feelings actual. Further, the preservation of form in organic structures becomes memory as soon as it is accompanied by sentiency, in which case if the same sense-impression presents itself to the senses it is felt to be the same and thus becomes representative of the object that causes it. As soon as sense-impressions become representative they become mental phenomena. This is the origin of mind.

There is no need of entering into further details but we ought to insist on the significance of the higher development of the human mind which as a rule is so greatly neglected by monistic thinkers as to cause the impression that monism is practically materialism.

ART AND THE CHURCH IN AMERICA.

BY CHARLES HART HANDSCHIN.

THE question of art in the Christian church is almost as old as the church itself. As early as the fourth century it was a burning question in the Byzantine world. Again in the eighth century, when the church had gone so far as to worship images, Emperor Leo III had all art removed from the churches and its use for ecclesiastic purposes prohibited.

However, the church continued to foster art in one way or another through the succeeding centuries, the finest flower coming in the Italian Renaissance.

That Christian art soon differentiated itself from pagan art is but natural. A glance at the Apollo Belvedere and the Sistine Madonna tells the story.

A reaction against what was believed to be an abuse of art in the church set in during the Reformation period, and we find early in the sixteenth century, in the wake of the Peasants' War, an iconoclastic movement raging in northwestern Germany, devastating church edifices and destroying or turning into money all the art treasures.

What the fanatic hordes did here, Zwingli and Calvin did for the Reformed church in Switzerland,—in more orderly fashion, to be sure, but just as effectively. Of the Protestant church as a whole since the Reformation, one can hardly say that it has fostered art in the sense in which the medieval church did so, although at times art did spring up within its sheltering fold, while Puritanism, Methodism, and all the pietistic churches positively spurned art, and do so to this day.

This was the result principally of a reactionary movement against certain abuses of art and ritual, as well as a conviction that the use of art in the house of worship is contrary to the doctrine of worshiping "in the spirit and in truth."

Is this of necessity so? History records that the abuse of art in the church at one time stood in the way of the true spirit of devotion. But many good things are at times abused. Shall all men refrain from meat because a too great use of it has given some one bad nerves?

The church has been a great patron of art in times gone by. This is one of her crowning glories. Take, for instance, the rôle it has played in the development of architecture. The heavy, awkward Gothic style which spread from Italy to Sicily, France, and the rest of Europe, was so crude that the artists of the Italian Renaissance dubbed it "Gothic," i. e., the "barbarian" style. And what a glorious instrument the Christian church made of it!

Or again, instance the impulse to art as shown in Protestant Germany in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when Albrecht Dürer, Holbein, Cranach and the Netherland School gave us their undying works under the inspiration of the new gospel!

But Protestantism has, in the main, been a drawback to art and principally for three reasons: its traditional aversion to images in the church; its aversion to sensuous forms (and art is impossible without these); and a medieval ascetic notion that man's joys should be exclusively in the things of the soul, never in the things of sense.

What a sad descent from the Old World cathedral with its untold riches, the immortal work of the old masters, where every nook and cranny even tells the story of the unswerving devotion of some pious artist's soul far back in the centuries: the massive pillar, pointing heavenward, the wealth of sculpture and color on wall and pilaster, the thousand inspiring forms surrounding and permeating the worshiper as he bows in reverence before his Maker! What a descent from this to the bleak, uniform walls, the oftentimes rectangular form of our American houses of worship!

The reason for this? Tradition!

Is this adherence to tradition warranted? Is it justifiable? The church has at all times been a most conservative institution, which fact explains but does not justify the attitude taken.

In how far does the presence of art-subjects detract from the spirit of devotion? I sit in my study. Before me hang the Victory, M^ona Lisa or the Farnese Hercules. Does their presence impair my concentration? Not in the least! They have been before me too long. My glance falls upon them only in passing. But I would not be without them. They are my companions!

The same case in the nursery. The Madonna of Gabriel Max and the Baby Stuart do not now excite the children. They have

been there for some time. They do not distract their attention from their books. But the atmosphere and the spirit of the pictures are sinking daily deeper into the souls and minds of the children. Shall we remove the pictures?

Take the ordinary American church for instance. Remove the meaningless and distracting scroll work and frippery from the walls; cover them with a plain, pleasing tint, give us a few fine reproductions of the old masters, large enough to be discernible at a distance, and they will be doing their silent work whether the sermon is good or not! The attention of churchgoers will be drawn from the sermon only during the first service—but even so, the distraction will be no worse than that occasioned by a prominent new hat.

Let not the money argument be advanced here. Let us settle whether or not art shall receive our sanction, and the money question will take care of itself. Rather let us begin, as the means allow, with good reproductions, and later on buy the best to be had and employ the best talent accessible. Means are not lacking in our thrice-blessed land, and they will be forthcoming, once the taste for art, and art in the church, has been awakened.

In the Middle Ages, artists did their best work for the church. It was a form of worship with them. In the devotion of his soul Fra Angelico wrought his undying frescoes on the walls of San Marco and Albrecht Dürer filled his canvases with the glory of God! How glorious if the future historian could say as much of American artists in the twentieth century!

The church has a mission in this. It must employ and encourage its own, and any other great talent in the realm of art. It must not allow the "world" to usurp the great field of art as it has sometimes done, much to its detriment. But this is, whether we will admit it or not, precisely what the Christian church is doing to-day in America.

And moreover, the constituents of the church desire the uplift of art. They believe they are right in demanding in the house of worship art at least as good as that offered them in the saloons, the restaurants, and the theaters.

ART AND RELIGION.

BY THE EDITOR.

ART, religion and philosophy are kin; all three work out a conception of the world, of life and the purpose of life for the satisfaction of our mental needs. Philosophy is a scientific world-conception satisfying the demands of the thinker; religion is a social philosophy, the world-conception of a group of people actualizing itself in an historical movement; and art is the world-conception of genius, of the man who molds his views of life in forms of beauty.

It is a matter of course that the large masses are not philosophers. Their philosophy, called religion, is based upon the thoughts of their leaders which can not be pure science, but popular presentations of the thoughts of impressive personalities, of prophets, preachers and moral guides. A philosopher who is merely a thinker can never become a religious prophet; a religious prophet must be a man of the people and must speak the language of the people. Certainly he must be superior to the common people, but his superiority must be due more to his character than to his intellect, and his intellectual superiority must be more that of the poet and orator than that of the philosopher. He must be a powerful personality, but if he is a thinker who is far above and ahead of his time, he will not be serviceable as a religious leader.

Religion makes use of symbols, of parables, of allegories which appeal to the average man, and these symbols harden into dogmas. The meaning of the symbols may be, and frequently is, true; yet under all circumstances their acceptability depends solely on the endorsements they find among the masses of the people.

Art is the main vehicle of religion; indeed religion can never dispense with art. Religion needs art, most of all the art of words—poetry.

It is true there are religions which seem hostile to art, but only to certain kinds of art which are opposed to this or that religion,

and they are sculpture and painting. This is the case with dualistic religion which spurns bodily life and seeks a satisfaction in the realm of pure spirituality. Such religions develop grand poetry and music, hymns, psalms, masses, etc. and may also develop architecture, the rearing of mosques, temples and cathedrals, also arabesques, but they will abhor the presentation of human forms unless they are fully draped and the beauty of figure is concealed.

When dualism gives place to a monistic conception of life, the plastic arts will naturally assert themselves. Education will not remain limited to a development of the mind, but will adopt the principle of *mens sana in corpore sano*, a sound mind can develop only in a sound body.

We repeat therefore: Art is kin to religion. Both are products of a world-conception and as there are high and low religions, so there are high and low art-conceptions. True religion is elevating; low and false religion introduces superstitions and aberrations from the straight path. So the right kind of art is inspiring and elevating; however, it will be noticed that the difference between high and low art is not conditioned by an avoidance of corporeal beauty, but by the truthfulness and the seriousness of the artist. There is a higher or lower degree of nobility of heart and mind, for the true artist feels himself to be the priest on the altar of beauty. Who would dare to look upon the Venus of Milo as improper or less noble than even the Sistine Madonna of Raphael? Yet for all that there is a difference between that art which uplifts the mind and sanctifies the soul with a conception of the grandeur of the all-life, and another art which drags us down in the dirt, and sullies our souls with degrading thoughts.

Every piece of art is the expression of a sentiment, of an interpretation of life, of a world-conception, and religion too will seek artistic expression; but an ascetic tendency which scorns bodily beauty will sometimes seek an expression of the spiritual in mystic symbols, sometimes even in positively ugly forms. This has been shown in the mania of representing the ideal of mankind in a corpse or a crucifix.

The writer remembers as one of the most repulsive instances of presenting the dead saviour a life-sized figure of Christ in the tomb which is preserved in the crypt of the romantic old chapel on a steep hill at Wurmlingen near Tübingen. The place is probably of pre-Christian sanctity, but it seems that the grewsome spectacle of the realistic corpse in the crypt adds not a little to the great awe and

reverence in which this church is held not only by the parishioners but also by other pious people of the neighborhood.

Another grisly show is exhibited in St. Blasien where a skeleton over the altar is gaudily dressed in red velvet, and in sundry places in Italy there are chapels decorated exclusively with skulls and dead men's bones.

When we call figures showing the decay of death ugly, we must bear in mind that though they are ugly to us, they are noble and glorious to the ascetic worshiper to whom the beauty of bodily life is an abomination, while death is a victory over transiency, an outlook into the realm of pure spirit.

There is a peculiar contrast between Pope Leo IX and the reformers such as Luther and Calvin. The reformers were serious Christians and as such they were dualists, while the pope was practically a pagan, to whom the "fable of Christ" was a mere allegory in which he saw a clever device to rule the masses of mankind. The Renaissance is a revival of classic antiquity and of the pagan spirit which cultivated the natural. Michelangelo, Raphael and other masters of that period have worked out a compromise between the Greek ideal of beauty and the dualistic spirit of Christianity, by means of which art, even the art of painting, was introduced into the Roman Catholic church while Protestantism, which took the Christian dualism quite seriously, only tolerated the arts of bodily form while it cultivated the arts of audition, religious poetry, as instanced by Luther's songs, by Milton and by Klopstock, and the music best represented by Bach.

When now the plastic arts are beginning to assert themselves, it is a sign that a monistic world-conception is dawning upon Protestant mankind. Bodily beauty is no longer denounced as a machination of the devil by which he attempts to lead astray the worldly minded.

Our age has not yet developed an art of its own for the simple reason that it is still an age of transition, an age of fermentation which has not yet attained to clearness. There is still lingering with us the thought that art is a frivolous occupation, and this is most felt in the Protestant churches of America. Altar pieces have disappeared with the disappearance of the altar, and there is little hope at present that the plastic arts will be admitted to Protestant sanctuaries. While as a rule it pays the traveler, especially in the old world, to visit Catholic churches, Protestant houses of worship, and especially those of America, are empty and unattractive. They are at best pleasant meeting halls; sometimes they spread an agree-

able warmth of colored light through painted windows; but otherwise they are characterized by an apparent absence of art.

Art is a factor in life which should not remain neglected. Art ennobles and transfigures life, and it serves many of us as a surrogate for religion, as Goethe says:

"He who has science and has art,
He also has religion;
But he who neither of them has,
He ought to have religion."

JAPANESE EPIGRAMS.

TRANSLATED BY THE LATE ARTHUR LLOYD.

[In this collection I have put together poems composed by Confucianist philosophers and others. Many of these now appear for the first time; but I have also very largely drawn on two collections made by European scholars, viz., Professor Chamberlain's article on "Basho and the Japanese Epigram" in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, and the late M. Ehmann's *Sprichwörter der japanischen Sprache*, published by the German Asiatic Society in Tokyo. I have called them "epigrams," because the majority of them are what the Japanese call *hokku*, tiny songlets, each complete in seventeen syllables.]

Songlets of Basho.

The grub's a humble thing, but when the wings
Grow, then the butterfly forgets
That is was e'er a poor, mean, crawling grub.

An ancient bard, a thousand years ago,
Happened to sing the praises of the frogs,
And now, poor things, they think that all the world
Still raves about them.

Hot or cold,
Sunshine or rain, the crow is always black,
And always happy.

T'is good for man to go forth every morn
To work, and good to come home tired at night.
Yet, oh! September's work, after the heat
Of August days goes much against the grain.

A thoughtless child, playing beside a well,
Such is the man that, foolish, tries to live
Without religion.

The tiny dewdrop lies upon the leaf:
When it grows heavy, then the leaf will bend
And let it roll off to the earth beneath.

The child of three
Possesses his own soul; that self-same soul
Is his at sixty.

Be thou reserved, fair maid. The flower that flaunts
Its beauty by the wayside, often falls
Prey to the beasts that graze along the road.

The frail anemone
Lasts but a single day. And what art thou?

When children strive
Father and mother oft must join the fray.

Sneeze once, and some one's praising you: sneeze twice,
And 'tis a sign of hate: a threefold sneeze
Shows you the object of some person's love.
But if you sneeze four times, you've caught a cold.

There is a gate, whereby good luck and ill
May enter in. But of that gate yourself
Hold the one key.

Seven gods of luck protect the merchant's house,
And well they may: for, at his gate there lurk
Seven foes to strike him when he goes abroad.

Your shoe-string's broken, but beware you stoop
To mend it, till you've crossed that melon patch,
Lest those who see you misinterpret you.

Ask no man counsel if thou do not mean
To follow it; for wholesome physic's use
Lies in the drinking not the buying it.

A thief may sometimes take a holiday:
A watchdog, never.

Waste nothing, thrifty soul ; there lurks a god,
Ready to bless you, in your bag of scraps.

The world's a poorish place, but all the same
You have to work, to stay in it for long.

Where's Paradise? Why, at the gate
Of every man that's honest, just, and pure.

Hell after death? No, no,
Hell comes when, at the closing year you find
You can't pay all your debts.

Virtue in man,
Is like the bamboo stem, knotty and straight.

The baby borne upon the back
Sees where the brook is shallow ; there's a power
In childlike innocence.

The rose and thorn, the same stem beareth both,
One root is their's.

KAULBACH'S FRESCOES.

A GERMAN ARTIST'S PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

BY THE EDITOR.

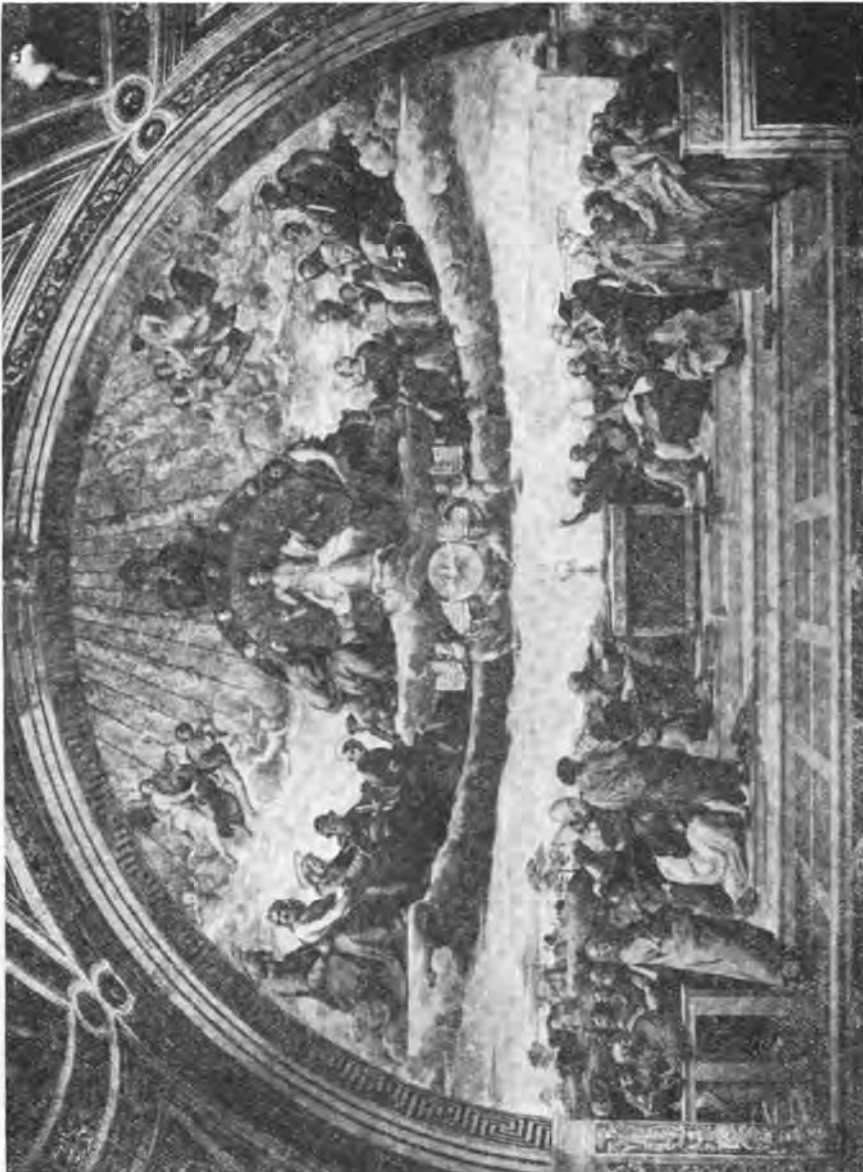
RAPHAEL had begun to present on the canvas the world-conception of the church. Its classical expression is found in his famous picture sometimes called "Disputa," and sometimes with



THE KAULBACH FAMILY.

more propriety "Theologia." Another picture of the same significance is Michelangelo's Last Judgment which sums up the end of all things in a grand display of the forces which move this world.

Christ descends from the heavens and the dead rise from their graves. They are separated into two groups; the pious are wafted to heaven under the protection of the angels while the wicked are left to the cruel treatment of devils.



RAPHAEL'S DISPUTA (THEOLOGIA).

In a similar way one of the most prominent Protestant painters deals with the same problem from the point of view of the nineteenth century. Wilhelm Kaulbach was born October 15, 1805, in Arolsen, and studied in Düsseldorf under Cornelius whom he followed to Munich. In 1847 he was called to Berlin to decorate the large

walls of the staircase hall in the New Museum with characteristic scenes from history which were to be so selected as to represent the religious world-conception of his patron the king of Prussia and Protestant Germany in general.



THE TOWER OF BABEL.

Kaulbach finished these frescoes in 1863. They remained the chief work of his life. He died of cholera in Munich in 1874.

The first picture of the series shows the Tower of Babel, a monument of daring mankind destroyed by God who descends upon it and curses the nations by the confusion of tongues. God, as Jehovah flanked by angels with fiery swords, stands in a glaring

halo of light. The laborers are frightened away from their work. In the center below Jehovah sits a despot surrounded by flatterers and other adherents who tolerate his rule. There are dead victims beneath his feet and a woman, who is probably the mother of the slain children, begs for mercy. On the left some laborers are still hauling up stones, but they are met by a woman who calls to them to stop. On the right hand we see a caravan of camels starting for distant lands. The lower groups divide themselves into the children of Shem, Ham and Japheth. The Semites of the type of the patriarch Abraham are on the left. The Hamite leader is departing with an idol in his arms; he is surrounded by a group of credulous and superstitious people. The Aryan* descendants of Japheth, typified by Greco-Roman civilization, turn towards the right. Their rapid motion indicates the spirit of progress as well as delight in heroic deeds and the joy of living. In the right corner a scene is inserted which the artist deemed typical of the rudeness of the age, but it may as well serve as an illustration of all times representing the temporary triumph of Caliban. There is the hod-carrier knocking down the thinker who conceived the work the laborer was called upon to carry out.

* * *

The second picture represents the glorious age of classical antiquity.¹ In the heavens we see the gods in triumphal procession on a rainbow. Apollo preceded by the three Graces and leading the nine Muses is followed by Jupiter and Juno. Above them hovers the eagle with thunderbolts in his claws. The king and queen of Olympus are followed by Minerva with shield and lance, Diana with her quiver, Mercury with his winged staff entwined by serpents, and other deities.

On earth the center of the picture is occupied by Homer whose advent in a boat is greeted on the shore by the Greek nation represented in front by statesmen, poets, sages, and in the background by a shepherd, a mountaineer, a hunter, a faun, and others. A priestess with a tripod before her sits at the stern and holds the rudder. From the waves, Venus is rising into the air to join the Olympian gods in heaven. On the right above this scene Homeric Greeks perform a funeral dance. On the left we see a temple like the Parthenon, and Phidias² at work upon an Athene statue. He lifts his hands towards Jupiter in an attitude of inspiration. Underneath we see a lawgiver inscribing laws upon a tablet of stone.

¹ See our frontispiece.

² Kaulbach here utilizes a well-known portrait of Phidias. (See page 312.)

In representing the destruction of Jerusalem the artist shows the avenging angels proceeding to earth from the clouds where are seated the four great prophets who have foretold the new covenant and warned Israel that she had not kept the old covenant with Jehovah. Below we look upon the temple area with the altar of



THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.

burnt offering in the middle. Titus and the conquering Romans are entering the holy place in the background on the right. In front of them and upon the very altar are blown the trumpets of victory. Beyond the columns on the left we see the burning fortifications. The remnant of Jews around the columns are despairing of further

defence; old men raise their clenched fists to heaven in their helplessness.

In the center of the foreground the high priest is stabbing himself in front of the altar of burnt offerings. Several groups of terrified people surround the tragic scene, and in the left corner



THE BATTLE OF CHALONS.

Ahasverus the Wandering Jew is driven out into the world by the three furies. A ray of brighter prospects comes into the horror of this scene through the group of escaping Christians whom we see in the lower right-hand corner. A boy chanting psalms precedes them, and angels carrying the chalice with the eucharist attend them

as a guard. Three little orphans beg to join them and are welcomed by a little boy who is seated behind his mother on an ass.

* * *

Several centuries elapse. Christianity having been established in the Roman empire is now threatened by the pagan Huns, and the fate of Europe is decided on the Catalaunian plains (the present Chalons-sur-Marne).

The legend goes that the dead warriors arise on stormy nights and fight the battle over again. Here stood Attila supported by his Teutonic allies, the Ostrogoths, Gepides and others, while the Roman governor, Aetius with the Visigoths, Burgundians and Franks withstood the Scourge of God. The artist shows the dead on the battle field, among them the women of the butchered inhabitants. They are being awakened to join the spirits in the air in order to help gain the victory of the cross over the savage hordes of Asia. (See the illustration on the preceding page.)

* * *

We now come to the age of the Crusades. Christ has conquered and his hosts now invade the lands of Islam. He stands with outstretched hands in the sky, worshiped by his mother, the Virgin Mary, and surrounded by saints, among whom we notice John the Baptist on the extreme right and Stephen, the first Christian martyr, on the extreme left. Underneath the figure of Christ we see the Crusaders of the first Crusade at the moment when they reach their goal, Jerusalem, an event described in history as highly dramatic. Having reached the top of the surrounding mountains these pilgrim warriors saw the Holy City before them. They shouted aloud, wept tears of joy, and prayed to God and gloried in their faith. Six youths carrying the ciborium are preceded by the vanguard and three prelates on asses. Geoffrey of Bouillon, the first king of Jerusalem, who however called himself in Christian modesty the protector of the holy sepulcher, follows behind on a white charger. He is holding a golden crown in his left hand, thus indicating his intention not to wear a royal crown where his saviour had worn a crown of thorns. He is followed by his army of which we see only the front consisting of standard-bearers accompanied by men who hold up the conquered ensigns of the Saracens. The several groups in the foreground characterize the different types of the age. On the right we see representatives of knighthood, three of them arm in arm.

Passing towards the left we see two minstrels, a flagellant,

Peter the Hermit, and other pilgrims. On the left the romantic and adventurous aspect of the age is portrayed by a knight accompanied by his lady who is carried on the shoulders of serfs; another similar couple behind them show their love of sport by their hounds and falcon.



THE CRUSADES.

The last picture of the cycle represents the Reformation. It deviates a little from the former frescoes by bringing us down to mankind. Here there is no division into heaven and earth. Luther stands in the center holding up the Bible made accessible to the common people by his translation. He is surrounded by other re-

formers. We would identify the one on the right with Calvin. The sacrament of both bread and wine is administered to the congregation. In one of the communicants on the right we recognize the Prince Elector of Saxony. Behind him stands Gustavus Adolphus with drawn sword. The same place on the left is held by Queen



THE REFORMATION.

Elizabeth. The niche on the left hand shows us the progress of astronomy ; on the right, art. In the foreground we see at the right Dante before an audience among whom Shakespeare is conspicuous. In the center sits a scholar, probably one of the humanists. Above him the Lutherans and Calvinists join hands under the kindly advice

of Zwingli who points up to Luther. The group on the left shows us Galileo Galilei, his hand resting on the globe, together with his disciples and opponents. One of the latter declares Galileo's unbelief is not in conformity with the scriptures which he holds in his left hand. Another clergyman behind this doctor of theology shows his disapproval by a characteristic attitude of his hands. Medieval sport is discarded as we see in the left lower corner. On the right an archeologist is studying the sculptures of ancient Greece. Above Luther we see an organ loft symbolizing the development of church music. In the composition of the picture this occupies the place which corresponds to the super-terrestrial portion in the rest of the series.

THE RISE OF MODERNISM IN ITALY.

BY A. CASSILL.

"Henceforth burn that which thou hast adored, and adore that which thou hast burned."
St. Remigius.

IN considering the stand taken officially against modernism by the Church of Rome, one of the few quotable stories in the Decameron comes to my mind. Abraham, a Jew, was inclined to become a Christian but determined first to go to Rome and see the man who was Vicar of God on earth, and study his habits and those of his brother cardinals. If these proved to be of such a character as to make the Christian religion appear superior to the Jewish, Abraham intended to have himself baptized. Accordingly the Jew went to Rome, watched the pope and the cardinals closely, and soon saw their shortcomings. He then became a sincere Christian, giving as a reason for his conversion that if the church continued to live, in spite of the fact that so many prelates, and even the Supreme Pastor himself, were so indefatigable in working its destruction, it must be a sign that the Holy Ghost indeed was its foundation and support.

In the religious history of the world there are epochs insulated by periods of repose, when existing beliefs are disturbed, when convictions previously accepted cease to convince, and when in consequence the obligations deduced from these beliefs and convictions are set at naught. Religion by the general consent of mankind is required to be based upon truth. The supreme importance of religion as dealing with the mysteries of man's creation, his life and future existence, is acknowledged on all sides, and the duties it imposes are accepted as binding. But religion receives this deference only because it is admitted to be infallibly true. If uncertainty and unreliability are found in it its obligations become intolerable and its restraints are not to be endured. From

time to time the speculative world becomes agitated. It awakens slowly to the consciousness that the current religion does not satisfy the requirements of truth. Flaws are detected in the title deeds, or credentials are discovered to be altogether lacking. Speculation subjects the assertions of religion to scrutiny, and questions its authority. Far from acting on any blind instinct of repulsion, speculation pursues with determination and enthusiasm the analysis of religion, that it may detach truth from those heterogeneous elements with which it has been combined by the fraud or ignorance of the past. Unlike Pilate, who, after asking what was the truth, went forth leaving the question unsolved, it grapples with the momentous questions of theology and wrings from them a confession of their truth or of their falsehood with an intensity of purpose paralleled by that with which men in positions of danger struggle for life.

When the world of thought has satisfied itself with an answer—even though the answer be not always highly satisfactory, it may quiet the existing state of apprehension—tranquility ensues, during which men glory in the achievements of those who purged their creed of what was false and brought it to a condition of supposed permanent incorruptibility.

In these times of repose speculation stagnates; no fresh intellectual seeds are sown, or else they fall on soil too exhausted to receive them; whereas those scattered by the foregoing storm slowly fecundate, flower, fructify and decay. The old forces seem to have expended themselves, but this is not the case. Silently and imperceptibly they are gathering for a fresh reassertion of their power, by overthrowing the purified faith because it too has given evidence of imperfections, in order that theology may be reorganized on a still newer and more complete system, which in its turn in the fulness of time will itself be subverted after it has satisfied the cravings of men and has accomplished its temporary mission.

We see this law of religious renewal which actuated most of the religions of antiquity advancing hand in hand with civilization. A barbarous mythology will not long satisfy a cultured people, and unless a reformation be effected and a system elaborated to meet its requirements, that people must lapse into atheism.

Yabushadh rebelled against Babylonian idolatry when the city was under the influence of social advancement. Zoroaster reformed the Iranian creed when Persia was casting off its primeval barbarism. Buddha developed his system against a degraded Brahmanism to satisfy an awakening Indian mind. Votan reasserted truth

as the basis of all religion in Mexico when the Aztec empire was exhibiting a capacity for progress, and Mohammed subverted the Sabian polytheism when that polytheism was dying a natural death. The Greek philosophers in despair at the corruption of the popular mythology did battle for the truth, some by spiritualizing, others by materializing their gods, one school making them allegories of essential virtues, another reducing them to deified natural phenomena.

The law of development, impressed on all animate nature, has as strong an influence on religious beliefs. As the lowest organisms contain rudimentary traces of members perfected in those above them, so also do inferior theological systems exhibit an upward tendency. In cases where civilization and mental culture are not checked, the lower type of religion will eventuate in one higher, truer and nobler than itself—not altogether perfect, it may be, but certainly in advance of its predecessors and containing within itself springs which will impel it forward. Beliefs are never stationary; they are in a state of continual flux. In this they resemble languages, which, though brought to an apparent standstill by a classic literature, are full of dialectic currents which interpenetrate and in course of time overflow that barrier. Sacred standards may in like manner arrest the progress of speculations for a while; but after a time they must give way before the torrent unless they have become so disposed as not to check but to direct into legitimate and safe channels the current of inquiry. On the supposition that a revelation has been made to a man, it must be perceived that since such a revelation emanates from the creator of mind, it cannot be obstructive to reason, but is calculated rather to facilitate its progress. If a revelation be granted, it must be further allowed that it harmonizes with the order of nature and is conducive to the well-being of man individually and collectively, for since it proceeds from the great author of nature and the creator of man, there must be agreement between his various manifestations conducive to the advantage of the creature he has made.

Christianity came into the field at the period of religious opinion most ripe for its reception, when the ancient religions had absolutely no means of substantiating their claim for acceptance. That the claim of Christianity should be devoid of all uncertainty cannot be expected from a religion resting upon a revelation. Natural religion will always possess this advantage over revealed religion, that it is sustained by the testimony of observation whereas the

latter depends on historical evidence which can never be indisputably and conclusively established.

According to Christian teaching, natural religion is harmonized with that of revelation; they support and illustrate each other.

II.

The history of modern Europe is the history of a revolution in every phase of human life, but above all in religion and politics; a revolution, as a learned writer characterizes it, that has its roots in the past, while its branches overshadow us in the twentieth century. This great spiritual crisis has to-day reached its culminating intensity, owing to the new orientation of the public mind which is adverse to the traditional formulation of the religious spirit.

In the Church of Rome it was reserved for Leo XIII properly to acknowledge and fully to estimate the spirit of the age. The high-minded Pope began to make himself known as a man free from prejudice in the fierce conflict between church and state for the temporal power. His conduct toward Father Curci can well serve to illustrate my assumption.

Father Curci was a well-known Jesuit who under Pius IX had been expelled from the Society of the Jesuits on account of his refusal to subscribe to three propositions as fundamental doctrines of the Roman Catholic church: (1) the speedy re-establishment of the temporal power of the popes; (2) the duty of all sincere Catholics to abstain from political elections; (3) the impossibility of the co-existence of the papacy and the kingdom of Italy.

"To these propositions," said Father Curci, "I am resolved not to subscribe, and rather than do so I would be cut to pieces." In consequence of these sentiments he was subjected to much persecution during the later years of the pontificate of Pius IX. Under Leo XIII, fresh trouble having arisen on the publication of *La Nuova Italia ed i Vecchi Zelanti*, Father Curci was advised to go into retirement for a time, and preparations were made for his retreat in the Basilian monastery of Grotta Ferrata. But because of outside pressure the superior at the last moment refused to receive him. When Leo XIII learned this he offered Father Curci hospitality in his own apartments at the Vatican, but was at once vehemently urged to condemn the views of the priest. Leo's only answer was, "There is a congregation whose business it is to look into and pass judgment on this matter. It is for them to do their duty." The affair was finally referred to the Inquisition which gives no reasons for what it says or does, and of course the book was condemned as a

libel on the church and Holy See. The sentence was forthwith submitted to the pope, who was forced to sign it in order to avoid a serious schism in the church.

But in the years that followed, Leo XIII perceived the new orientation of the public spirit and the untenable position of Catholicism. Realizing that theories have forever lost their precedence over observation and are now submitted to the crucial test of experience before they are given credence, the learned pope decided to quit the old position, and in more than one of his encyclicals clearly and cautiously paved the way for the modernist movement in Italy. The theological waters were first troubled by his "*Aeterni patris*" in which when speaking of scholastic philosophy as basis of the sacred sciences, he declared that "if anything is met with among the scholastic doctors which may be regarded as something investigated *with an excess of subtlety* or thought *without sufficient consideration*; anything which is *not in keeping with the certain results* of later times; anything in short which is altogether *destitute of probability*, we have no desire whatever to propose it for the imitation of present generations." This encyclical gave new ideas to the young clergy at Rome and was taken as the banner under which they started the vigorous movement that we now term "modernism." What hitherto had been taught and spoken of in secret now began to be the subject of public conversation, lectures, articles and pamphlets. Modernism soon influenced every section of society. To the common people it meant the reconciliation between church and state in Rome; to the majority of cultivated Italians it meant the reconciliation between religion and science. Hence Murri, Minocchi and others of the Italian clergy; Meda, Fogozzaro, Labanca and others of the laity, were foremost in the struggle for the triumph of modernism as the only system to make the church useful to mankind.

The doctrine formulated by Loisy and Tyrrell is too well known to be reported here. Loisy's modernism is only half radical. Without entering into a long discussion I will simply say that in my opinion both of them failed to draw proper conclusions from their principles. For instance Loisy admits the Christ of faith and then denies the Christ of history, as if in a question of this nature Christ could be an object of faith without being first an object of history.

It would take too much space to point out his main glaring contradictions. As to Father Tyrrell, the unfortunate Jesuit, he added nothing to and discarded nothing from Loisy's theories. He was remarkably successful in pointing out the divergencies of the

gospels, but then shrank from the logical conclusions. Examining the gospels he found that the Catholic faith is at variance with the scientific discoveries of the age. He felt, as Loisy did, that his principles logically carried out would ultimately subvert the divinity of Christ, but then what were his conclusions? Strange to say, like Loisy and other clergymen, the practical conclusion of Father Tyrrell was that the gospels fail to show the divinity of Christ and the divine institution of the Catholic church, but, be all this as it may, "Let us believe in the Catholic faith, let us cling to the Catholic church, of which we are to remain the most devoted and loving sons."

Harnack in Germany, though arbitrary and aprioristic in such matters, has certainly been more consistent. Father Tyrrell forgot the famous saying of Euripides, "It is best not to be too wise about the gods" and so met with the same fate as many reformers in the Catholic church.

Whenever religious opinions sprang up and gained a certain vogue which were not in accordance with the teaching of the official Church of Rome, they were pitilessly condemned. Pius X fearing from past experience lest movements and changes in philosophy may end in assaults on religion, and apprehensive that in the investigation of nature something may be found to subvert, or at least to shake, the authority of religion, especially with the unlearned—Pius, remarkable for simplicity, purity, regular life and piety, failing to recognize the difference between our modern conception of truth and the conception of truth in times gone by; failing to perceive that modernism within the Catholic church is the result of insufficiency of Catholic teaching, insufficient to content or control any longer the mind of man, which is ever evolving fresh problems, ever seeking to pierce the horizon, to widen its limits and to better its state; failing to consider all this, he has formally and solemnly condemned all the new theories about the gospels and their interpretation.

The state of affairs has long been very clear. To the official Catholic church change and death mean much the same.

Modernism at the present hour is not capable of an exact definition. A long time is needed before men can clearly penetrate its whole vital significance. However, we are positive that the sentiment of religious liberty, as it now obtains, will not diminish. Modernism will soon systematize its scattered theories, making clearly visible the aim toward which mankind is tending. Since the mod-

ernist movement will be permanent and radical, it will necessarily be slow.

Modernism in Italy has opened a wide gulf between the authority of the church and the clergy. The condemned theories are spreading in disguise. Pius X and all the popes to come will always be irreproachable guardians of the Catholic faith, but they will not succeed in stemming the irresistible tide of the new tendencies. Catholicism, especially in Italy and France, will never be radically changed, but the Catholics in these two countries will not always remain what they are. Even if modernism seems to disappear below the surface of the waters as if its force were exhausted, it will yet be seen to exercise more or less influence on the future. I firmly believe that all the Catholics of the world are slowly but surely, almost unknowingly, falling into modernism, and its authority clearly shows that the Vatican is ceasing to be a recognized vehicle for spreading Christian doctrine. In Italy almost all the people are Catholics, or style themselves so, but there every man believes as much or as little of Catholicism as suits him. The time is past when the great majority of people in Italy (and not only in Italy) received as impregnable every jot and tittle of what the popes and cardinals teach. They obey the church as the humor takes them and if they find it easy to obey, but when interest or position pull strongly the other way, they make just as little scruple about disobeying. In Italy, the land of Catholic unity, every man fashions and squares his creed to his own taste or his own convenience.

The figure of Pius X stands now in the same relation to that of Leo XIII as the figure of Adrian VI in the sixteenth century stood to that of his predecessor, Leo X. The humble figure of Adrian VI, says Gregorovius, is one of the most tragic in the history of the papacy. A pious and learned man, but utterly ignorant of political craft, Adrian soon after his elevation set about inaugurating a series of pious but fruitless endeavors to reform the church. But the church and the world continued to have their own way.

After four hundred years, Pius X is repeating the attempt. Unfortunately he fails to comprehend the new world into which the church has been ushered, and the relation in which she stands to it.

Every great institution and age has its work to do in the field of undeveloped energies, but the field is inexhaustible in resources, for the intellect of man is boundless in its reserved powers. No limit can be assigned to the future triumphs of genius. We are as ignorant of some future wonders as the tenth century was of steam and telegraph wires. Nor can we tell what will next arise. The

wonders of the Greeks and Romans would have astonished Egyptians and Assyrians. Oriental civilization gave place to the Hellenic and the Roman, and they in turn gave place to the Teutonic. So the ages and the races move on. They have their missions, become corrupt and pass away. But the breaking up of their institutions, even by violence when they cease to be a blessing to the world, and the surrender of their lands and riches to another race, not worn out but new, fresh, enthusiastic and strong, have always resulted in permanent good to mankind.

Who can estimate the immeasurable influence of the new theories about the Catholic religion? Modernism will soon be the true sun which shall dissipate the shadows of superstition and ignorance that cover so great a portion of the earth, and this shall bring society into a healthful glow of unity and love.

MISCELLANEOUS.

WILLIAM T. STEAD.

William T. Stead, the editor of *The Review of Reviews*, was one among the victims of the disaster to the Titanic off the coast of Newfoundland, and it is strange that no one seems to know how he finally met his death. Apparently he did not make a struggle to reach the last life boat, but passed into the great Beyond with perfect composure as to his personal fate.

Having been personally acquainted with Mr. Stead we can testify to the greatness of his character, the courage shown in his work of reform, the warmth of his sympathy with suffering mankind, and the stern adhesion to his ideals, social as well as cosmopolitan. He made himself hated by seeking to correct evils generally known but left unheeded for the sake of continuing them, and his attempts to let justice prevail in behalf of the Boers of South Africa were met with the denunciation of being a crank, if not a traitor to his own country. As a thanks for his reform he was imprisoned and had to serve three months for his love of truth and the establishment of righteousness in his country. Far from being crushed by such drastic measures with which even free England attempted to suppress an unwelcome advocate of justice, he was proud of the martyrdom to which he had been subjected, and visitors who happened to call on him at his editorial office on the anniversaries of his condemnation found him wearing his prison uniform.

Mr. Stead was a believer in the occult, and he did much in investigating as well as in advocating a belief in spirit life, and in the communication of the dead with the living. He was uncritical in his inquiry and could easily be duped by frauds; nevertheless though his views of spirit life were perhaps crude he felt convinced of the truth that death does not end life, and that those who have passed out of life still exercise, in one way or another even though it may merely be in the memory of the survivors, an influence on the life of the living, and we do not doubt that this very conviction rendered him strong in upholding his ideals.

The writer of these lines met Mr. Stead for the first time in the days of the Religious Parliament at Chicago, when he wrote his vigorous appeal to the great metropolis on Lake Michigan, under the title *If Christ Came to Chicago*, a book which created a great stir, and caused many reforms in the city of the World's Fair of 1893. Our acquaintance was at first very superficial, but it strengthened with the years in spite of our difference of opinion with regard to occult phenomena and kindred topics. Notwithstanding Mr. Stead's lack of scientific training, he impressed the greatness of his character



William G. Stead

upon others by the work which he accomplished and the fervor with which he advocated what he had fully and justly recognized as truth and right. At the same time he was possessed of a fervid sentiment and the warmth of his heart must have often carried him away against common prudence; it is only surprising that his good nature was not taken advantage of by imposters.

When the writer of these lines met him for the second time at his office in the Mowbray House, London, on the evening of the arrival of the boat, Mr. Stead was at once willing to extend to him an unlimited credit. On hearing that his guest had not as yet been able to draw English money, Mr. Stead took a handful of sovereigns and offered it without any restriction except that it be paid back whenever convenient.

An amusing misunderstanding arose at a public peace meeting at the Hague at which Mr. Stead was one of the speakers. Referring in his address to the Boer war he said that being an Englishman he felt inclined to ask the indulgence of the audience for the wrongs committed by his country. The papers at once took up his words, mangling them into the construction that he begged the audience's pardon for being an Englishman; and thus they ridiculed his position throughout Great Britain.

At the time when Mr. Stead was most attacked, not only by the Tories and the leaders of fashionable society to whom his appearance in the field of reform was very inconvenient, but also among the vulgar masses whose national passion and mistaken patriotism he had boldly denounced, one of his clairvoyant friends prophesied that his end would come to him by being "kicked to death in the streets of London." This prophecy was not fulfilled, and we know now that he met his untimely death in the cold waves of the Atlantic. The fruits of his life, however, will continue and will exercise a beneficial influence upon the communities wherever he sojourned, especially on his home London.

The photograph presented to the writer of these lines by Mr. Stead in 1900 when he was in his prime, bears as inscription the motto which he proposed for a repetition of the Religious Parliament in these words:

"For the union of all who love
In the service of all who suffer."

P. C.

A PROTEST DIRECTED TO PROF. W. B. SMITH.

BY A. KAMPMEIER.

In the article on "Christ's First Word on the Cross" (*Open Court*, April) Prof. Smith, without any real connection with the matter discussed, has again thrust into the foreground the non-existence of Jesus as an historical person with the words: "No shred of evidence yet produced indicates clearly his (Jesus's) humanity, while volumes of uncontroverted evidence indicate his pure divinity and non-humanity." I protest against such unwarranted assertions, not in favor of any Jesus cult with the slogan "Back to Jesus," but in the name of pure science and truth, for there are too many who are captured by every latest idea simply because it is asserted boldly. I am informed that *Das freie Wort* of Frankfort, Germany, lately declared that the non-existence of Jesus as an historical person is a settled fact. These are hasty assertions.

But all are not so gullible as to be caught by such declarations, and this on purely scientific and historical grounds. They know that there are quite a number of "shreds of evidence" which "clearly indicate the humanity" of Jesus. I have mentioned some in previous discussions with Dr. Smith in *The Open Court* and *Monist* and incidentally in other articles in the first periodical and in my review of *The Christ Myth* of Drews based to a great extent on the theory of Professor Smith. I do not intend to repeat those things here again, but would only appeal to Dr. Smith in regard to one of those shreds already brought forward, to make an attempt to treat the relationship of James and his brothers to Jesus in a serious way. If Dr. Smith will give me a clear evidence that these were not brothers of Jesus in the common way we understand this family relation, I will confess my error and accept his standpoint.

In order not to unroll the whole question again, I would only mention here one more point, which I think has not yet been dwelt upon in this question. I would ask Professor Smith how, if Jesus is nothing but God adored among the early Christians under the attributes *Saviour—Protector*, can Paul, who in all his authentic letters, as far as I can remember, everywhere describes Jesus as a human being, in whom the divine sonship (a purely personified metaphysical term, in fact mythical, though of course something perfectly real with Paul) has become incarnate without assuming a miraculous birth, speak of a final cessation of Christ's reign? He says (1 Corinthians xv. 28): "And when all things have been subjected to him, then shall the son also himself be subjected to him, who subjected all things to him, in order that God be all in all." In these words the purely Jewish idea of the Messiah, or the Christ, who never was considered as God by the Jews but only as his anointed chosen from among his people, clearly peeps out again. Paul, though separating Christianity from its mother Judaism, is in spite of his Hellenism thoroughly Jewish in this respect as in many others, and he could never have imagined and assumed a Messiah who was not of human descent but purely God. Here is the cardinal distinction, as far as I can see, between the saviour gods of Paganism, who were purely gods, and that of Christianity. The Saviour of Christianity springing out of Judaism had naturally and inevitably to be connected with a human personality.

It cannot be objected against this that Judaism knew nothing of a human suffering and dying Messiah, but only of a victorious one. Besides other proofs in Jewish literature, we also have the ancient tradition mentioned in the Talmud (Tract Succah) of a twofold Messiah, the suffering Messiah ben Joseph, i. e., of the ten tribes, who is to be followed by the victorious Messiah ben David. Regarding the former, the words of Zech. xii. 10, were cited exactly in the same way in Jewish literature as the thoroughly Jewish-Christian Revelation of John refers them to Christ (Rev. i. 7) who according to the same Apocalypse is finally to conquer as the "Lion of Judah." The nationalistic element has undoubtedly played a rôle in primitive Jewish Christian circles previous to Paul, and this could only have been done in connection with a human personality. Even Paul, who transformed the Jewish-Christian Messiah into a universal Saviour is not rid of it, in that he expects the final salvation of his whole people, after "the fulness of the heathen" have been saved, and all this in the near future, when the reign of Christ is to cease after it has accomplished its object.

A PORTRAIT OF PHIDIAS.

With reference to the portrait of Phidias incorporated by Kaulbach in his picture of the Golden Age of Greece, we will say that that by some accident we have positive knowledge that Phidias included his own picture in the battle of the Amazons on the Gorgoneion, the shield of Athene. We must remember that in the classic period of Pericles, the most corrupt politicians had great influence and in their hostility to Pericles vented their wrath on his friends, of whom Phidias was perhaps the most distinguished person.

We quote the following condensed statement from Harper's *Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities*, p. 1226: "On the return of Phidias to Athens [after completing his statue of the Olympian Zeus, the greatest of



PORTRAIT OF PHIDIAS ON ATHENE'S SHIELD.

all his works], he fell a victim to the jealousy against his great patron, Pericles, which was then at its height. The party opposed to Pericles, thinking him too powerful to be overthrown by a direct attack, aimed at him in the persons of his most cherished friends—Phidias, Anaxagoras, and Aspasia. Phidias was first accused of peculation; but this charge was at once refuted, as, by the advice of Pericles, the gold had been affixed to the statue of Athene in such a manner that it could be removed and the weight of it examined. The accusers then charged Phidias with impiety, in having introduced into the battle of the Amazons, on the shield of the goddess, his own likeness and that of Pericles. On this latter charge Phidias was thrown into prison, where he died from disease, in 432."

P. C.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

ALCHEMY ANCIENT AND MODERN. By *H. Stanley Redgrove*. London: William Rider & Son, 1911. Pp. 141. Price 4s. 6d. net.

The author of this interesting and well illustrated book is a believer in alchemy, not in the common sense of accepting all the superstitions connected therewith during the Middle Ages but in a modernized interpretation of the word. We can not say that we accept the author's theories for to a great extent they have not proved true. When he believes in the possibility of a transmission of one element into another we can not gainsay his proposition, for it is now practically assumed that all elements are formed from the same primitive world-stuff, and astronomers can watch the formation of the elements in the great cosmic retorts of the nebulas which our telescopes can spy in all the several quarters of the heavens. But the hope that Sir William Ramsay had actually succeeded in changing one element into another has proved an error. Mr. Redgrove has been too rash in accepting this claim. Nevertheless the book is interesting, and its 16 full-page illustrations alone are worth the price of the book. Among them are Paracelsus, Thomas Aquinas, Nicolas Flamel, Albertus Magnus, Cagliostro, Jacob Boehme, Edward Kelley and John Dee.

To characterize the book we will quote its first paragraph: "Alchemy is generally understood to have been that art whose end was the transmutation of the so-called base metals into gold by means of an ill-defined something called the Philosopher's Stone; but even from a purely physical standpoint, this is a somewhat superficial view. Alchemy was both a philosophy and an experimental science, and the transmutation of the metals was its end only in that this would give the final proof of the alchemistic hypotheses; in other words, alchemy, considered from the physical standpoint, was the attempt to demonstrate experimentally on the material plane the validity of a certain philosophical view of the cosmos. We see the genuine scientific spirit in the saying of one of the alchemists, Eirenaeus Philalethes: 'Would to God...all men might become adepts in our art—for then gold, the great idol of mankind, would lose its value, and we should prize it only for its scientific teaching.' Unfortunately, however, not many alchemists came up to this ideal; and for the majority of them alchemy did mean merely the possibility of making gold cheaply and gaining untold wealth."

His own view of alchemy Mr. Redgrove expresses thus: "According to the transcendental theory, alchemy was concerned with man's soul, its object was the perfection, not of material substances, but of man in a spiritual sense. Those who hold this view identify alchemy with, or at least regard it as a branch of, mysticism, from which it is supposed to differ merely by the employment of a special language; and they hold that the writings of the alchemists must not be understood literally as dealing with chemical operations, with furnaces, retorts, alembics, pelicans and the like, with salt, sulphur, mercury, gold and other material substances, but must be understood as grand allegories dealing with spiritual truths. According to this view, the figure of the transmutation of the 'base' metals into gold symbolizes the salvation of man—the transmutation of his soul into spiritual gold—which was to be obtained by the elimination of evil and the development of good by the grace of God."

At the conclusion of the book the author still upholds his claim that the gem of modern alchemy has been realized by the "greatest modern alchemist," Sir William Ramsay, who is highly praised for having at last discovered the Philosopher's Stone.

The appearance of Redgrove's *Alchemy* reminds us of another book on a kindred theme by Henry Carrington Bolton, under the title *The Follies of Science* (Milwaukee, Pharmaceutical Review Publishing Co., 1909) well illustrated by several portraits of men who played a part in the history of mysticism, by historical pictures, by pictures of buildings which in past ages were the homes of alchemists, and similar subjects. The treatment of this significant chapter in human thought centers around Rudolph II, who attracted a number of adventurers to his court. All the illustrations are of great interest, and we mention the following: Brozik's "Rudolf Visiting his Alchemist," Queen Elizabeth, Dr. John Dee, Rudolph II, Edward Kelley called "The Golden Knight," Augustus of Saxony, Leonhard Thurneisser, John Kepler, Michael Maier, Paracelsus, Michael Sendivogius, Henricus Cornelius Agrippa, etc. Further there are places interesting in the history of alchemy, the bridge of Charles IV and the Hradschin of Prague, the Cathedral of St. Vitus, Tenier's alchemist, the birth of the Philosopher's Stone, Dr. Dee's shew stone, Kelley's horoscope, the Uraniborg, the Belvidere, the monument erected to Tycho Brahe, the town hall of Prague, a pharmacy of the XVIth century, an alchemist's laboratory, an explanation of alchemists' symbols, theosophic emblems, etc.

COMPENDIUM OF PHILOSOPHY. Being a translation now for the first time from the original Pāli of the Abhidhammat-Sangaha. By *Shwe Zan Aung*. Revised and edited by *Mrs. Rhys Davids*. London: Frowde (Pali Text Society), 1910. Pp. xxiv, 298. Price 5s. net.

Students of Buddhism have long been waiting for the two most popular books of this greatest of all Eastern religions. The one is the Visuddhi-Magga or "Path of Purity," and the other Abhidhammattha-Sangaha, "Compendium of Philosophy." The former was written by the great Buddhist sage Buddhaghosa and the other is attributed to a Buddhist teacher called Anuruddha of Ceylon. The Path of Purity is a practical book devoted to edificational and moral purposes but the Compendium of Philosophy is a condensed extract of Buddhist metaphysics, if we are allowed to apply this word to a philosophy which denies the metaphysical principle of a thing-in-itself, culminating in the doctrine of the *anatman*, the non-existence of an actor outside of action, of a conscious being outside the process of consciousness, of a wind outside the commotion of air. Henry Warren, of Cambridge, Mass., began to translate the Visuddhi-Magga. He incorporated many important passages of it into his excellent work *Buddhism in Translations*, but was not able to complete his labors. He left them to his teacher and friend Charles Lanman, Professor of Pali at Harvard University, and we learn that the work is progressing rapidly and will soon see the light of publication.

In the meantime, Mrs. Rhys Davids, the wife and helpmate of the great Pali scholar and herself a Pali scholar of distinction besides being Special Lecturer in philosophy at Manchester University, has in company with Mr. Shwe Zan Aung, a native Burmese scholar and patron of the Buddhist church, undertaken a translation of the Abhidhammattha-Sangaha which title they

have aptly translated *Compendium of Philosophy*. Mr. Aung, it will be remembered, is a patron of a revival of Buddhism in Burma. He contributes much to the support of the quarterly periodical *Buddhism*, edited by Ananda Maitreya.

Both made translations independently. Mrs. Rhys Davids sent hers to Mr. Aung who compared it with his own. Having incorporated what appealed to him as superior in the translation of Mrs. Rhys Davids, he rewrote his own and submitted it to his collaborator. The present book is this result of their common labors and for the first attempt at translating so difficult a work the result seems to be very satisfactory. It would lead too far in a review to enter into details, for the layman unacquainted with Buddhist terminology would be little benefited since the greater part of the book consists of enumerations which presuppose acquaintance with other Buddhist literature. We must remember that it is not a book on Buddhist philosophy but a mere compendium, an extract written for those who are familiar with the leading ideas.

We may add that the religious zeal of the main translator, Mr. Aung, has induced him not only to undertake this difficult work but also to pay the cost of the edition, thereby enabling the Pali Text Society to add another volume to its series of publications. K

FREIHEIT DES GEWISSENS UND WISSENS. Uebersetzt von Dr. J. Bluwstein.
Leipsic: Duncker & Humblot, 1911. Pp. 155.

Dr. J. Bluwstein has here translated into German Luzzatti's essays on "The Liberty of Conscience and Science," which advocate the separation of state and church as a matter of principle. Luzzatti, as our readers will remember, was premier of Italy some time ago, and distinguished himself by a rigorous impartiality, not only in theory but in all practical questions. His studies are worth reading, especially his views concerning the conditions in the United States which brought about the separation of church and state, and the high appreciation which he shows for the rigid impartiality of the statutes and court decisions of this country. The collection of these essays seems to cover almost every point of the subject and contains the best arguments on this theory. It is a lesson also to the advocates of the union of church and state in so far as Luzzatti points out that a free church in a free state is not only favorable for the state and its citizens, but also for the church. Of special interest, because little known, is his chapter on Themistius, the friend of Emperor Julian the Apostate and a pagan forerunner of the idea of freedom of conscience. But his characterization of Bernhard of Clairvaux as an advocate of the liberty of conscience and of science in defence of the Jews is also of great interest. He stood bravely against those fanatical Christians who persecuted the Jews in France. Luzzatti praises the little state of Rhode Island where every one has had a right to serve God according to his own conscience since the year 1641 as the first state which granted the liberty of worshiping God according to the individual conscience. Simultaneous with the liberty of conscience in Rhode Island, however, was the religious tolerance of the colony of Maryland, founded in 1636.

The German translation is very appropriate at the present time because an agitation is beginning in Germany to have the German government insist on the separation of church and state so as to actualize to its full extent the

liberty of conscience and of science. In the United States where the principle was first carried out in the history of the world there is no need for such an agitation, nevertheless an English translation of this important and interesting book written in a most popular style by a man who is competent to discuss the problem would be highly desirable. κ

DAS CHRISTENTUM UND DIE MONISTISCHE RELIGION. Von *Max Werner*. Berlin: Karl Curtius, 1908. Pp. 202. Price 2 m.

Max Werner, an officer of the Prussian army, has retired from active service on account of his religious convictions. He can no longer accept Christian dogmatism, and feeling that it would be hypocritical to conceal his convictions he has decided to publish a protest against the faith of his childhood.

Major Werner comes out boldly and squarely in his views, and he discusses all the several points which have shaken his faith. His book contains two parts of which the former is negative, the latter positive. He enumerates all the weak points of the old traditional dogmatism, and criticises them from the standpoint of science. The first part contains 17 chapters entitled, The Doctrine of Copernicus, The Creation, The Deluge, Paradise, the Pentateuch, The Law Revealed on Mt. Sinai, Babylon and Israel, Revelation, Zarathustra, The Christ, Jesus as a Man, The Gospels, The Birth of Jesus, The Miracles of Jesus, The Resurrection of Jesus, The Apostolic Confession of Faith, and The Encyclical of Pope Pius X Against Modernism. All these chapters contain a discussion explaining the untenableness of the traditional doctrines.

The second part of the book establishes a new religion which the author finds in monism. Even this portion is negative enough and discusses the points in question in the following chapters: Religion, God, The Soul, Death, Mankind, The Meaning of Life, The Monistic Church, and Conclusion. In his Conclusion he makes some positive propositions for the future in which he plans the establishment of a monistic church. He deems it absolutely necessary that a community should be established which would render it necessary to preserve a place of worship and religious congregations. He subscribes to only one doctrine which reads, "I believe in God," and one moral principle, "I will sympathize with my fellow men, and actualize this sympathy according to the best of my ability." He concludes with an appeal to all who have the courage and power of their conviction. "Ye," he says, "who have this courage and power will be the founders of the new empire of spirit." κ

THE CHANGING CHINESE. By *Edward Alsworth Ross*. New York: The Century Company, 1911. Pp. 356.

This book is announced by its publishers as the first up-to-date, authoritative interpretation of the Chinese people based on first-hand observation; a book of unusual interest for the general reader as well as the student, offering a vivid and fascinating picture of Chinese life. The author, who is professor of sociology at the University of Wisconsin, has studied the Chinese from a sociological and ethnological point of view. He first discusses the external appearance of China as the traveler sees it; then follows a study of the racial development of the Chinese with a special chapter devoted to their mental characteristics as a race. He gives us an account of the industrial

condition of China, including the present struggle for existence and what he regards as its industrial future.

He refers to the military yellow peril as a bogey but admits that the actual and imminent peril in this quarter comes from the danger of crowding out the slowly multiplying high-wage white societies with the overflow that is bound to come when China has applied western knowledge to the saving of human life, and in his opinion nothing but a concerted policy of exclusion can avert this disaster. He has carefully studied the opium evil, its seductive attractiveness to the Oriental, the strength of its hold upon them, the operations and effect of the anti-opium edict and considers that the struggle with the evil will be victorious in time. He treats in detail of the movements with regard to the advancement of women in China, the influence of Christianity there and recent development in the line of education.

Professor Ross does well to call his book "The Changing Chinese." Though it was published very recently (October, 1911) it contains no premonition of the imminent revolution. The suddenness of this eruption has taken the world by storm and it is not surprising that a student of conditions in China was not aware that the slumbering volcano beneath his feet was about to break forth into action. Doubtless if Professor Ross's visit had extended a few months later he would have added another stirring chapter on the changing Chinese.

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THE ESSENCE OF BUDDHISM. By *P. Lakshmi Narasu*. Madras: Srinivasa Varadachari. Pp. 212.

This book shows familiarity with European science and philosophy, and the Anagarika Dharmapala recommends it especially to non-Buddhists and the scientific agnostic on the ground that it is written from a purely human standpoint and discusses the characteristic aspects of Buddhist doctrine after a psychological method. Descartes, Kant, Schopenhauer, Avenarius, Mill, Wesley, Clifford, Richet, Riehl, Pearson, Maudsley, Mach, Wundt, James, Royce, and Stanley Hall are some of the western thinkers quoted with familiarity by this scholar of India.

In discussing the subject of "Death and After" he says: "Although the sole interest of these psychologists and philosophers of the highest academic rank has been, as Dr. Stanley Hall points out, to establish the existence of a land of disembodied spirits and to demonstrate the possibility of a communication between them and this world, yet every fact and group of facts on which they rely point for their explanation to the past of the individual and the race and not to the future, to the subnormal rather than to the supernormal, more to the body than to any disembodied spirit. Just as the alchemists in their search after the elixir of life neglected chemistry, just as astrologers in quest of the influence of the stars on human life overlooked astronomy, so have the leaders of the Psychical Research movement in their zeal to find an answer to what is called the most insistent question of the human heart,—If a man die, shall he live again?—completely lost sight of the true import of the facts they have collected. They think and speak of the soul only in the future tense, and little does that word suggest to them any connection with the past. On the contrary, as the philosophic Roman poet has it,—"

Here he quotes a dozen lines from Dr. Paul Carus's *De Rerum Natura* and later a longer passage on the ego, confusing the writer of to-day with the

Epicurean author of the similarly entitled work belonging to the first century B. C. Several of his poetic versions of the Dhammapada are taken from the *Gems of Buddhist Poetry*, published a few years ago in *The Open Court*, though credit is sometimes forgotten. P

WAVES OF THE OCEAN AND OTHER WAVES. By Dr. Vaughan Cornish, F.R.G.S. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co., 1911. Price \$2.50 net.

This is a book for the interested traveler and the physiographer. Few who have had the opportunity for observation, from the small boy launching chips upon the little inland pond to the adult passenger upon the ocean liner, have failed to be fascinated by wave phenomena, and this new book will prove entertaining and instructive to all who are interested in this subject.

One hears wierd tales of great waves "mountain high" which threatened to sweep all before them to destruction, when in fact the frightened eyes of the observer aided by the natural optical illusion magnify the approaching monster several times. The scientific reason for this is made clear by the author.

It will be readily seen that a careful scientific measurement of great sea waves is almost impossible, and that even a close calculation is beset with many difficulties. These facts are well set forth in Dr. Cornish's book and also the methods by which he and other careful observers have painstakingly arrived at what is probably nearest the truth yet published upon this fascinating subject.

The author quotes such authorities as Col. D. D. Gaillard, Lieutenant of the French navy, Dr. Scoresby and a number of reliable sea captains in support of his own observations and conclusions. Such a concurrence of opinions from eminent authorities must give the work a high scientific standing.

The relation between height and length of waves with reference to velocity and duration of wind and the "fetch" or open sea space over which the wind has acted to produce them, is fully discussed.

Interesting mathematical formulae are deduced which show a very definite relation between velocity of wind, fetch and height and length of waves. The sorting and shifting of pebbles is also discussed as well as the roll waves or "bores" of rivers and the standing or stationary waves of rapids.

The book is profusely and beautifully illustrated by a large number of photographs taken by the author. H. N. HOWLAND.

THE MASTER AS I SAW HIM: Being Pages from the Life of Swami Vivekananda. By his disciple *Nivedita*. London: Longman Green and Company, 1910. Pp. 514. Price, \$1.50 net.

The Swami Vivekananda came to America at the time of the Religious Parliament in 1893, and the author of this book says that until that time Hinduism had not considered itself a missionary faith since the days of the Buddhist missions. We are not given to know much about the author himself. It seems he first met the Swami in a London drawing-room when the guests were chosen "on the very score of our unwillingness to believe, for the difficulty of convincing us of the credibility of religions." It seemed to him on that day that never before had he met a thinker "who in one short hour had been able to express all that I had hitherto regarded as highest and best."

Before the Hindu left London this inquirer was ready to call him "Master," thus paying homage to what he believed he saw in his character. "As a religious teacher I saw that although he had a system of thought to offer, nothing in that system would claim him for a moment if he found that truth led elsewhere. And to the extent that this recognition implies, I became his disciple." This new disciple later made his pilgrimage to India to sit at the feet of his master until the end, and it is from this acquaintance that he writes his tribute.

A hasty glance is not sufficient to show just what sort of Hinduism this is which Vivekananda taught. He had the greatest reverence for Buddha, Mohammed and Christ. And almost his latest journey was a pilgrimage to Buddhagaya.

p

MATING, MARRIAGE, AND THE STATUS OF WOMAN. By *James Corin*. London: Walter Scott, 1910. Pp. 182. Price 2s. 6d. net.

The object of this book is to study the development of the relations of male and female of the human species from a zoological standpoint and to consider the future of the race in its probable evolution. One implication of the author's investigation seems to be (whether intentional or not) that the movement towards freeing woman from the obligations of marriage might result in increased physical and mental development of the individual woman but would point to the probably certain degeneration of the race in the evolutionary scale. The author makes no attempt to state what can be done in the future or what ought to be done if it could be, but only what has been in the past, is in the present, and might be in the future under certain conditions. He refers to Mrs. Gilman's *Woman and Economics* as stating woman's position from a woman's point of view better and more forcibly than he has done in his scientific attempt at an impartial treatment.

p

PRIVILEGE AND DEMOCRACY. By *Frederic C. Howe*. New York: Scribner's, 1910. Pp. 315. Price \$1.50 net.

The author is a well-known lawyer of Cleveland who has lectured at universities and written books on municipal and civic subjects. In the present volume he strongly opposes the monopoly of land and urges that freedom of trade, public ownership of highways, and the socialization of the land will destroy the tribute now exacted by monopoly. He says that it was freedom of access to the earth and the fulness thereof which has made America what it is. "And it is the passing of this freedom, it is the enclosure of the land and the coming of the tenant, it is the monopoly of that which is the source of all life, that has brought down the curse of poverty upon us, just as it did in Rome, just as it did in France, just as it did in Ireland, and just as it did in England at a later day."

p

Through articles in the Japanese papers brought to our attention by Prof. E. W. Clement, of Tokyo, we learn that Mr. Tokonami, Vice-Minister of the Home Department, by untiring efforts and confidence in the righteousness of the cause he had at heart, succeeded in convening under the auspices of the Japanese government a conference of representatives of the different sects of the three leading religions, Shinto, Buddhism and Christianity. About seventy religious leaders were present. The conference opened Sunday, Feb-

ruary 25, with an address by Mr. Hara, Minister of the Home Department, who set forth the object of the gathering, which was to enlist the services of the religious leaders in bettering social conditions and promoting the healthy progress of the spiritual world. After his address refreshments were served packed in boxes as souvenirs to be taken home. There were three boxes for each guest, containing delicacies adapted to the different groups of tastes.

In a business meeting on the following day the representatives unanimously agree on certain resolutions closing with the following decisions:

"a. To foster and develop our respective creeds, to promote the welfare of the state, and to contribute to the development of national morality.

"b. To hope that the authorities concerned will respect religion, to fraternize the relations between statesmen, religionists, and educationists, and to contribute to the progress of the nation."

The conference seems to have been considered a success from the point of view both of the government and of the various sects represented. Some rationalistic critics are reported as saying that the move is a dangerous one in the direction of mingling matters of church and state.

From a current editorial in the *Japan Times* it would appear that this step on the part of the Japanese government is an exceedingly desirable one. The ill feeling among adherents of the different religions, and possibly also within the separate religions between the several sects, is so strong that any enterprise undertaken for the public welfare or moral uplift of the community by one group will be overthrown by the influence of the hostile factions. It is to be hoped that from the recent conference will extend an influence through the leaders of the sects that will cause all to join in educational and humanitarian projects.

We are surprised to note that one critic of the scheme, an "anti-religious scholar," fears the possible evil influence of Buddhist priests on the politics of the empire since "eight or nine out of every ten Buddhist priests of to-day are men of low character." The danger from the influence of Christianity he considers a different one, for "although it may be admitted that its propagators are men of comparatively good character, yet the doctrines preached are utterly inconsistent with the very polity of Japan." p

Dillingham and Company have published a story of ancient India entitled *Rudra* by Arthur J. Westermayr. It contains as *Leitmotif* an Oriental version of the Genevieve legend of the faithful wife wrongly accused and condemned, whose husband finds out his mistake and regrets his rash accusation; only that this story has woven into its fabric the Indian religious views of life and death, and of the Hindu gods and Nirvana. κ

A brief study in educational psychology entitled *Attention and Interest* has been published lately by Felix Arnold (New York: Macmillan. Price \$1.00 net). The book is divided into three parts devoted respectively to the subjects of attention, interest and education. Its object is to systematize the facts brought to light by the experiments in psychological laboratories and the author expresses his obligation to Baldwin, Titchener and other similar "exponents of the scientific attitude towards facts and the scientific presentation of facts." ρ



GOETHE IN THE CAMPAGNA AT ROME.
(After a painting by Tischbein.)

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

**Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.**

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THE LIFE OF GOETHE.*

BY THE EDITOR.

SINCE it is not our intention to add a new biography of Goethe to those which have heretofore appeared, we will here simply recapitulate for our readers in a few words the chief events of Goethe's life, and point out the personages who at one time or another played a part in it.

Goethe was the first and only son of Johann Caspar Goethe, a Frankfort magistrate with the title Counselor, and of his wife, Catharine Elizabeth, née Textor. The child was named Johann Wolfgang, after his maternal grandfather Textor.

In his autobiography "Truth and Fiction,"¹ the poet speaks of his horoscope which he describes thus:

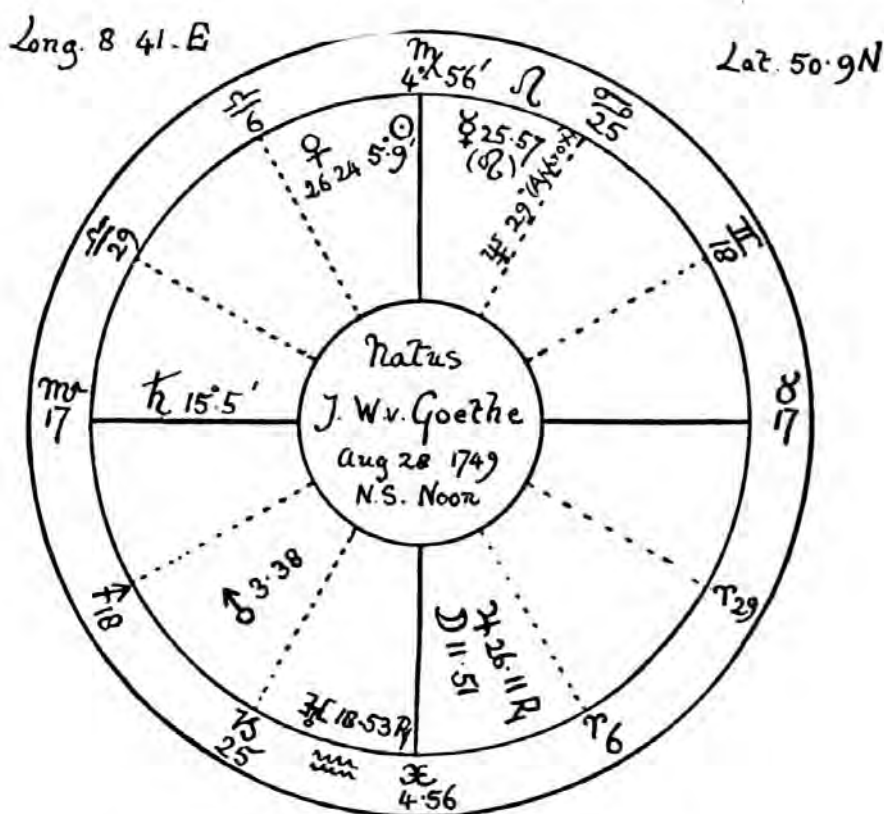
"On August 28, 1749, at midday as the clock was striking twelve, I came into the world at Frankfort on the Main. The position of the heavenly bodies was propitious: the sun stood in the sign of the Virgin and culminated for the day; Jupiter and Venus looked on the sun with a friendly eye and Mercury not adversely, while Saturn and Mars remained indifferent; the moon alone, just full, exerted the power of its reflection all the more as it had then reached its planetary hour. It was opposed, therefore, to my birth which could not be accomplished until this hour was passed."

* This sketch of Goethe's life does not pretend to novelty or completeness. Rather, on the contrary, it is based on well-established and verifiable sources and, while omitting indifferent details, contains all that is essential, at the same time including most of those portraits and illustrations which have become classical in connection with Goethe. Thus it may serve the busy reader as a synopsis for his information which may be quickly read and will prove useful for reference. The present article may be compared with prior articles on Goethe and his works.

¹ The passages here quoted from Goethe's autobiography are mostly after the translation of John Oxenford, with occasional minor alterations.

Ralph Shirley, the editor of *The Occult Review* and an astrologer by conviction, has investigated Goethe's horoscope and points out that the poet's description is not quite accurate. We reproduce Goethe's nativity as he publishes it, the planetary positions being supplied by A. G. Pearce, and will quote Mr. Shirley's comments on the same as follows:

"Goethe was born under the sign of the Scorpion—the night house of the planet Mars—as it is astrologically designated, and his



HOROSCOPE OF GOETHE CAST BY A. J. PEARCE.
Reproduced from *The Occult Review*, May, 1908, p. 257.

dominant influences were Saturn and the Sun. The Sun is *hyleg* or life-giver in this horoscope owing to its meridional position, and would have warranted the prediction of a long life in spite of certain constitutional drawbacks.

"The mythological Saturn has the reputation of devouring his children at birth, and the fact that Goethe was born into the world "as dead" is more probably attributable to the closely ascending

position of the malefic planet than to the poet's rather fanciful suggestion of the effect of the (proximate) full Moon.

"Fortunately for him Goethe was not left entirely to the tender mercies of the planet Saturn, the Sun, Mercury and Venus all being



GOETHE'S GRANDFATHER, SCHULTHEISS TEXTOR.
After a painting by A. Scheppen.

notably elevated in his horoscope, the Sun (as he in this case correctly describes it) exactly culminating in the sign of the Virgin, and indicating thereby success and the "favor of princes." Venus occupied the mid-heaven in close opposition to Jupiter, a position which it hardly requires an astrologer to interpret, in the light of the

native's life.² Mercury was posited in the ninth house, the house of religion, philosophy and science—the mental trend, as one may say—in the ambitious sign Leo and was more or less loosely opposed by the *malefic* Uranus which holds rule in the third house, denoting



GOETHE'S GRANDMOTHER, FRAU ANNA MARGARETHA TEXTOR.
Artist unknown.

“brethren” and “near neighbors.” Mars, in its exaltation, Lord of the Ascendant and in trine with the Sun, occupies the second house, and in spite of its good aspects denies the accumulation of wealth.

² The *native* is an astrological expression for the individual whose horoscope is under discussion. Saturn culminated in conjunction with Venus at Lord Byron's birth. It was in conjunction with Jupiter at the birth of Lord Beaconsfield and also of Lord Rosebery.

"I do not think any astrologer worthy of the name could have looked twice at Goethe's horoscope without forecasting a high position and notable name. There are practically six planets angular³ (if we include Mercury, which has quite recently culminated). Jupiter occupies its own house (Pisces) and the Moon, Mars and Uranus are in exaltation. The sign rising, though a dangerous one, favors the attainment of fame and notoriety. The closely ascending position of Saturn recalls the observation of the eminent Frenchman



THE GOETHE HOMESTEAD IN ARTERN ON THE UNSTRUT.

on first seeing Goethe, "C'est un homme qui a eu beaucoup de chagrins." It also accounts for his periods of intense depression, his philosophic outlook and the aloofness of his intellectual temperament, and, in spite of his love of life (indicated by Venus culminating and Scorpio rising), the intense seriousness which characterized him.

"Saturn is *par excellence* the philosopher's planet. Mentally it typifies deep thought and the serious point of view. Corresponding

³To have many planets angular is considered one of the strongest testimonies of a notable name. The Sun and Moon are reckoned as "planets" astrologically.

to the Greek *Κρόνος* (Time) it rules all such things as last and endure."

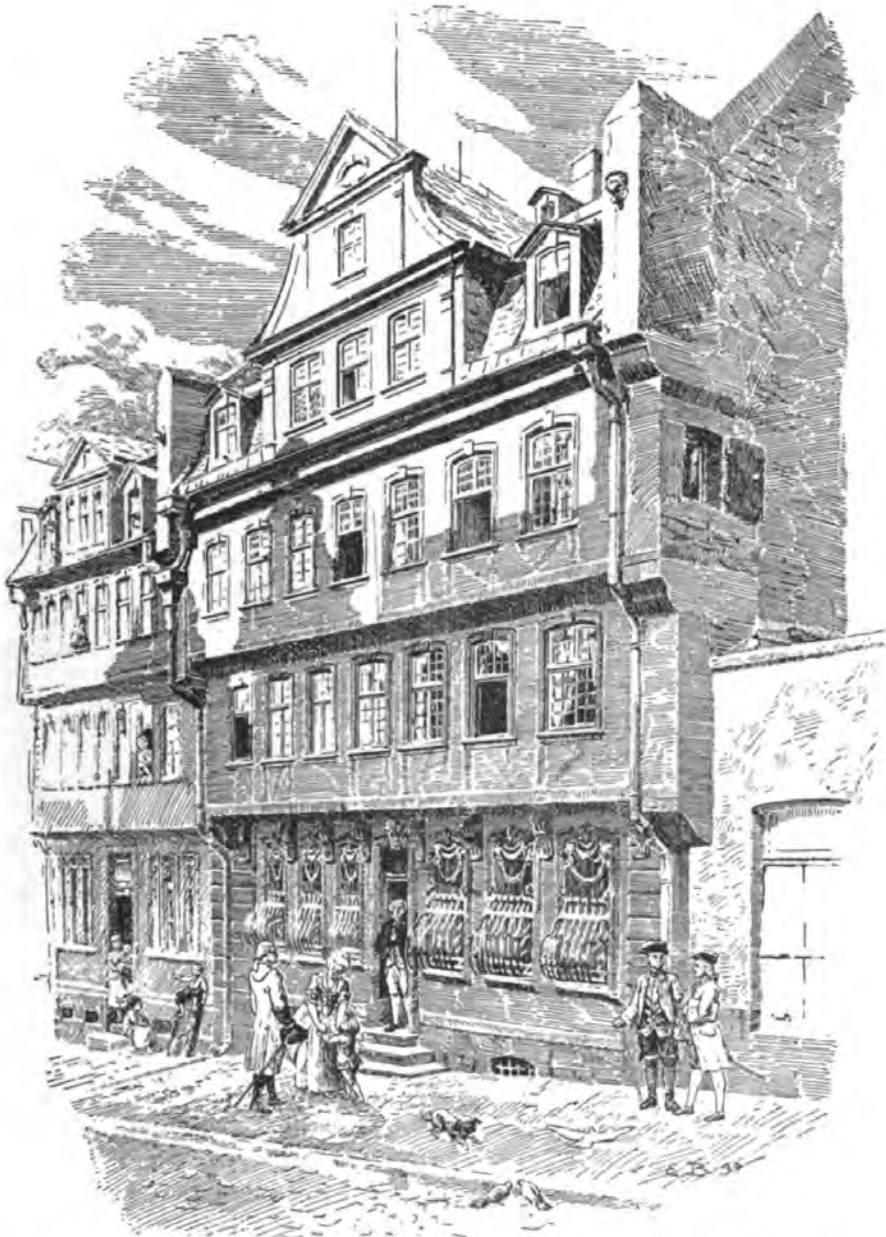
Goethe's father, born July 31, 1710, was the son of a tailor of Mansfeld who had settled in Frankfort. He in his turn was the son of a horseshoer, hailing from Artern on the Unstrut.



THE TEXTOR HOMESTEAD.

A picture is preserved of the home of Goethe's grandfather in Artern on the Unstrut. It shows a very simple building, but solidly constructed. The smithy appears to have been on the ground floor, and the living rooms above it on the second floor under the roof.

Goethe's mother, the daughter of Schultheiss (i. e., judge)



THE GOETHE HOUSE AT FRANKFORT AS IT LOOKED IN GOETHE'S
CHILDHOOD.

Drawn by E. Büchner.

Johann Wolfgang Textor, was born in December, 1731. She was married to the Counselor Goethe on August 20, 1748.

Goethe had only one sister, Cornelia, who was born two years after him in December 1750. For details in regard to her personality and the relations between the brother and sister, see "Goethe's Relations to Women," *Open Court*, Jan. 1912, pp. 17-22.

During the Seven Years' War (1756 to 1763) young Wolfgang was an ardent admirer of Frederick the Great. French troops fighting against Prussia occupied Frankfort for some time, and the boy



FRANÇOIS DE THÉAS, COUNT OF THORANE.
Original in possession of Count Sartoux in Mouans.

learned much through contact with the French, especially through Count Thorane, who was quartered in his parents' home.

We call this French officer "Thorane" although his real name was François de Théas, Comte de Thoranc. In his signatures the *c* was commonly misread for *e*, and even the regulations published over his own name bear the wrong spelling "Thorane." The mistake has been perpetuated in Goethe's work "Truth and Fiction," and through Goethe it became the established spelling so that the correct name scarcely identifies the man. Incidentally we will men-

tion that Thorane did not die in the West Indies as Goethe states, but returned to France and died there in 1794.

At the time of the French occupation young Goethe frequently visited the French theater in Frankfort and made the acquaintance of a French boy of his own age, the son of an actress.

The jolliest comrade of Goethe in Frankfort was a certain Johann Adam Horn. Goethe mentions his merry temperament in "Truth and Fiction" and characterizes him in these words:

"To begin with, the name of our friend Horn gave occasion for all sorts of jokes, and on account of his small figure he was always called *Hörnchen*, 'Little Horn.' He was, in fact, the smallest in the company. Of a stout but pleasing form, with a pug-nose and



THE RAHMHOF WHERE THE FRENCH THEATER AT FRANKFORT WAS ESTABLISHED.

mouth somewhat pouting, a swarthy complexion set off by little sparkling eyes, he always seemed to invite laughter. His little compact skull was thickly covered with curly black hair: his beard was prematurely blue; and he would have liked to let it grow, that, as a comic mask, he might always keep the company laughing. For the rest, he was neat and nimble, but insisted that he had bandy legs, which everybody granted, since he was bent on having it so, but about which many a joke arose; for, since he was in request as a very good dancer, he reckoned it among the peculiarities of the fair sex, that they always liked to see bandy legs on the floor. His cheerfulness was indestructible, and his presence at every meeting indispensable. We two kept more together because he was to follow me to the university; and he well deserves that I should mention

him with all honor, as he clung to me for many years with infinite love, faithfulness, and patience."

Goethe wrote some poetry in this first period of his life, but most of it he did not deem worthy of preservation; and what we have, the "Poetical Thoughts on the Descent of Jesus Christ into Hell" (1765), is not very promising.

In the autumn of 1765 Goethe traveled to Leipsic where on October 19 he was enrolled at the university. His father wanted



JOHANN ADAM HORN.
After a drawing by Goethe.

him to study law in order to enable him to hold a position like himself in the municipality of the free city of Frankfort, but the young poet preferred the study of *belles lettres*, and went to Leipsic with the intention of mapping out his course according to his own inclinations. The professors to whom he made known his purpose with all self-assurance discouraged him in his zeal for a poetic career, and the result was a compromise by which he was to hear

lectures on philosophy and history of law and yet was free to attend Gellert's course in history of literature.

We cannot describe the significance and character of Gellert better than in the words of Goethe who says:

"The reverence and love with which Gellert was regarded by all young people was extraordinary. I called on him and was kindly received. Not tall of stature, delicate without being lank,—with gentle and rather pensive eyes, a very fine forehead, a nose aquiline but not too much so, an aristocratic mouth, a face of an agreeable oval—all made his presence pleasing and desirable. It cost some trouble to reach him. His two *famuli* appeared like priests who



C. F. GELLERT.



J. C. GOTTSCHED.

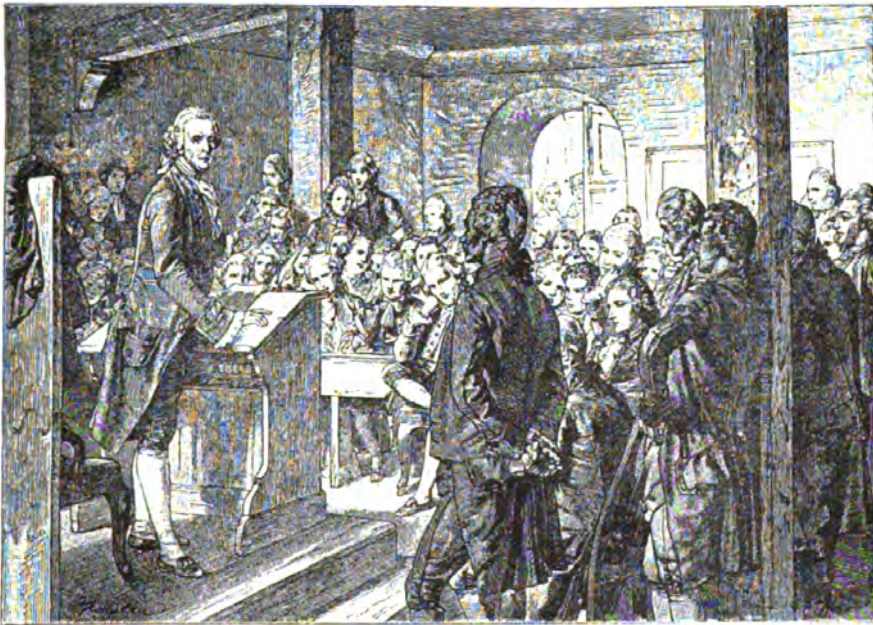
guard a sanctuary to which access is not permitted everybody nor at every time. Such a precaution was very necessary, for he would have sacrificed his whole time had he been willing to receive and satisfy all those who wished to become intimate with him.

"Gellert, in accordance with his pious feelings, had composed a system of ethics, which from time to time he publicly read, thus acquitting himself in an honorable manner of his duty to mankind. Gellert's writings had for a long time been the foundation of German moral culture, and every one anxiously wished to see that work printed; but as this was not to be done till after the good man's death, people thought themselves very fortunate to hear him deliver it himself in his lifetime. At such times the philosophical lecture



From Haid's mezzotint after the painting by Anton Graff.

room was crowded; and the beautiful soul, the pure will, and the interest of the noble man in our welfare, his exhortations, warnings and entreaties, uttered in a somewhat hollow and mournful tone, made indeed an impression for the moment. But this did not last long, the less so as there were many scoffers who contrived to make us suspicious of this tender, and, as they thought, enervating, manner. I remember a Frenchman traveling through the town, who asked what were the maxims and opinions of the man who attracted such an immense concourse. When we had given him the necessary information, he shook his head and said smiling, '*Laissez le faire, il nous forme des dupes.*'



GELLERT'S LECTURE ROOM.

"And in the same way good society which does not easily brook anything worthy, knew how to find occasion to spoil the moral influence which Gellert might have upon us....and so pulled about the good reputation of the excellent Gellert that, in order not to be mistaken about him, we became indifferent towards him and visited him no more; yet we always saluted him in our best manner when he came riding along on his gentle white horse. This horse the Elector of Saxony had sent him, to oblige him to take the exercise so necessary for his health,—a distinction for which he was not easily to be forgiven."

A translation of six hymns of Gellert, following mainly the translation of H. Stevens, was published in *The Monist* for January 1912.

Among the circle of Goethe's friends Behrisch was a dear companion to whom he dedicated some odes, while Johann Georg Schlosser, a man of distinction, afterwards became his brother-in-law. Some of the professors and their families were very kind to the young student, and Madame Böhme in particular, the wife of the professor of history and public law, did much to mold his taste,



BURNING HIS YOUTHFUL PRODUCTIONS.

especially with regard to contemporary poetry of which she was a merciless critic. Finally he became so unsettled that, as he says in "Truth and Fiction,"

"I was afraid to write down a rhyme, however spontaneously it presented itself, or to read a poem, for I was fearful that it might please me at the time, and that perhaps immediately afterwards, like so much else, I should be forced to pronounce it bad."

He goes on to say:

"This uncertainty of taste and judgment disquieted me more

and more every day, so that at last I fell into despair. I had brought with me those of my youthful labors which I thought the best, partly because I hoped to get some credit by them, partly that I might be able to test my progress with greater certainty.... However, after some time and many struggles, I conceived so great a contempt



FRIEDERIKE ELISABETH OESER.

Etched by Banse in 1777 from a painting by her Father, Prof. Adolph Friedrich Oeser.

for my labors, begun and ended, that one day I burnt up poetry and prose, plans, sketches, and projects, all together on the kitchen hearth, and threw our good old landlady into no small fright and anxiety by the smoke which filled the whole house."

The Director of the Academy of Arts, Adam Friedrich Oeser,



DISCUSSING RELIGIOUS QUESTIONS WITH THE DRESDEN SHOEMAKER.

had a strong influence on Goethe's artistic taste. We must regard it as a distinction for the young Goethe that he had admission to the family circle of Professor Oeser and became acquainted with the Frau Professor and their daughters. It was to Fräulein Friederike Elisabeth Oeser that Goethe inscribed the collection of songs which he wrote while in Leipsic.

In this period of his life Goethe wrote "The Whim of the Lover" (*Die Laune des Verliebten*) and "The Fellow Culprits" (*Die Mit-*



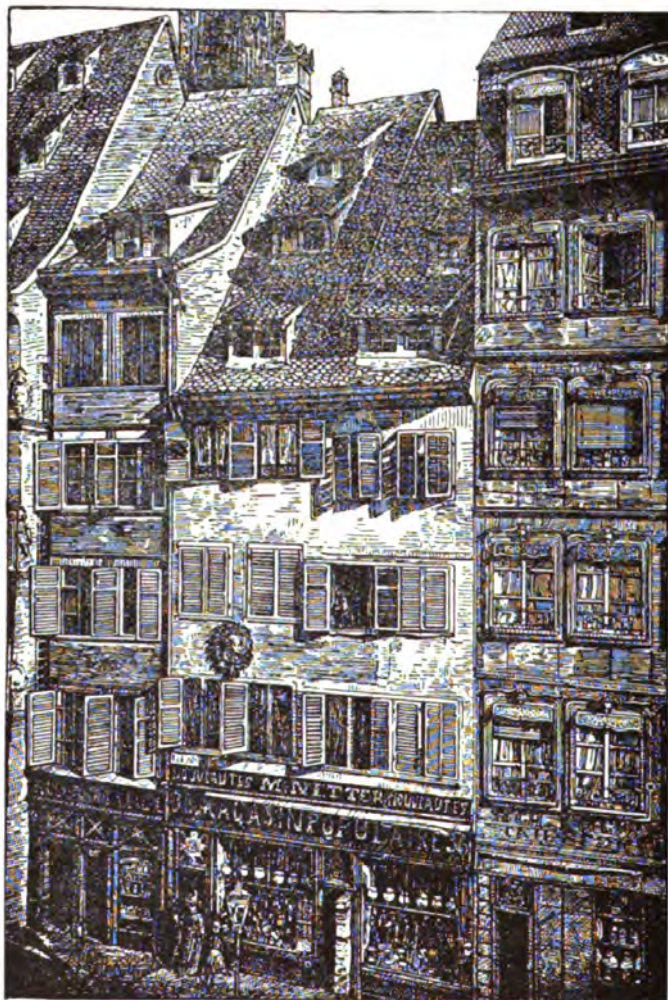
STRASSBURG.

Birds-eye view from an old hymn-book.

schuldigen), neither of which is worth reading, and in Goethe's own interest this would have better been burned with the rest of his youthful effusions; but his little love ditties (*Leipziger Liederbuch*, 1769) which date from this period indicate that something better was to be expected of him in the future.

We must not forget to mention Goethe's excursion to Dresden which he undertook in order to acquaint himself with the art treasures of the Saxon capital. It is characteristic of Goethe that he al-

ways took an interest in original personalities, whether of a high or lowly position in life. A fellow lodger who was a student of theology at Leipsic, had a friend in Dresden, a poor cobbler whose letters exhibited a peculiar religious disposition and good common sense based upon a serene conception of life. To use Goethe's own



GOETHE'S RESIDENCE WHEN A STUDENT.
On the old fish market in Strassburg.

words he was "a practical philosopher and unconscious sage." Having arrived in Dresden Goethe visited the pious cobbler and his wife, and at once made friends with both of them by entering into their views of life. He stayed with them during his sojourn in Dresden and describes vividly the conversation with his religious friends.

The end of Goethe's stay in Leipsic was darkened by a serious illness which began with a violent hemorrhage of the lungs. As soon as he was able to make the journey he left the university, August 28, 1768, for his home in Frankfort.



JOHANN MICHAEL REINHOLD LENZ.

After a drawing by Pfenninger in Lavater's Collection.

When he had entirely recovered from his illness, his father decided to send him to the University of Strassburg.

At the end of the eighteenth century Strassburg was considerably smaller than now, while its fortifications were much more extensive. They have fallen since the German occupation in 1871. Though the city belonged to France, the life of the inhabitants was

German in a marked degree. Only the government was French, and so French was the official language used in documents.

Goethe became a student at the Strassburg University on his birthday, August 28, 1770. Here he became acquainted with a number of interesting men. First among them we mention Herder, a few years his senior, who awakened in him a deep interest in the problems of life, notably the origin of language. Through Goethe's influence Herder was later on called to Weimar in the capacity of Superintendent General of the church of the duchy. Another friend



JOHANN HEINRICH JUNG-STILLING.

By H. Lips, 1801.

of Goethe's during his stay at Strassburg was Lerse, a brave and honest young man, whose name is immortalized in Goethe's first drama as one of the characters of the play. Still others are the actuary Salzmann, the poet Lenz and Jung-Stilling, a self-educated author of remarkable talent and a pious Christian.

Johann Heinrich Jung (1740-1817) was originally a charcoal burner, then a tailor, then a village schoolmaster and finally under great tribulation attained his aim to study medicine. Counting himself among the members of the pious sect called *Die Stillen*

im Lande, "the Quiet-in-the-Land," he adopted the surname "Stilling." In spite of their marked diversity in character Goethe showed a great interest and even admiration for Jung-Stilling's naive piety and simple-minded faith.

The Strassburg Cathedral made a deep impression on Goethe



MARIA CAROLINE FLACHSLAND.
(Afterwards Frau Herder.)

and induced him to compare architecture with other arts, especially music. His acquaintance with, and love of, the Gothic style taught him that beauty is not limited to one expression and that besides the art of ancient Greece there are other possibilities of developing classical beauty.

It was during the year of Goethe's student-life at Strassburg

that his romance with Friederike Brion of Sesenheim took place. So dearly did he cherish the memory of this idyllic courtship that the reader of his autobiography, written when the poet was over sixty years of age, still feels the throb of his heart in the description.

On August 6, 1771, Goethe underwent the ordeal of his *rigorosum*, an examination for the degree of Doctor of Laws; but history is silent on the result. Whether he passed or not is not known. One thing only is certain: the incident plays no part in his after life. He is neither congratulated by his friends or relatives on his graduation, nor does he ever claim, let alone use, the title, nor has he ever been addressed as Doctor. The university records which could decide the problem are no longer in existence. All this makes it not impossible, nay even probable, that he actually failed.

It is not uncommon that great men are not made for examinations, they show off to better advantage in life; and on the other hand professors are frequently mistaken in their opinion of a young man.

Besides some pretty poems inspired by Friederike Brion, Goethe wrote his *Röslein auf der Haiden* in Strassburg, and first conceived the plan of *Faust*.

Having returned to Frankfort August 1771, Goethe finished the first draft of *Götz von Berlichingen* within six weeks, and had it published in the fall of 1772; it at once established its author's fame.

Still in the year 1771, on a trip to Darmstadt, Goethe became acquainted with a circle of friends among whom we note Caroline Flachsland, a lady of good education who was engaged to be married to Herder. There he met also Johann Heinrich Merck (1741-1791) a quæstor in the war department who was easily the keenest critic of the age, and had been drawn to the capital of Hesse-Darmstadt by the cultured Landgravine Catharine. Merck was attracted to Goethe and became one of his most intimate friends. He never hesitated to criticize him severely whenever he was dissatisfied with the poet, and Goethe was wise enough to heed his advice, nor did he take offence when Merck would say on some occasion: "You must not write such stuff again!" Merck's character contributed some of the satirical features with which Goethe endowed his Mephistopheles. His life came to a tragic end on June 27, 1791, when he committed suicide.

Goethe loved to walk great distances, and on a tramp from

Frankfort to Darmstadt in 1771 he composed the poem *Wanderers Sturmlied*.

In the spring (May 1772) Goethe went to Wetzlar, a small town where an imperial court of justice had been established. It was customary in those days for young Frankfort lawyers to attend these courts before they were admitted to the bar in their own city.

Leaving Wetzlar September 11, 1772, Goethe returned to



JOHANN HEINRICH MERCK.

Frankfort and settled there as an attorney at law. Soon afterwards he heard of the death of Jerusalem, one of his Leipsic student friends. Carl Wilhelm Jerusalem was born March 21, 1747, at Wolfenbüttel, and in 1771 had been made secretary of the sub-delegation of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel. He suffered from melancholia and, having begun to doubt the historicity of the New Testament, had lost his comfort in the Christian religion. But the climax of his despair was reached because of his affection for Frau Herdt,



CARL WILHELM JERUSALEM AS A CHILD.

Drawing formerly in the possession of Georg Kestner of Dresden, grandson of Frau Charlotte Kestner. Now in the Goethe Museum of Weimar.

the wife of his friend, the Ambassador of the Palatine Electorate. He borrowed a pair of pistols from Kestner under pretense of making a journey and shot himself in the night of October 30, 1772. Lessing acknowledged with unstinted praise the extraordinary reasoning power and deep sentiment of Jerusalem and raised the best memorial to him by publishing his "*Philosophical Essays*."

Jerusalem's death, together with his own interest in Charlotte Buff, suggested to Goethe the plan of his novel, "The Sorrows of Young Werther," which he wrote in 1774 within four weeks and had it published at once. It created a sensation throughout Germany, and though it was severely criticized it permanently established his fame as an author.

Though we recognize the unusual ability which Goethe showed in this book, we will grant that its influence on the younger genera-



VIEW OF WETZLAR FROM THE SOUTH.

tion of Germany was very injurious. Suicides of sentimental lovers increased to a most alarming extent, one of the best known of which was the death of Herr von Kleist and the wife of one of his friends. It took some time before the literary world overcame this pathological hankering after a sentimental death of unfortunate lovers. Goethe himself knew that his books were not for everybody, and he said in reply to one of his critics, a narrow but haughty pietist:

"By the conceited man—by him
I'm dangerous proclaimed;
The wight uncouth, who cannot swim,
By him the water's blamed.
That Berlin pack—priest-ridden lot—
Their ban I am not heeding;
And he who understands me not
Ought to improve in reading."—Tr. by P. C.



WERTHER'S LOTTA.
By Kaulbach.

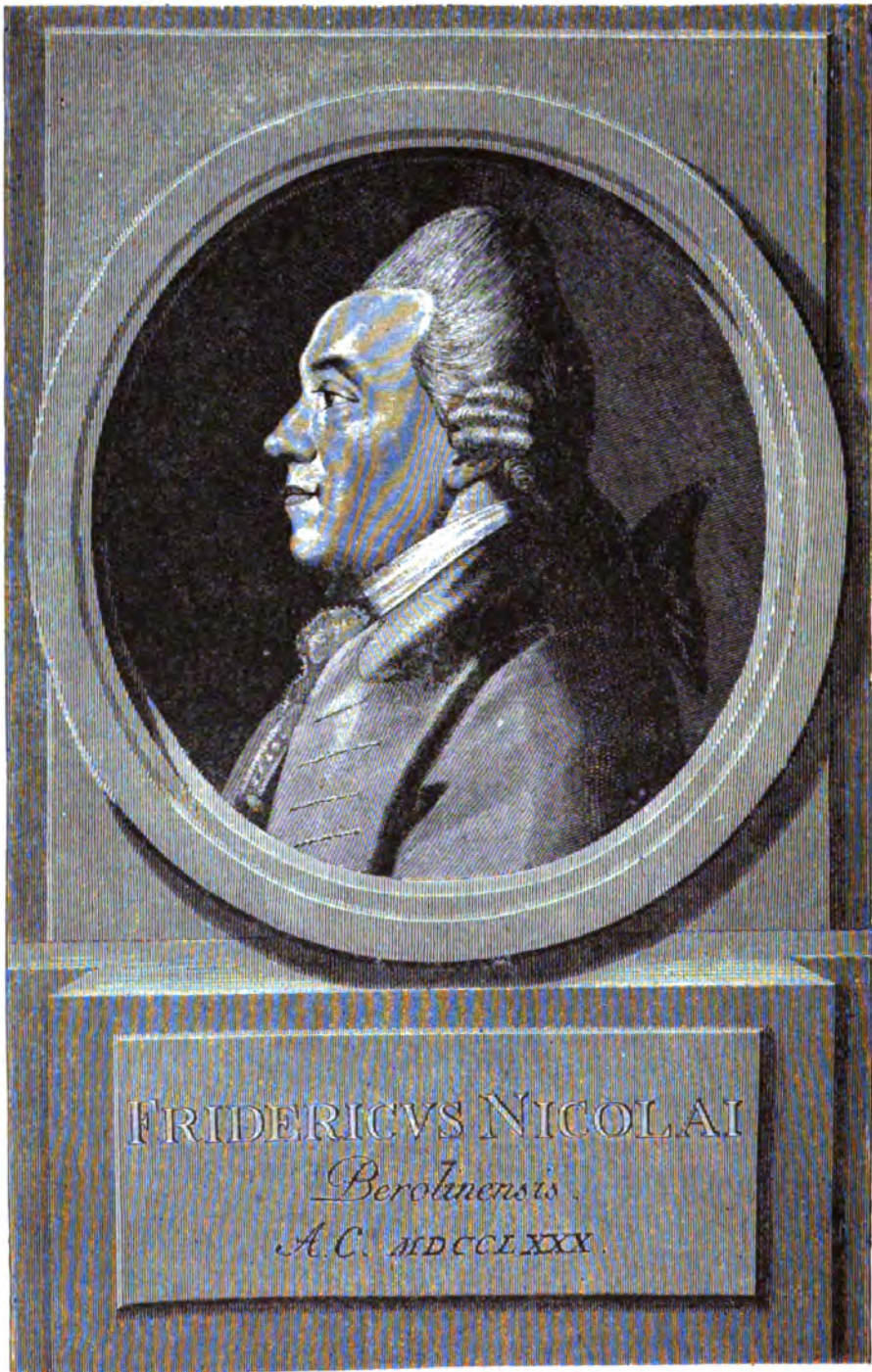
While the "Sorrows of Young Werther" may be regarded as liable to criticism, we ought to mention that the book received quite unmerited condemnation at the hands of Christoph Friedrich Nicolai, a publisher and author who at that time possessed considerable influence in Germany. Nicolai, born March 18, 1733, at Berlin, was



JOHANN CHRISTIAN KESTNER.

After a lithograph of Julius Giere made from an oil painting in the possession of Georg Kestner of Dresden. He was secretary of the sub-delegation at Wetzlar.

a leading representative of the eighteenth-century rationalism, but he was narrow in his views and his prosaic nature had no sense for religious mysticism or any poetical enthusiasm. He did not even understand the psychical aspect of Werther's sentimentalism and condemned his melancholy as simply due to costiveness. In contrast to the "Sorrows of Young Werther," Nicolai published a parody, "The



CHRISTOPH FRIEDRICH NICOLAI.
Haid's engraving after a drawing of Chodowiecki.

Joys of Young Werther," for which Chodowiecki engraved a title vignette. Goethe expresses himself about this satire in his "Truth and Fiction" as follows: "'The Joys of Young Werther,' by which Nicolai distinguishes himself, gave us an opportunity for several jokes. This man, otherwise good, meritorious and learned, had begun to keep down and put aside everything that did not suit his conception, which being mentally very limited he regarded as genuine and the only one. Against me also he had to try his hand, and



JOYS OF YOUNG WERTHER.

Chodowiecki's vignette on the title page of Nicolai's satire.

his brochure soon came into our hands. The very delicate vignette of Chadowiecki gave me great pleasure, for I esteem this artist beyond measure. The production itself, however, was cut out of coarse cloth, which the common sense of his surroundings took great pains to manufacture most crudely." Goethe answered Nicolai's criticism in the same tone by a humorous quatrain entitled "At Werther's Grave," in which a visitor to the cemetery where the ashes of the unhappy lover repose declares that he would still be alive if he had enjoyed a good digestion.

[TO BE CONCLUDED.]

MIGRATION OF A PRIMITIVE SAILING CRAFT AND ITS NAME.

BY WILFRED H. SCHOFF.

ONE of the earliest forms of sailing craft in use from prehistoric times in all parts of the Indian Ocean, is a floating raft consisting generally of two long logs with rising side pieces pinned or more often sewed to the log, wide enough to admit the person of a single rower; two such log canoes being fastened together by a planked flooring laid transversely and supporting a deck structure and rigging. Such craft appear in the earliest known records of traffic in Asiatic waters. The author of the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea* writing about 60 A. D., mentions them in the ports of southern India and calls them "large vessels made of single logs bound together called *sangāra*." This seems to be the Greek transliteration for the Sanscrit *samghādam* meaning raft.

Dr. Taylor in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for January, 1847, notes that the name *jangār* is still used on the Malabar coast for these double canoes with superstructures. Bishop Caldwell gives the name as *chamghādam* in the Malayalam dialect, and *jangāla* in Tulu, while Heeren doubted whether the word were indigenous to India and ascribed it to a Malay original. This is indeed quite possible, as the type itself is Malay and is found throughout the Archipelago.

An interesting fact is the existence of similar craft on the coast of modern Brazil and bearing the name *jangāra*. It is perhaps not necessary to assume that the Brazilians were entirely dependent upon India for the craft itself. Primitive man might be expected to discover in many parts of the world that two logs transversely fastened would float a considerable weight, but the identity of name occurring in connection with the identity of type is a striking fact.

It may be ascribed doubtless to the fact of simultaneous colonization by the Portuguese in India and Brazil. It is well known that

the Portuguese ships bound to India after the accidental discovery of Brazil by Cabral, frequently called on that coast on their outbound voyage and that administrative officers were transferred from India to Brazil and *vice versa* in the ordinary course of promotion. Similarly the rank and file of the Portuguese soldiery were so transferred, and it would be a perfectly natural thing for a word found



THE SANGARA IN CEYLON.

in India to migrate to the newly discovered coast of Brazil, or for a certain type of craft which the Portuguese found useful in riding the rough surf of the Indian coast to be imitated by them for the heavy surf found on many parts of the Brazilian coast.

The two photographs accompanying this memorandum show clearly the identity of type; one is from modern Ceylon and the other from the beach at Maceió in Brazil.

Reference to the dictionaries shows the same word existing in both the Spanish and Portuguese languages. In Portuguese *janga*

means a small flat-bottomed river boat, while *jangáda* is defined as a float or raft. The interesting point is that the same word in Portugal means a sort of Indian measure, showing clearly the migration of the measure of capacity of an Indian canoe into the current language of the Portuguese. The same word *jangáda* is found in the Spanish dictionary with the meaning of raft, frame or float, while *jangua* is carried into the Spanish nomenclature for a small armed vessel, flat-bottomed, suggesting the raft.

EDITORIAL COMMENT.

The information which Mr. Schoff gives us concerning the *jangala* as being in use not only in the Indian Ocean but also on the coast of Brazil, is a straw in the wind which teaches us a lesson of far-reaching significance. It proves that the prehistoric interconnection among the different peoples of the earth has been greater than archeologists ever dared to assume. We have ourselves repeatedly insisted that the same inventions, the development of the same ideas and interpretations, could very easily take place independently in different parts of the



THE JANGARA OF THE COAST OF BRAZIL.

world, and we still insist that such parallel developments are possible; yea, as a matter of fact we do not doubt that now and then they have occurred.

We will mention here two instances selected from the history of science in modern times. There is no reason to doubt for instance that Leibnitz and Newton invented the calculus independently and almost at the same time (about 1674). As they heard from each other, they improved their methods and they could do so the better because they had both independently conceived the fundamental idea.¹

Of Laplace we know positively that when he proposed his theory of the origin of the solar system he was not familiar with Kant's famous little book on the history of the starry heavens. The two theories are very much alike, and have given rise to calling this theory the Kant-Laplace theory, but if Laplace had known Kant's little book he would have improved his own theory, for Kant's is more correct and at the same time more general. The present objection to the Kant-Laplace theory really applies more to Laplace than to Kant, and yet the similarity of the two theories is great enough for their names to be thus coupled together and their underlying thought considered as fundamentally one and the same.

In selecting an instance from the field of literature, we may here refer to the independent origin of the satires written by Whately and Pèrès to prove that Napoleon had never existed. Pèrès's little book appeared in 1827 under the title "The Grand Erratum" while Richard Whately, the English archbishop, anticipated the French author by eight years. His book on the same subject was published in the year 1819, under the title *Historic Doubts Relative to Napoleon Bonaparte*, and the treatment is so different that actual plagiarism on the part of Pèrès seems excluded.

Here in Mr. Schoff's little article we find the use of a very primitive maritime craft on the most distant shores of the globe. The idea of employing its simple construction must have traveled in an easterly direction from India and the Malay Archipelago through the South Sea Islands to South America and then crossed the continent to the coast of Brazil, the very end of the world to prehistoric man, for we must know that the Atlantic separated the East and the West while the Pacific did not, and we must grant that America was invaded by stray immigrants from the South Sea islands and also by way of the Atlantic.

The most important part of Mr. Schoff's information is the

¹For details as to the simultaneous development of the principles of the infinitesimal calculus in England and on the Continent see the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (9th ed.), XIII, p. 8.

identity of the very name which establishes the historic connection between these two peculiar crafts. We must assume that there was a greater exchange of thought among the prehistoric peoples than we are inclined to acknowledge, though we may fairly well believe that this exchange of thought was very slow. It must have come about by adventurers or fugitives from one country to another, by traders or travelers who gradually settled in a new home.

It stands to reason that the emigrants of a prehistoric age carried with them their stock of knowledge and inventions, their religious convictions, their belief in ghosts and their ethical standards, their notions of the calendar and also their habits and customs; and any of their ideas might easily take root in their new home. The process of assimilation must have taken considerable time, but we have no reason to deny the migration of the intellectual possessions of primitive man from one place to another.

This conception, however, does not exclude that many ideas were changed in their migration, or also that they came to a new country in the shape of mere suggestions and were actually re-invented by making the people acquainted with possibilities, or informing them of something similar. We may for instance assume that the Frenchman M. Pérès may have caught the idea in a conversation, that if the historicity of Jesus is doubted we might as well doubt Napoleon's existence, and this suggestion could have been made without mentioning either Whately's name or the details of his arguments. At any rate Pérès took it up and developed it in his own way, which has nothing of the ponderous and solemn English style of humor but bristles with terse French witticisms.

We are inclined to say that even the thoughts and inventions which can be traced in their travel from place to place had to be re-invented, and though the main idea may remain the same, the theories transplanted must first be assimilated, and the thoughts must be thought over again before they really take root in their new homes. This is especially true of the Chinese inventions, the manufacture of paper, of printing, of gunpowder, and of the south-pointing needle (the mariner's compass), the principles of which were much better understood and more highly developed in Europe than in Eastern Asia.

The development of civilization in the main follows definite laws, and no man can adopt the inventions, thoughts, or discoveries of other men unless he is prepared to receive them. So far as inventions consist merely in using things furnished, such as rifles, the

transference of an invention is easy; but so far as thought must be adapted to the mind of man, the thought must be thought over again, and this will be possible only if the recipient is ready to receive it, which means if his mind has passed through the indispensable preparatory states which furnish the basis of its comprehension.

A NEW ÆSOP.

BY WILLIAM ELLERY LEONARD.

Though Æsop, sage narrator, covered much,
Some points on this our life he failed to touch.

THE BEAR AND THE OWL.

A famished Bear, whose foot was clenched
Within a murderous engine, wrenched
And bounced about in fright and pain
Around the tree that held the chain,
Emitting many a hideous howl.
His state was noticed by an Owl,
Who, perched above him fat and free,
Philosophized from out the tree:
"Of what avail this fuss and noise?—
The thing you need, my Bear, is poise."

Moral.

Such counsels are most sage, we know—
But often how malapropos!

THE BALD MAN AND THE BEE.

A Bald Man fished upon a bank:
The air was hot; the ground was dank;
No fish would bite; and large supplies
Of woodticks, skeeters, fleas, and flies,
In yonder marsh and meadow bred,
Crawled unmolested o'er his head,
With many a tickle, sting and itch.
He wouldn't budge, he wouldn't twitch;
But, trusting in the universe,

He fished away from bad to worse.
 At length it chanced a vicious Bee
 From out the thicket in his rear
 Sped forth with much alacrity
 And pierced him with his little spear—
 Just where his cowlick used to be.
 The Bald Man slowly raised his hand:
 "Now that's enough, now that's enough—
 For *this*, I'd have you understand
 (He sweeps his pate), you'll *all* get off."

Moral.

Though one may be an optimist,
 A Stoic, Christian Scientist,
 And fish or fiddle with assurance,
 There is a limit to endurance.

THE LION. THE LIONESS, AND HER KINSFOLK

A Lion had a Lioness
 That got to ailing more or less.
 He walked with her in woodland air,
 He found a more salubrious lair,
 He foraged round for little lambs
 And cooked their juiciest, tenderest hams,
 He washed the plates and set on shelf,
 And put the cubs to bed himself.
 But just as she again was cheered,
 Her mother, sisters, aunts appeared—
 With twenty different bottles, pills,
 And powders, naming twenty ills,
 Until the creature, weak and wan,
 From out this foolish world was gone.

Moral.

O Busy-Bodies at the door,
 How much you have to answer for!

THE NIGHTINGALE AND THE OWL.

A Nightingale, in song excelling all,
 And Owl, whose gifts were astronomical,

Sat on the self-same night on self-same wall,
And watched the self-same moon, and in their throats
Fashioned from self-same air their sundry notes,
Yet swapped no courtesies nor anecdotes,
Each wishing other ruined, ripped, and rent.

Moral.

Children, mens' hates are caused to large extent
By such diversities of temperament.

THE CROWS AND THE EAR OF CORN.

Three Crows, whose nests were in a single tree,
Long dwelt together in felicity,
Exchanging visits, swapping odds and ends
Of jest and fancy, as befitting friends;
Till one fine eve a farmer passed beneath
And dropped an ear of corn upon the heath
From out his sack, which spied by all at once,
All three together did upon it pounce;
And not content with taking each a third,
Each Crow most avariciously averred
The whole was his, as seen by him the first.

Moral.

O cruel lust of worldly goods accurst,
How many bonds of friendship hast thou burst!

THE MAN AND THE HEN AND THE OSTRICH EGG.

A Man with jerk and crawl and stoop
Emerged from out a chicken coop,
And as he rose, a child might see
That a distracted man was he.
It wasn't that his face was grimy,
It wasn't that his knees were slimy,
It wasn't even his ruffled hair
That gave him this distracted air.
It was the terror in his eyes,
His forehead knit in wild surprise,
It was the frenzy in his whoop
When rising from the chicken coop.

He strode a rod and back again,
 He strode around from leg to leg—
 His left arm held a cackling Hen,
 His right a monstrous Ostrich Egg.
 The circumstance was rather strange—
 'Twould almost any man derange.
 But rallying his nerves a bit,
 He halted to consider it.
 With feet akimbo, shock abated,
 'Twas thus he ratiocinated:
 "I won't believe it after all;
 It surely isn't nat-ur-al."

Moral I.

Don't trust too much, dear child, to senses,
 However strong the evidences.

Moral II.

A timely grasp on nature's laws
 May help us to discover flaws
 In many a theory, many a cause.

Moral III.

Undue excitement we may end
 By reason, man's supernal friend.

Moral IV.

When one's belief is premature,
 Reflection is the only cure.

THE TWO DOGS AND THE PEACEFUL MAN.

One day a bull-dog and his wife
 Fell to it in domestic strife
 And gave some lively exhibitions
 Of woeful marital conditions.
 It chanced the Peaceful Man did sally
 That moment down along the alley
 And in the interests of remating
 Began at once expostulating;

And getting each one by the scruff,
 The Peaceful Man was rather gruff.
 The Dogs, at this intrusion nettled,
 Forthwith their differences settled,
 A common purpose now controlling.
 The Peaceful Man went raving, rolling—
 With little heart to dilly-dally,
 And left two coat-tails in the alley.
 (And when one's robbed of raiment thusly
 He runneth rather ludi-crous-ly.)

Moral.

Avoid domestic interference,
 For it may ruin your appearance.

THE DOG AND THE KETTLE.

A Kettle, swinging on a crane,
 Sang a most contented strain,
 And puffed, as if with self-esteem,
 From out its nozzle jets of steam.
 A Dog, who dozed upon the settle,
 Was irritated by the Kettle;
 With thoughtless bounce he clasped its nose
 Between his teeth, as if to close
 At once its singing and existence.
 The Kettle offered no resistance.—
 Continuing unperturbed at ease
 The natural functions of its being:
 The Dog, however, turns and flees,
 As if all life's activities
 Concentrated in the act of fleeing;
 And out along the village ditches
 In agonies he rolls and pitches,
 Imbedding now and then his face
 In some soft cooling oozy place.

Moral.

Before expressing too directly
 Whate'er your hate of this or that is,
 Examine rather circumspectly
 The nature of the apparatus.

THE MAN AND THE SQUIRRELS.

A queer suburban Gentleman
 Was strolling with a palm-leaf fan,
 With philosophic step and slow,
 And pate a-nodding to and fro,
 Across the lawn that sloped you know
 Around his leafy bungalow.
 He marked the skipping Squirrels pause
 Upon their haunches with their paws
 Against their bosoms, each with head
 Atilt and bowed. And then he said,
 "I think I can explain the cause.
 All men perceive how great I am,
 And even the Squirrels here salam;
 And could they speak, they wouldn't fail
 To add, 'O gracious Master, hail.'"
 Whereat he tossed unto the dumb
 A largesse of a nut and crumb.

Moral I.

O blest is he who can construe
 Whatever other people do,
 To suit his pride and point of view.

Moral II.

And blest is he whose self-conceit
 Yet gives the hungry things to eat.

THE TOAD.

One glittering morning after rain,
 From crevice in the wall, again
 Into the middle of the road
 There pops and hops a hungry Toad.
 He snappeth, gulpeth worm on worm,
 And feels them tickle as they squirm
 Within his paunch, until its size
 (The while he squats with blinking eyes)
 Bulges out his knees and thighs.
 An ass comes on with sturdy stride:

The Toad he thinks to move aside;
 Yet each attempt at hop and spring
 But sets his frame aquivering—
 He cannot budge. . . . And with a thud
 The hoof imprints him on the mud.

Moral.

Whether your fare be worms or mutton,
 O Toad or Man, don't be a glutton.

THE PARROT.

A Parrot, shipped across the sea
 From Africa when young was he,
 Became a lonely widow's pet.
 The cage was by the window set;
 And in the sun the passers-by
 Could see the opal-jeweled eye,
 The scarlet tail, the ebon beak
 Thick-set against a whitish cheek,
 And that magnificence of gray
 On wing and back and breast, and they
 Remarked, "It is a splendid dream,
 A most successful color scheme.
 O *Psittacus erithacus*,
 We're glad to have you here with us."
 The widow, both from sense of duty
 And natural pride, baptized him "Beauty."
 I will not dwell on Beauty's feats:
 The peanuts how he cracks and eats,
 A-perch and holding in his claw,
 Then gargling them into his maw
 With lifted head, beside the cup,
 The widow's always filling up—
 The way he waddles round the floor
 When mistress opes his cage's door—
 The words he speaks, so shrill and mystic,
 And preternatur'ly linguistic—
 I will not mention, for my aim
 Is to expound his fateful name.
 Ere many moons, there came o'er him
 An itching in his every limb—

But whether caused by frequent bites
 Of horrid little parasites,
 Or by the harsh New England climate
 (That ruins many a lusty Primate,
 And hence might possibly nonplus
 A tender, an oviparous,
 A tropic bird), or by some particles
 In wretchedly digested articles,
 We have slight reason to suspect.
 At any rate, he clawed and pecked
 With all his passion, intellect,
 And sinews of his bill and foot,
 Upon his feathers to the root.
 Now Beauty's tail was but a stump
 That ill-concealed a tragic rump,
 Now Beauty's wing-bones both were bare,
 And ghastly purple was the skin
 That held his bulging gullet in,
 And in his eye a vacant stare;
 And, as his remnants there he sunned,
 Men saw that he was moribund.

Moral.

Don't call your bird or offspring by
 A name his future may belie.

THE CORPUSCLE AND THE PHAGOCYTE AND THE STREPTO-
 COCCUS.

A Corpuscle began to fight
 Absurdly with a Phagocyte:
 "Indeed," he said, "I'm round and red,
 And keep a man from falling dead.
 I give him brains and nerve and muscle,"
 Remarked the little red Corpuscle.
 The Phagocyte: "And I am white,
 And but for me you'd perish quite;
 I go afloat round the serum,
 And when I spy the bugs I queer 'em;
 You owe your work, your freedom, joy
 To me, the Phagocyte, my boy."
 But then a stalwart Streptococcus—

Whose sterner functions needn't shock us—
 Seeing his foe was occupied
 With learned questions on the side,
 Swooped down and bit him till he died.
 And then the red Corpuscle cried:
 "Nature appoints, as well she should,
 To each his task—and each is good;
 Even though the Streptococcus be
 At last the best of all the three."

Moral.

The wretched Corpuscle has stated
 The moral—which, if syndicated
 And widely pondered, might prevent
 Our present social discontent.

THE GEESE OF ATHABASCA.

Candidus anser.—Lucretius, IV, 681.

Somewhat southward from Alaska,
 Lie the moors of Athabasca;
 And in these bleak uncouth dominions—
 So far detached from our opinions
 That none can ever misconstrue
 The tale I want to tell to you—
 There gathered at the equinox
 Some eager migratory flocks
 Of ganders, geese, and goslings—and
 The *ganders* had the upper hand,
 Debating with a gaping mouth
 On whom to choose to lead them south.
 In spite of casual disgressing
 They thought the matter was progressing,
 When all the *geese* began to flap
 With wings, and cackle too, and rap
 With bills on sundry sticks and stocks
 And crane their necks around the flocks.
 Their actions, though surprising, new,
 (Bizarre at times it may be, too),
 Betrayed such aim and fervor, surely
 One shouldn't chide them prematurely,
 And, fiery hot as salamanders,

They much impressed the puzzled ganders,
Who paused and pondered in their pates.
What their vociferating mates
Intended by these frantic states.
"Give *us*," they cry, "a chance to say
Who 'tis shall guide us on our way;
Give *us*," they cry, "a voice, a voice—
Who shares the *risk*, should share the *choice*."
And now and then from some old goose
More deft, it seems, in logic's use,
The ganders heard reflections meant
To ridicule their government,
As antiquated precedent,
And divers observations tending
To show how much it needed mending—
The *more*, since geese *were* different.
One says: "Our judgment lacks in poise,
And all we do is make a noise?—
But can't we tell as well as you
Where trees are green and skies are blue?"
Another: "You, sirs, should elect,
Since 'tis your business to protect?—
Define protection, . . . more than skill
In thrusting out an angry bill
With anserine intent to kill.
Our *wings* are weapons, sirs, as good—
When clasped around the little brood."
Another: "Yes, the goslings, goslings!—
Now that's a point that's full of puzzlings
For these our ganders—Hear my queries!—
Have we no business with the dearies?—
Have *we* no right at all to say
Who's fit to lead *them* on the way?"
And then a younger goose, an active
And in her person most attractive,
Remarked with widely parted lips
That put her eyeballs in eclipse:
"We wouldn't be so charming,—pooh!—
If we should choose along with you?
You wouldn't like to see us snuffle,
And wrangle round—O piffle, piffle:
The fact is, nature made us so

That nothing we might undergo
 Could take that *something* from us which
 Oft gives your heartstrings such a twitch.
 And furthermore, you'd better drop
 The sugar-plum and lollypop—
 That sort of argument won't please
 The intellectual type of geese."
 "The intellect, the intellect,"
 Another cries, "they don't suspect—
 And think the issue to confuse
 By queer domestic interviews
 About our *functions* and the aim—
 As if the privilege we claim
 Might shrink the size and number of
 The eggs we lay, the chicks we love."
 I do not note for special causes
 The interjections and applause.
 "Give us," they cry again, "a voice,
 Who share the *risk* should share the *choice*."
 And though some points might need apology,
 As shaky in their sociology,
 That cry appealed to instincts, reason—
 So ganders yielded for the season.
 But whether it became a practice
 In future times, and what the fact is
 About the *sex* of guide and leader
 The muse conceals from bard and reader,
 Assuring only that they ne'er
 Had made a trip more safe and fair
 Down the continental air,
 From the moors of Athabasca,
 Somewhat southward of Alaska,
 From those bleak, uncouth dominions,
 So far detached from our opinions
 That none can *ever* misconstrue
 The tale I here have told to you.

THE DUCK AND THE NIGHTINGALE.

An ancient Duck, complacent, fat,
 Whose miserable habitat
 Had been the stagnant pool behind

The barnyard of Boeotian hind,—
 Save when she waddled by the fence
 Among the roosters and the hens,
 To snap with bony bill at corn
 Her owner scattered every morn,
 Or when within the crib she sate
 To hatch her eggs and meditate,—
 Began to make some slight pretense
 To wisdom and experience.
 She heard at dark a Nightingale
 At no great distance down the dale—
 The winged Nightingale who'd flown
 In every sky, in every zone,
 And sung while moon or morning star
 Descended over hills afar—
 And thus the Dame began to quack:
 "O Nightingale, you'll surely crack
 That voice of yours, unless your soul
 Can learn a little self-control;
 Try settling down and doing good,
 And earn a sober livelihood."

Moral.

Conceited ignorance with ease
 Pronounces its banalities.

THE POODLE AND THE PENDULUM.

A Poodle, wistful-eyed and glum,
 Sate looking at a Pendulum,
 That with a steady tick and tock,
 Before the wall, beneath the clock,
 Swang back and forth its brazen disk.
 The Poodle gave his tail a whisk.
 A sudden thought had crossed his brain—
 "What once it did, it does again,
 Again, again, again, again."
 For you could scarce expect a Poodle
 And his fuzzy-wuzzy noodle
 Forsooth at once to comprehend
 The mechanism and the end.
 The Poodle's head, with both his eyes

And both his ears of goodly size,
Began to nod from right to left,
As if of every sense bereft,
With a rhythmic motion mocking
Both the ticking and the tocking.
The Pendulum had first surprised him—
But now 't had surely hypnotized him.
With every tick and every nod
(So odd, so odd, so odd, so odd)
He gave a sudden little yelp;
But no one came to hold or help—
Or whistle, or provide a bone,
Or snap a finger, throw a stone,
Or do a thing upon the lists
Prescribed by psycho-therapists,
When Poodles or when Men get notions
From neurasthenical emotions.
And, since no Poodle can sustain
Existence on this mortal plain
Long by only yelps and nods,
He passed unto the Poodle-gods.
The Pendulum observed his jerk,
But kept unflustered at its work.

Moral.

Don't get to looking at devices
That tend to cause a mental crisis.

THE BUG AND THE LION.

A Bug—I will not state the kind,
But one for horrid things designed—
With yellow stripes across the coat,
And spots of red around his throat,
And beady eyes and two antennæ,
And jointed legs, O many, many,
And little suckers on each foot
To help himself in staying put,
And irritating little buzz—
A certain Bug, I say, there was.
And though an entomologist
Might very angrily insist

That such a Bug could not exist,
 There's no occasion here to doubt it,
 If you don't stop to talk about it.
 This certain Bug, whose weight indeed
 Was equal to an apple-seed,
 Procured a while as dupe and slave
 A tawny Lion, large and brave.
 And though some foolish naturalist
 Declare such things could not exist,
 This only shows what slight reliance
 Can now be had in men of science,
 The specialists who squint and grope
 With tweezers and with microscope.
 The Bug demanded on a day
 The Lion help him take away
 A withered yellow blade of grass
 That scratched his side as he did pass
 From out his cell when rose the sun.
 The Lion put his paw upon
 The blade, and though he did as well
 As any Lion in his place,
 He crushed the wretched sun-baked cell,
 And all the store of food and eggs.
 He makes a frightened rueful face
 And begs and begs and begs and begs.
 The Bug remorseless—for in spite
 That Bug was not a neophyte—
 Remarks: "I know you have some brains,
 Some speed in scouring woods and plains,
 Some resonance of voice, some force
 In jaws and back and limb of course,
 And that the King of Beasts you be—
 But what are all these things to Me!

Moral.

Work, if you must, for Thieves and Thugs;
 But, children, never work for Bugs.

THE EPHEMERIS.

Some people love their souls to ease
 By thinking of the chimpanzees,

Of boa-constrictors and such cusses,
Or oblong hippopotamuses,
Of whales or crocodiles or gnus,
Giraffes and cows and caribous,
Or (if they have a turn for fun)
Of dinosaur or mastodon
And pterodactyl and those classic
Monsters of the old Jurassic.
'Twas Asshur-bani-pal who said,
"Men's tastes will differ till they're dead."
You all recall how Aristotle
Preferred the fish that's known as cuttle,
While the great sculptor Scopas says,
"My choice shall be octopuses."
And Poggio Bracciolini flew
Into a passion when they slew
The egg his favorite emu
Had laid with cackle of alarum
Behind Liber Facetiarum.
Some people love such beasts as these;
But I—without apologies—
I love the Ephemerides.
And having now admitted this,
I'll mention an Ephemeris
That one bright summer morn I spied
When sitting by the river side.
A half-transparent drop of jelly,
With filaments upon its belly,
It skimmed along the surface lightly,
Nor plunged beneath it reconditely,
Like some more bold investigator—
For instance, loon or alligator—
And then 'twould spread its wings and fare—
A-going up, child, in the air,
It knew not how, it cared not where,
Till it collapsed, a bug, a bubble—
Not having caused me any trouble,
And certainly not having done
The slightest good beneath the sun.
Why do I love such bugs as these
Sportive Ephemerides?—

Because I like to see them frolic?—
O no ; because :

Moral.

They're so symbolic !

THE ASS AND THE SICK LION.

An Ass mistook the echo of his bray
For a celestial call to preach and pray ;
And his own shadow, big upon a wall,
He deemed the everlasting Lord of All.
Besides he had some notions how to treat
Sinners and fetch them to the mercy seat.
So in a broad-cloth tailored coat, combined
With a white collar buttoned up behind,
He got himself a parish. In his flock
Was a sick Lion, panting on a rock.
(It was an arrow from a huntsman's bow
That laid this miserable Lion low.)
Him on his pastoral rounds the Reverend Ears
One morning thus addressed : "These groans and tears,
How base and craven in the King of Beasts !
You need a moral tonic ! Godless feasts
And midnight games and evil Lionesses
Have brought you, brother, to these sad distresses ;
Think not that I will comfort or condole—
My cure is drastic, but 'twill save your soul."
Whereat he turned and in the Lion's face
Planted his hoofs with more of speed than grace,
Knocked out the teeth, and blinded both the eyes,
And left him, dying, to the sun and flies.

Moral.

This little fable, children, is a proof
That no profession, purpose, or disguise
Can change the action of an Ass's hoof.

THE REPLY OF DREWS TO HIS CRITICS.¹

BY WILLIAM BENJAMIN SMITH.

THE *Christ Myth* of Prof. Arthur Drews, first published in 1910,² has had one of the most remarkable careers in the history of controversial literature. Not even the famous much-debated *Babel und Bibel* of Friedrich Delitzsch ever roused such wide-spread interest and even anxiety, or heated the furnace of discussion to such sevenfold ardor. The title of Delitzsch's work was in itself one of the best of advertisements; the remarkable alliteration and consonance of the two names differing only in a single vowel, along with the sharp dissonance in suggestion, could not fail to strike the ear and catch the attention, and the matter of the work was strange enough to the layman, though in the main familiar to the biblical critic or even student. Drews's title was also very skilfully chosen.³ Without the metrical or musical qualities of the other, it could nevertheless not fail to startle, to send a thrill through the frame, certainly a thrill of curiosity and very likely of horror.

¹ Arthur Drews, *Die Christusmythe*. Zweiter Teil. Jena, Diederichs, 1910. English translation: *The Witnesses to the Historicity of Jesus*. Translated by Joseph McCabe. Chicago, Open Court Pub. Co., 1912.

² *Die Christusmythe*, Jena, Diederichs, 1910; English translation, Chicago, Open Court Publishing Co.

³ And yet, I fear, less fitly and fortunately. For is there a Christ myth at all? Is the Christ in any proper sense a mythical character? To what class of myths are the Gospel stories to be referred? To myths of nature? or of culture? To myths ætiologic? or theogonic? Surely to none of these. Those narratives are not myths at all; they are allegories, more properly symbolisms, more or less highly dramatized, the perfectly conscious inventions of their authors, for a distinct didactic purpose, for thoroughly practical ends. How soon the original symbolic sense was forgotten and the stories accounted histories, must have varied from story to story and from mind to mind. The phrase "Christ myth" excites a certain needless and unjustified reaction against the new view (at least as held by the present writer), as if Christ-Jesus were regarded as on a level with Apollo, Jupiter, Indra, and the "legion" of Greek-Roman-Hindu deities. Such indeed is the misrepresentation in the book just issued by Case on *The Historicity of Jesus*, whereas He stands not at all in line with any such divinities but exactly in line with the *One God* of Plato and the Yahveh-Elohim of the Old Testament.

Moreover the material of the book, though avowedly not the result of original research but the organization and systematization of results attained by a number of independent investigators, was not only unfamiliar even to the great majority of specialists, but was in the last degree unacceptable, not only to the orthodox-conservative but still more to the heterodox-liberal religious consciousness, not only of Germany but of all Europe and America—in a word, of the Christian world. For Drews boldly maintained that no such historical person as Jesus had ever lived. Here was the center and core of his contention, in this terrible *negation*—the positive aspect seemed far less disquieting. Precisely what Jesus *was*, appeared to the reader rather a matter of indifference. To say that he was God seemed not so very novel, men had been saying that for millenniums; but that he was *not* man, was not historic, had never been begotten and born and nursed and reared and taught and clothed and sent to bed and on errands to the neighbors, had never worked with plane and saw and lathe as carpenter, nor ever eaten and drunk, nor hungered and thirsted, nor fallen asleep nor waked up, nor led the ordinary life of a Galilean peasant for 30 or 50 years,—such a notion seemed in the last degree sacrilegious and roused the fierce resentment of all the devoted worshipers of the pure-human Jesus, throughout the length and breadth of Germany. To deny outright that Jesus was divine, to labor through a thousand volumes to show that the accounts of his miracles were gross exaggerations or ludicrous misunderstandings on the part of his biographers, that his healings were at best *à la* Hahnemann, being wrought on the psychopathic by a psychopath, that his resurrection and ascension were merely visions of disordered imaginations, the dreams of hallucinated women, that the propagation of his Gospel and his worship was the perpetuation and consecration of a tissue of puerile fables, legends, and misrepresentations—all this seemed to be for the greater glory of Jesus, of Christ, and of God. To believe it, seemed to be indispensably necessary to the health and happiness, the peace, the comfort, and the salvation of man, while to teach and prove it appeared to be in every way a noble and beneficent function of the profoundest erudition and the most rigorous science. As over against this inspiring doctrine of a deified carpenter, this uplifting enthronement, in the center of our faith and worship, of an avowedly ignorant and narrow-minded Jewish peasant, the denial of any such pure-humanity, the refusal to accept any such mere man as the fount and origin of all our religious life, as the guiding genius of everlasting history, seemed particularly pert and

impious, while the counter affirmation that Jesus was from the start a deity, and worshiped as such, as God himself under the aspect of Guardian and Saviour of men, seemed to make no manner of reparation but to be foolishly pagan and heathenish, unscientific, irreligious, blasphemous, "unmethodic," and even "dilettantish" in the extreme.

It was the author of *Der vorchristliche Jesus* who had laid especial emphasis on this affirmation of the aboriginal divinity of the Jesus and had scarcely noted even in passing the necessary implication of non-humanity in this deity. Evidently he had meant to deal very tenderly with the universal Christian consciousness, to set a gentle hand to a festering wound, to proceed as far as possible with construction before giving any hint of destruction; he seemed indeed intent on building up a new temple of Jesus the God before tearing down the old altar of Jesus the Man. Such consideration was evidently very ill-advised; for to introduce once more the worship of God seemed to reconcile only a few to the loss of the worship of a Man. So pleased had the critical mind grown to regard the Gospels as a system of sensual lies that it seemed profanity to regard them as a body of spiritual truths! Hence the olive-branch presented by the author was trampled in the dust, his peace-offering was contemptuously rejected, and his theological compatriots, with the large-minded "impartiality," the "wholly unprejudiced spirit" and the "total absence of bias" that have characterized the ecclesiastic in every age and clime, regarding the books as the impertinent intrusion of a layman, "passed by on the other side."

Drews was far wiser, and by aiming his lance at the most sensitive point of the critical consciousness and by striking it fair and square, he provoked an amazing reaction. All Germany was thrown into a ferment. From peasant's hut to emperor's yacht, from Biergarten to Cathedral, from ponderous tome to fluttering feuilleton—all things became at once animated with his great denial. It was like the broad wing of the wind suddenly smiting the smooth sea-tunic and ruffling it instantly into foam. Every month called for a new edition of his famous work, which flew all over Europe and beyond the seas; it was felt that for the first time in history the nerve of the great question concerning the origin and therewith the nature of our Christian civilization had been touched. At last the all-important query had been forced forward to the very center of the stage, there to remain till finally settled in some sense, despite all efforts of organized interests and all devices of interested learning to cry it down, to frighten it back, to conjure it away, or even to

shut tight the eyes and shout lustily that it is not there—because forsooth they will not see it.

The tempest of angry denunciation has in some measure subsided, but the calm and earnest consideration of the matter has begun and proceeds apace. The hour of the hasty, passionate, and inaccurate brochure has passed; the day of the weighty and deliberate volume has come. The confused rattle of skirmishing muskets is dying away, the solemn roar of siege guns rises on the air.

The second volume of Drews's work, *Die Christusmythe, zweiter Teil*, may be said to mark in a manner this transition. It deals primarily with "The Testimonies to the Historicity of Jesus," but is concerned in large measure with the countless assaults upon the first volume, and by repelling these in detail it clears the field for the really decisive battle. Whatever one may think of the main point at issue, it seems impossible not to admire the patience, the thoroughness, the skill, the ingenuity with which Drews has met his assailants at such a multitude of points and undoubtedly driven them back at the majority. The mere act of reading the huge mass of matter discussed would seem to have called for the eyes of Argus, and the task of untangling the multifold skein of German apology and tracing out the knotted and twisted threads of argumentation in a hundred volumes would seem to involve time and toil beyond the measure of one man and one year. But Drews has not shrunk from the Herculean labor; little seems to have escaped him, and his book of rebuttals is a more significant achievement than his first volume, even though it should not win half so much popularity and applause.*

The question may arise in the reader's mind, Was it then really worth while to answer a host of cavers at such length, with such painstaking honesty and minuteness? To sift whole bushels of words for a few occasional grains of idea? The present writer confesses he could never have had the patience and conscientiousness required for such an enterprise. Yet the thing was well worth doing and worth doing well. Any neglect even of an insignificant objection would have been instantly construed into a confession of defeat, so that it was necessary to give his opponents far more attention than they logically deserved.

But Drews has not merely answered his critics point by point; he has exhibited very strikingly the contradictions into which some have hastily rushed, and what is far more, the spirit and method

* Such too is the judgment of the hostile Windisch, as it appears in the April number of the *Theologische Rundschau*.

that all have brought to the work, and has shown how unscientific these are, and how they vitiate beforehand all the processes and the results even of critics that have otherwise deserved well of the Clio of criticism. Of course, the enemy will reply to Drews's answer by silence, "a weapon surer set and better than the bayonet," which even the inexpert can use with perfect skill and ease, quite as effectively also as the most consummate master. How well too it becomes its wielder, how he is transfigured by it (even as a matador by his muleta) into a superior being gently smiling in his conscious might! The one difficulty that prejudices the efficiency of this admirable engine and seriously limits its use by the discreet, lies in the fact that it is so easily confounded with the exact opposite. Men have been known to keep silence solely because they had naught to say, as he who had not a wedding garment on. So too the logician panoplied in the invincible mail of silence looks sometimes for all the world like the knight despoiled of armor and totally impotent. For this reason such a defense should be used only with the greatest discretion, and its too persistent employment is open to the most unfavorable construction.

It has already been said that this Second Part is superior to the First. To one notable aspect of this superiority it may be well to call special attention. Not only is the logical grapple much closer in this volume, but the positions assumed are on the whole much more tenable. In the elder work there was a more extensive mustering of forces from the four corners of the earth, Gog and Magog, but these were not always well-equipped with modern artillery. Hence the enemy wisely concentrated fire on some comparatively helpless detachments and raised a great shout of victory at their discomfiture, while cautiously holding aloof from any encounter with the real soldiery. The mythological portions of Drews's argument, in which he drew on the ideas of Robertson, Dupuis, Niemcewicz, Jensen and others, "were mercilessly handled" by the all-and-better-knowing liberal, who like "Proud Cumberland prances insulting the slain." In the new volume these questionable auxiliaries are mostly retired to the rear, and the battle is delivered with a well-appointed army. True, the notions of Fuhrmann receive recognition but fortunately not prominence. It may well be that astrologic ideas have at more than one point colored or shaped the imagery of the New as well as of the Old Testament, but that these documents are in large measure astrologic has not yet been proved and is antecedently too improbable to be made the basis of argument.

At this point it seems proper to enter a protest against the

prevailing method of attack upon the new criticism, beautifully exemplified in Case's recent work, by falling afoul of isolated statements to the neglect of the main body of argument. This is mere guerilla warfare, annoying at most, but without any avail. What shall it profit to kill a whole company of pickets, if the march of the army is not disturbed? No doubt "Drews and his authorities" may have fallen into occasional error, but what does it signify, if (as Cheyne continues) they "are right in the main"? Surely it is well known that the "Critique of Pure Reason" literally swarms with mistakes and inconsistencies; nevertheless it remains the chief leaven of philosophy in the 19th and even now in the 20th century. The new criticism may go astray at a hundred points, but the important question is, where is it right? Into what better and hitherto unbroken path has it guided critical thought? What novel points of view has it attained? What fresh insights has it disclosed? What new orientation has it made necessary? It is the proper task even of the unsympathetic reviewer to answer these and similar questions, if he would really enlighten his reader, and not to confine himself to strictures in detail, however just they may be.

From such mere negation no great good can come. It is the positive elements of the new criticism that most interest the intelligent reader. To set these forth cannot indeed fall within the scope of this notice; the reader may be referred to the works of Drews and Bolland, also to *Ecce Deus* now issuing enlarged and Englished from the press of Watts and Company, London. But that such elements actually do exist, that the foregoing questions really admit of positive answers, may be seen clearly in or between the lines of more than one high-placed reviewer and has been openly avowed in many private communications from distinguished authorities. In the utter absence of such positive and collective judgment, merely scattering cavils and denials may remind one of the Arab lances hurled violently in passing at the Pyramids of Egypt.

AN ETHIOPIAN LIBERAL.

BY A. KAMPMEIER.

WHO would have suspected that in the study of Ethiopic, besides the translations of the Old and New Testaments, some Apocrypha, some earlier Christian writings, martyrologies, lives of saints, magical writings, a mixture of Christian and Pagan elements, the writings of an Ethiopian liberal would turn up?

Christianity was introduced into Ethiopia in the fourth century and became the state religion. Many Jewish elements were retained, such as circumcision and other ceremonial laws. In the sixth century the Ethiopian church joined the Monophysites, and thus became separated from the Greek and Roman Catholic churches. From the time of the inroads of Islam and of surrounding wild nomad tribes until the beginning of modern history Ethiopia met with troublous times. At the end of the fifteenth century the Portuguese mixed into the national affairs of the country, promising and giving help to the state on condition of bringing the Ethiopian church back again to the fold of orthodoxy. An embassy is said to have been sent as early as 1439 from Ethiopia to the council of Florence, which aimed to reunite the Greek church to the Roman. Although the influence of the Roman church prevailed with the rulers of the country for a time after the coming of the Portuguese and later of the Jesuits, it was finally put down again by the resistance of the Ethiopian clergy and the people. One of the rulers who had openly professed the Roman views was Socinius (1605-1632). Under him lived this liberal thinker, whose existence is wholly unique in Ethiopian religious history. This man, by name Zar' a-Jaq'ob, was the son of a poor peasant of Axum, the former capital of Abyssinia. He was very talented, received a good education and industriously studied learned works. In consequence he became a skeptic with regard to Christianity. The suspicions of Socinius were aroused and the scholar was obliged to live for several years in a cave. Later on he became a secretary and teacher in the family of a

wealthy man by the name of Habtu, of a place called Enferaz. Here he married and founded a family and died at the age of ninety-three honored by all. Walda-Hejwat, a son of his benefactor and his most ardent pupil, asked Zar'a-Jaq'ob to write an account of his life. This he did in his 68th year in concise but clear language as is related by C. Bezold in a review of Ethiopic research in Vol. VIII of the *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, 1905 (Teubner, Leipzig) from whom I make this short sketch. The review is on the autobiography of Zar'a-Jaq'ob and a treatise of similar contents added by his pupil as published in Ethiopic with a Latin translation by Enno Littmann in *Philosophi Abessini*, Series prima, tomus XXXI of *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, Paris, 1904.¹

According to Bezold the opinions of Zar'a-Jaq'ob were as follows: The only postulates of reason are the existence of an infinitely good creator who can be proved, the immortality of the soul, love to fellow-men, the command to work, self-reformation, and prayer which is always answered in so far as it does not contain petitions which man can fulfil himself. Everything else in the sacred writings, as for instance the accounts of miracles, is subject to doubt or is to be rejected as not in accord with the will of God.

Accounts of miracles are intended for the multitudes who wish to be deluded. They are to be traced back to their inventors' avarice and desire for power. (For this somewhat radical and unhistorical view concerning the origin of accounts of miracles Zar'a-Jaq'ob may have found reasons in his surroundings). Celibacy and the life of an anchorite are also to be condemned, as is likewise Mohammedan polygamy; the laws concerning fasting and purifications are to be rejected and even the sanctity of the Sabbath. Divine revelation is not limited to one special race and Christianity has lost its original purity.

How lasting the influence of this Ethiopian liberal was, is not told. But the unstable political conditions of Abyssinia and the traditional belief of the Ethiopian Christians, often mixed as we know with the crudest superstitions; the use of magic scrolls as amulets to prevent disease and dangers; the use of certain mysterious names of God and Christ to conjure demons and the like, surely were not favorable to the spread of such advanced religious views as those of Zar'a Jaq'ob. That such independent and liberal thought was at all possible in his time and surroundings is certainly surprising.

¹The reviewer says that there also exists an essay by B. Turæus in Russian on the two treatises (Petersburg, 1903), but it was inaccessible to him.

MISCELLANEOUS.

CARDINAL MATHIEU ON THE CELIBACY OF THE CLERGY.

A distant subscriber of *The Open Court*, Mr. J. A. Barretto of the Hong-kong firm Barretto and Company, writes: "As you may not have seen the *Mercure de France* of January 16, I send you herein enclosed an article, or rather memoir, addressed by the late Cardinal Mathieu to the pope on the subject of the marriage of priests. It ought to interest your many readers in connection with the articles on 'Father Hyacinthe' and 'Marriage.'"

The article referred to is a very extensive review in the *Mercure* of the entire communication addressed by Cardinal Mathieu to the pope in 1904 and published last December in the *Nouvelle Revue* under the sponsorship of M. Pierre Harispe.

The reverend author first urges the suitability of permitting priests who have no private incomes to add to their clerical profession also that of either medicine or law. It is possible that there are reasons why such an innovation might be of advantage in certain communities in France, and he goes into detail with regard to the benefits for both the priest and the community if the priest were skilled in medicine. Nevertheless the argument seems most to be designed as the entering wedge of a plea for a more intelligent scientific education: He says: "O, most Holy Father, if you will grant to your priests the permission to study and practise the science of medicine you will restore the authority of that beneficent science of which the ungodly have sought to deprive it."

In his plea against the celibacy of the clergy Cardinal Mathieu recalls the fact that "celibacy is a pagan institution" (at the same time emphasizing the distinction between celibacy and chastity), adding that "pagan Rome instituted the vestal virgins...and the despotism of the Roman empire instituted the celibacy of a whole class of citizens." He expresses himself very vigorously as follows:

"A man without a family is one without a root who can the more easily be controlled. He has no hold on life. He is a moral eunuch whose services seem the more certain and the more disinterested. Do not give people an excuse for saying that in order to assure itself more certainly of its hold on consciences the papacy has tried to renew this bondage and to reestablish this class of citizens who have lost the rights of men, by making them Levites, the eunuchs of the sanctuary.

"Your Holiness is not unaware of the irregularities which this state of things has caused in the ranks of the regular and secular clergy. It is enough to consult the historical annals of the church and the Vatican archives to be

convinced. It is enough to read the Church Fathers who have deplored the clergy's sins against nature throughout the centuries. It is enough to ask your own conscience as priest and confessor. Let not men be able to say that in the church of God all crimes against divine law may obtain pardon, and that one human law alone is not tolerated; that all the sins against nature are permitted by it and that only the natural and divine ordinance of marriage does not find remission nor absolution. Put an end, Most Holy Father, to this antagonism between God and his work, between His law and yours. Let not Rome persist in an absolutism which belies the very acts of those who would proclaim her holy austerity. The most dissolute popes and pontiffs have been the most severe in their decrees against the marriage of priests as if they would fain conceal the corruption of their morals under cover of the strictness of their encyclicals and their pastoral letters. So true is it that saints are indulgent while libertines are implacable and unjust.

"This is why we humbly prostrate ourselves before Your Holiness, and there beseech you to extend the law of pardons to include the marriage of the priest, to give to every confessor the right to absolve and restore him in his own eyes, in order that purified and strong in his rights he may continue to serve the church as a Christian and as a father.

"Why might not the vital and apostolic energy of priests who are in the bonds of matrimony, be utilized even with the church?"

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

RELIGIOUS SYSTEMS OF THE WORLD. A Contribution to the Study of Comparative Religion. London: Sonnenschein, 1908. Pp. 824. Price \$1.75 net.

This volume is a collection of addresses delivered at the South Place Institute, London, England, the lecturers being among the foremost religious scholars such as the late Prof. C. P. Tiele, Professors James Legge, T. W. Rhys-Davids, L. H. Mills, F. C. Conybeare, also Mr. Frederic Harrison and many others of equal fame. Not only the ancient religions are here discussed such as the religions of Egypt, of the Hittites, of Babylon and Assyria, Judaism, Confucianism, Shintoism, Buddhism, Hinduism, Mohammedanism, Zoroastrianism, Parseeism, Mithraism, the comparison of Greece and Rome and Italy, but also the less important faiths of the Slavonians, the Teutons, etc., and in addition modern sects, such as the faith of the Nonconformists, the Baptists, the Methodists, the Irvingites, Unitarians, Theosophists (discussed by Mrs. Besant), Swedenborgians, Mormons, Modern Judaism, the Religion of Humanity (explained by Frederic Harrison), the Ethical movement and secularism. Each of the historic faiths is treated by a specialist in that line, and each of the modern sects by a representative member. The book will prove useful and it is only to be regretted that the print is so small as to be trying on the eye.

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DIE LOGISCHEN GRUNDLAGEN DER EXAKTEN WISSENSCHAFTEN. Von Dr. Paul Natorp. Leipsic: Teubner, 1910. Pp. 416.

Convinced of the necessity of readjusting the relation between the logical principle of the exact sciences and modern conditions, Prof. Paul Natorp of the University of Marburg discusses modern logic and mathematics in their significance to philosophy and the sciences. This problem is treated in seven

chapters: (1) The Problem of a Logic of the Exact Sciences; (2) The Question of the Fundamental Functions of Logic, Quantity, Quality, Relation and Modality; (3) Number and Arithmetic; (4) Infinity and Continuity; (5) Selection and Dimension as Detriments to Pure Number; (6) Time and Space as Mathematical Formations; (7) Arrangement of Phenomena in Time and Space, and the Mathematical Principle of Natural Science. This work forms the twelfth volume of Teubner's "Science and Hypothesis" series.

THE THREE SIGNATA. By the Ven. Bhikku *Ananda Metteyya*. Rangoon, Rangoon College Buddhists Association, 1911.

Thinkers interested in the religious attitude of non-Christian religions will find a good example of Buddhist thought and sentiment in this lecture of the Ven. Bhikku Ananda Metteyya.

Some time ago the Open Court Publishing Company published *Sermons by a Buddhist Abbot*, consisting of lectures delivered by the Right Rev. Soyen Shaku, the head of the Zen sect, and abbot of Kamakura. Though the spirit is similar in both these Buddhist works there are decided differences which reflect the the spirit of Japanese Buddhism belonging to the Mahayana school in contrast to the spirit of Burmese Buddhism of the Hinayana school. The three *signata* or "characteristics" are expressed in the formula *Anicca, Dukkha, Anatta*, expressing in terse exclamations the three doctrines of impermanence, the prevalence of suffering, and the non-existence of a self or *atman*, and we learn here the argument which guides the pious Buddhists in the regulation of their morality.

In the introduction to his sermon Ananda Metteyya relates that a hale old monk who lived near a burying ground told him how in his youth he had been given to anger, but when he became impressed with the truth of a sentence in the Dhammapada he mastered his passion and decided to become a monk. This sentence reads: "The many do not understand that all who are here must die; but for those who know this all hatred ceases."

How different this line of thought from that of Christian sermons, and yet who will deny that in its way it is not less grand and noble and efficient in argument.

The Humboldt Library published by Dr. W. Breitenbach, at Brackwrede in Westphalia, is intended as a propaganda for the world-conception based upon the natural sciences and to express the views of the *Humboldt-Bund*, an association which strongly supports the monistic evolution theory and repudiates anything in the shape of dualism or vitalism. One of the early numbers contains an interesting investigation of the tropical regions, especially Africa, by the publisher, Dr. W. Breitenbach (*Die Eroberung der Tropen*). It shows that the Dark Continent has remained an unknown region mainly on account of its unwholesome conditions, and the author suggests that it might properly have been called the "Malaria Continent." Since early times travelers and colonists have died there in great numbers, so that it remained the forbidden country until very recently, and even yet the diseases caused by malaria, the tsetse fly and other nefarious conditions require great sacrifices of human lives from which not even the natives are immune. However our medical science with its prophylactic measures has studied the causes of these several

diseases, and is fairly well prepared to overcome the terror which surrounds them. Dr. Breitenbach discusses the struggle against these diseases and gives credit mainly to the following authors to whom he owes his information: Sir Robert W. Boyce, Ronald Ross, Dr. Oswald Cruz, and to the Colonial Office of the German Empire at Berlin. In addition he mentions the periodical named *Malaria* (Leipsic, J. A. Barth) and the *Archiv für Schiffs- und Tropen-Hygiene*.

The second number of the series, "The Mechanism of Human Thought" (*Der Mechanismus des menschlichen Denkens*) by Erich Ruckhaber, is the extract of a larger work entitled *Des Daseins und Denkens Mechanik und Metamechanik* by the same author. Dr. Ruckhaber derives the explanation of a mental activity from the feeling of resistance. He sketches the development from the lower to the higher world, its differentiation and comparison and explains the origin of judgment. He rejects the association theory from the logical, psychological and physiological standpoint and insists that every act of memory is a function of the entire cerebral hemisphere. The concluding section is devoted to the localization of perceptions and reminiscences. *

The title *Be of Good Cheer* by Joseph S. Van Dyke, D. D., seems to indicate a New Thought publication, and to some extent, in the best sense of that term, it is. It tries to take out the practical good of Christian Science, faith cure, and kindred aspirations, by bringing out the cheerfulness of the traditional religious belief. Its author is a Presbyterian clergyman, and a venerable octogenarian, who must have met with many sad experiences in life, for through this book sounds the cheerful note of meeting grief and sorrow and overcoming it both with philosophical contemplation and in verse. The little book is published by Sherman French and Company, Boston, 1911. *

The Progress Company of Chicago seems to be kept busy producing the books of Mr. Christian D. Larson who is a most voluminous writer. From his 1910 output we have *Your Forces and How to Use Them*, and *The Pathway of Roses*, and 1911 started out with *Thoughts for Results*. His work is in the line of New Thought and however little faith we may have in its principles as a sufficient basis for the results claimed, it is nevertheless a wholesome ethics to inculcate in the popular mind and tends toward a cheerful and sane outlook on life. In the first two books above mentioned each chapter is preceded by a group of verses, maxims or rules of conduct, and it will do no harm to quote here one of the strongest and perhaps most typical groups. It reads: "Promise yourself to be so strong that nothing can disturb your peace of mind; to talk health, happiness, and prosperity to every person you meet; to make all your friends feel that there is something in them; to look at the sunny side of everything and make your optimism come true; to think only of the best, to work only for the best, and to expect only the best; to be just as enthusiastic about the success of others as you are about your own; to forget the mistakes of the past and press on to the greater achievements of the future; to wear a cheerful countenance at all times and give every living creature you meet a smile; to give so much time to the improvement of yourself that you have no time to criticize others; to be too large for worry, too

noble for anger, too strong for fear and too happy to permit the presence of trouble; to think well of yourself and to proclaim this fact to the world, not in loud words but in great deeds; to live in the faith that the whole world is on your side so long as you are true to the best that is in you." The fourth of these is very similar to the attitude of mind in the child's prayer of Dudley Buck's song, "Dear Lord, please send us blessed dreams, and make them all come true."

p

The 1911 volume of *Proceedings of the National Association for the Study and Education of Exceptional Children* contains valuable information for those interested in child welfare (published by the Association at Plainfield, New Jersey; price \$1.50 to non-members). The purpose of the Association, as stated in the Foreword, is to evolve and correlate methods by which the redeemable child may be saved to society and not allowed to become human waste. The topics of conference, (a) Causes of Exceptional Development in Children, (b) Educational Needs of the Various Kinds of Exceptional Children, (c) The Exceptional Child as a Social Problem, fairly cover the field of modern effort in terms of surgery, psychology and pedagogy. The twenty papers contributed and discussed by specialists contain much to interest the physician, the teacher and the social worker.

Dr. Marius Neustaedter, of Bellevue Hospital, New York, affirms that the etiological factors responsible for the exceptional child are (a) hereditary, (b) acquired. He discusses the mental and physical disabilities of the offspring of degenerate parents, and in this connection advocates radical methods for the prevention of the birth of criminals and insane, a thorough physical examination of every applicant for a marriage license, sterilization, and divorce. He claims that such remedies would solve a perplexing social problem.

Dr. Eberhard W. Dittrich, of the New York Post-Graduate Hospital, in his paper on the effects of transmitted skin diseases, urges a worldwide crusade for the instruction of young people in sex-hygiene to overcome the ignorance and superstition of people regarding vital social conditions.

Another notable contribution, "The Identification, Location and Enumeration of the Misfit Child," contributed by the educational department of the Russell Sage Foundation, furnishes many illuminating data gathered from the school records of children in twenty-nine cities. These data give the essential facts for comparing the age-method and the progress-method of computing retardation. It is the one purely scientific paper in the book. Two papers on defects in speech and hearing and two on the care and education of children in the home are worthy of special mention.

Dr. Maximilian P. E. Groszmann, in his paper on "The Backward Child," urges the further development of the social conscience in sane treatment of the exceptional child, and aims to show that there is a difference between arrested development, which can go no further, and retarded development which may produce power and genius. In his discussion of some of the papers, Dr. Groszmann deplores the lack of judgment of the student whose enthusiasm is in inverse ratio to the permanent results obtained. He urges the cooperation of educational, medical, and social workers for child-uplift. The keynote of the discussion is science, not for its own sake, but for the sake of humanity.

G. C.



THE KURAHUS IN CEREMONIAL DRESS.

22d Report of Bureau of American Ethnology, Plate LXXXV.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.**

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A PAWNEE MYSTERY.

BY HARTLEY B. ALEXANDER.

PART 2 of the *Twenty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* is devoted to a record of "The Hako: a Pawnee Ceremonial," by Alice C. Fletcher. The record was taken from the lips of Tahirussawichi, an old man of the Pawnees, of whom Miss Fletcher says: "He is the keeper of certain old and sacred objects, and leads in their attendant ceremonies. His great care in observing all the details of the intricate ceremony of the Hako is well known in the tribe, and much good fortune is believed to follow his leadership in this ceremony. His title is *Kurahus*. This term is applied to a man of years who has been instructed in the meaning and use of sacred objects as well as their ceremonies." This man not only gave Miss Fletcher the ritual songs—words and music, but he also interpreted them; and without his explanations the words would have remained for the most part unintelligible.

The word *Hako* Miss Fletcher interprets as meaning, etymologically, "a breathing mouth of wood"; as a name for the ceremony it is used in the sense of *sacra*, as a collective term for all the articles employed. The ceremony is not confined to the Pawnees, and is variously named.

"The purpose of this ceremony," writes Miss Fletcher, "was twofold: first, to benefit certain individuals by bringing to them the promise of children, long life, and plenty; second, to affect the social relations of those who took part in it, by establishing a bond between two distant groups of persons, belonging to different clans, gentes, or tribes, which was to insure between them friendship and peace."

In his voyage of discovery in 1672 Marquette found the sacred

symbols honored by tribes throughout the Mississippi Valley, from Wisconsin to Arkansas; and the rituals, as preserved by the Pawnees, contain reminiscences, apparently, of the arid Southwest. In estimating the significance of the ceremony, Miss Fletcher ventures: "Its adoption and promulgation over the wide territory occupied by the so-called hunting tribes marks the growth of political ideas and gives a higher place to these tribes in the line of social development than has usually been accorded them."

A survey of the published record will reveal the meaning and the beauty of the *Hako*. The meaning flows from a fundamental human relationship, that of father and son. This relationship is recognized in its two forms. There is first, the relation of the father to his son-by-adoption; for the two principal lay participants—men of different clan or tribe—become father and adopted son by virtue of the ceremony. In the precarious life of tribal society the adoption of children, like the winning of blood-brethren, often means preservation and perpetuity. Second, there is the relation of the father to his son-by-birth. The *Hako* symbolizes this relationship and symbolically promises children: in a measure, the whole ceremony is a prayer for children, for the continuing life of continuing generations. It is a prayer for the strength which belongs to a many-handed people, and hence for the peace and the plenty which follow tribal strength.

The setting of the *Hako* is the world, as primitive man knows it: the abode of the powers of life. The Sky Father and Mother Earth, these are the eldest; and after them come the Fathering Sun and the Corn Mother, upon whom man's life seems more directly to depend. But men are the children in each case: and so, on a cosmical canvas, the relation of parent and child is again portrayed.

This sacred ceremonial of the Indians is a mystery,—as profound in symbolism as the Eleusinian Mysteries of the Greeks, to which it offers so many striking analogies. It is the mystery of the framing and governance of the physical world, of human society and its perpetuation,—of nature and of man's place in nature as the untaught mind conceives it. It is the mystery of life.

"We take up the *Hako*," said the Kurahus to Miss Fletcher, "in the spring when the birds are mating, or in the summer when the birds are nesting and caring for their young, or in the fall when the birds are flocking, but not in the winter when all things are asleep. With the *Hako* we are praying for the gift of life, of strength, of plenty and of peace, so we must pray when life is stirring everywhere."

II.

The ceremony was conducted by the Kurahus aided by assistants—acolytes to whom he was teaching the rituals,—while the

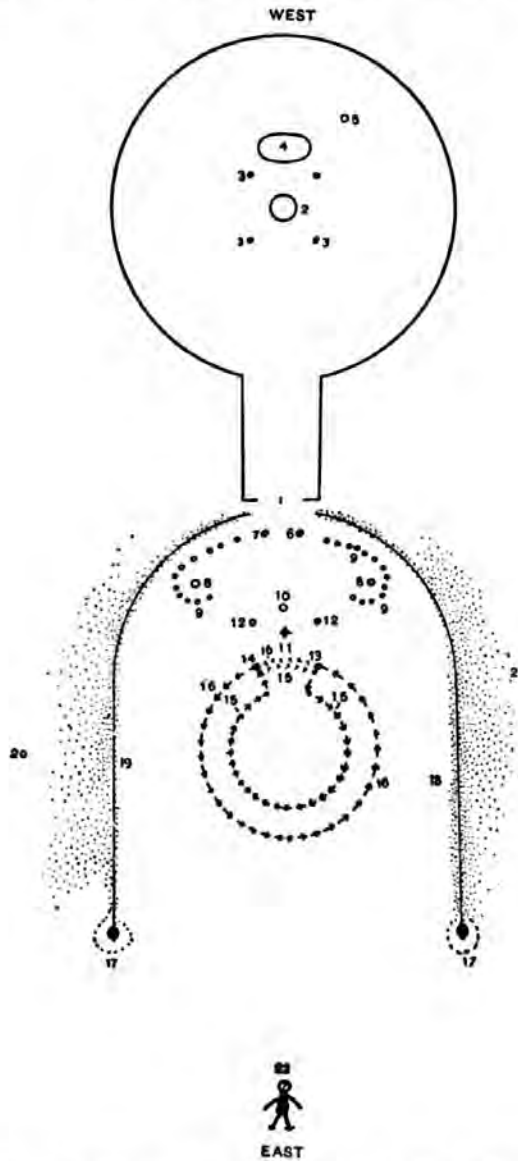


DIAGRAM SHOWING PARTICIPANTS IN THE DANCE OF THANKS.

From 22d Report of Bureau of American Ethnology, Fig. 180.

(See description of 19th Ritual, p. 408.)

participants for whom the ceremony was performed comprised two groups. These two groups could not belong to the same clan, and

they were often of different tribes. They were called *Fathers* and *Children*. The leader of the Fathers was called *the Father*, the leader of the Children *the Son*; they were men of equal standing in their respective clans; and if they were not chiefs, they secured the attendance of chiefs in their parties. The parties were made up of relatives of the two leaders, and certain other persons, such as drummers and singers and two doctors who carried the eagle-wing ensign of the doctor.

The ceremony consisted of three parts: the Preparation, the Public Ceremony, and the Secret Ceremony. The aims of the *Preparation* were: to make and sanctify the *sacra*, the *Hako*, this being work of the Father's party, done at their home; to notify the party of the Son of the coming of the Fathers; and, for the Fathers, to journey to the home of the Children and be received by them. The *Public Ceremony*, at the home of the Children, comprised feasts of a sacramental character, invocations of the powers of nature and invocations of the visions by which the rites were supposed to have been revealed,—the history and cosmic setting of the mystery. The *Secret Ceremony* centered in the symbolic birth and sanctification of a child, who figured the various aspects of the purpose of the ceremony, viz., the establishment of a relationship between the Fathers and the Children, the promise of children and hence of perpetuity, strength and plenty to the participating clans. The ceremonies closed with a dance of thanks and an interchange of gifts.

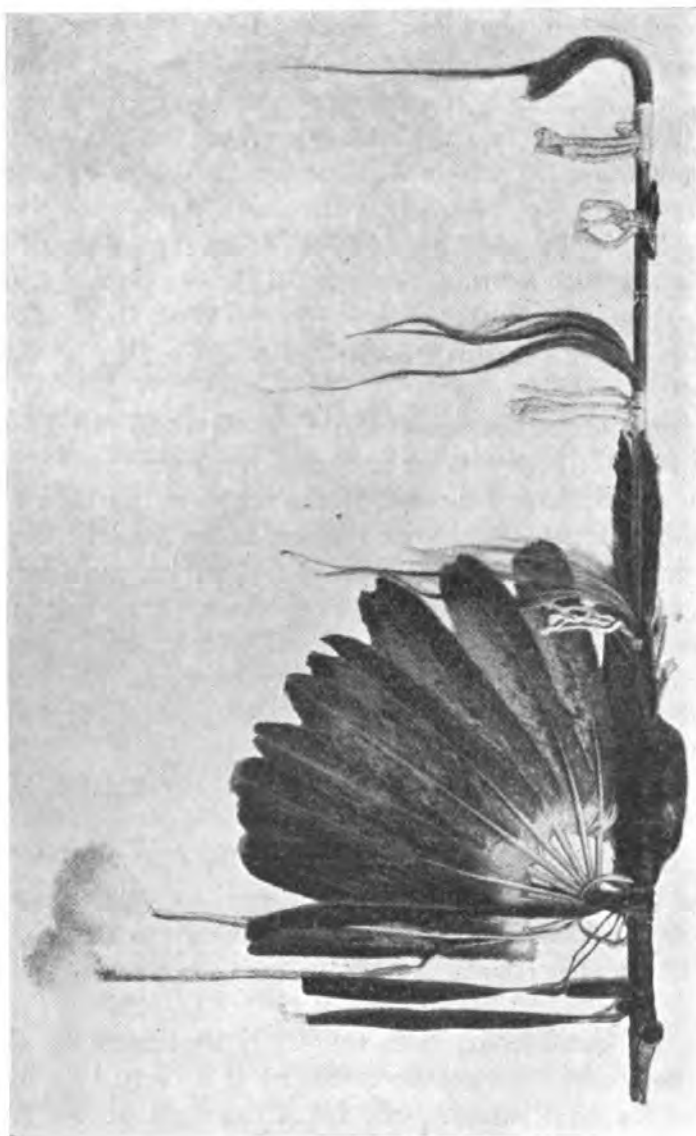
The complete ceremony involved some twenty rituals, seven to the Preparation, seven to the Public Ceremony and six to the Secret Ceremony. The complicated symbolism of the whole cannot better be indicated than by a brief recapitulation of the purpose and forms of these rituals.

The Preparation.

1. The rituals open with an invocation of the powers: *Awa-hokshu*, Heaven, the abode of *Tirawa-atius*, the Mighty Power; *Hotoru*, the Winds; *Shakuru*, the Sun; *H'Uraru*, Mother Earth; *Toharu*, life-giving Vegetation; *Chaharu*, Water. The physical world as the place of man's abode is then addressed: *Kusharu*, a Holy Place; *H'Akaru*, House of Life; *Keharu*, Wall of Defense; *Kataharu*, the Fireplace; *Kckaru*, the Glowing Coals,—“as we sing we rub the sticks to make the sacred fire come, and we think of the lesser power that is making itself seen in the glowing wood”; *Koritu*, the Flames; and finally, *Hiwaturu*, the Entranceway, through which “man goes to and fro,” so symbolizing “the days of man's life.”

After the invocation, with suitable songs, the sacred objects were prepared.

The most important of these objects were two wands,—“feath-



KAWAS, THE BROWN FEATHERED STEM.

22d Report of Bureau of American Ethnology, Plate LXXXVI.

ered stems about a meter in length, made of ash wood.” One of these wands was painted blue, symbolizing the sky, a lengthwise red groove being emblematic of “the red passage through which

man's breath comes to give him life." The stem was feathered like an arrow, symbolic of surety. A fan-shaped pendant of ten feathers from the mature golden eagle was attached to the stem, while a woodpecker's head, the head and breast of a duck, and a bunch of owl feathers, were also attached, close to the wood. The eagle is sacred to the Powers above and is the medium of communication between them and man. The woodpecker averts the disasters of storm and lightning. The duck is the unerring guide, familiar alike with air and water. The owl has the power to give help and protection at night. Red and white streamers representing sun and moon, day and night, and a tuft of blue down symbolizing the clear blue of the sky, also adorned the wand. The second wand was like the first except that it was painted green, symbolizing the earth, and the fan-shaped pendant consisted of seven plumes of the white eagle.

The symbolic importance of the eagle, *Kawas*, in this ceremony is very great. It is worth while therefore to quote at length the Kurahus's description of the use of the wands:

"In this ceremony the brown eagle is called *Kawas*. This eagle has been made holy by being sacrificed to Tirawa. Its feathers are tied upon the stem that has been painted blue to represent the sky.

"This stem was the first one painted and decorated, because it is female and the leader. It represents the night, the moon, the north, and stands for kindness and helpfulness. It will take care of the people. It is the mother.

"Throughout the ceremony the Kurahus carries this feathered stem.

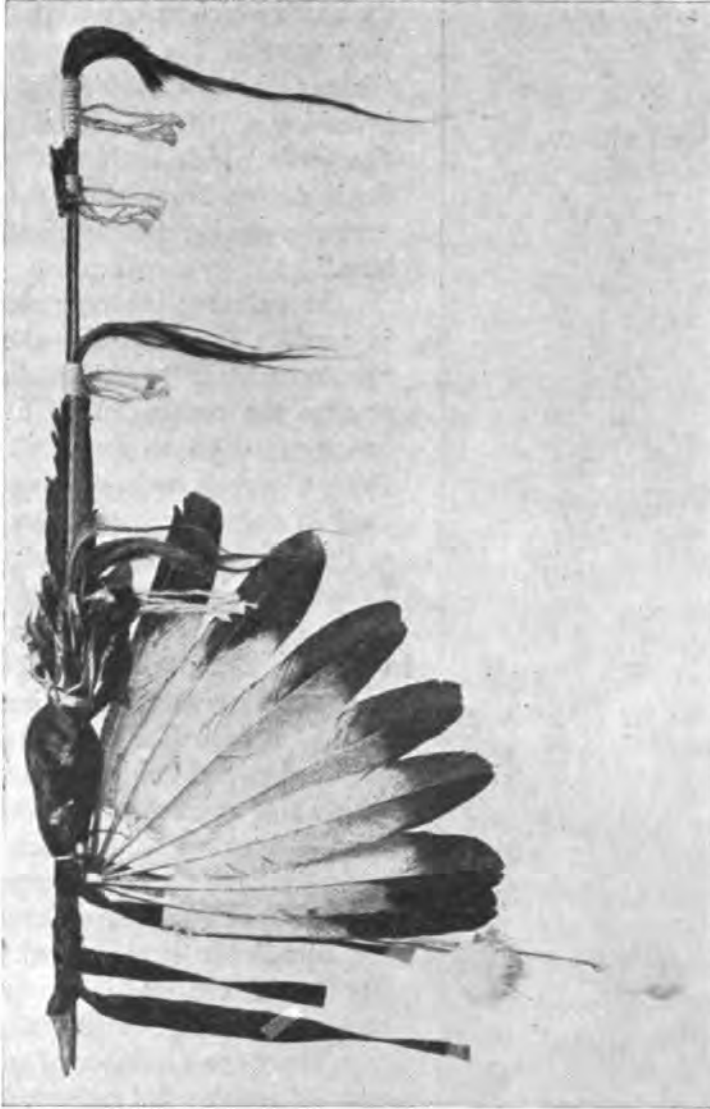
"The white eagle is not holy; it has not been sacrificed to Tirawa. It has less power than *Kawas*; it is inclined to war, to hurt some one. It can not lead; it must follow. So the green stem is painted last, and all the decorations are put upon it after the other stem is completed.

"This feathered green stem represents the male, the day, the sun, and the south. During the ceremony it is carried by the assistant of the Kurahus, whose place is on the right of the Kurahus, toward the south.

"When we move about the lodge waving the two feathered stems to the rhythm of the song we are singing, *Kawas*, the brown eagle, is carried next the people, and the white eagle-stem on the farther side, away from the people where it can do good by defending them and keeping away all harm. If it were carried next the Children it would bring them war and trouble. It is the brown eagle

that is always kept near the people and is waved over their heads to bring them the gifts of plenty and of peace."

Ranking in importance with the wands, in the ceremony, is the ear of maize, symbolic of the Corn Mother, which is next prepared.



THE WHITE FEATHERED STEM.

B. A. E., Plate, LXXXVII.

An ear with white grain is chosen, and it is fastened to a support. The top of it is painted blue, again symbolizing the sky, and down the sides are carried four blue lines emblematic of the four paths

(the cardinal points) leading from heaven to earth. At the summit of the ear is fastened a white plume symbolic of the fleecy clouds above and of the breath of heaven. "The ear of corn," says the

Kurahus, "represents the supernatural power that dwells in H'Uraru, the earth which brings forth the food that sustains life; so we speak of the ear of corn as h'Atira, mother breathing forth life. The power in the earth which enables it to bring forth comes from above; for that reason we paint the ear of corn with blue."



"MOTHER CORN."
B. A. E., Plate LXXXVIII.

In painting the corn, blue clay is used. The clay is mixed with running water: "running water represents the continuity of life from one generation to another"; water from a spring or a well cannot be used in the ceremony. The mixing is done in a wooden bowl, a bowl "taken from the trees, a part of the living covering of mother earth, representing the power of Toharu"—i. e., the lifegiving vegetation. "The bowl is round, like the dome shape of the sky, and holds the blue paint, which also represents the sky. The bowl is a vessel from which we eat when we have the sacred feast of the corn. "Tirawa taught us how to get the corn." It is this bowl, or one like it, which is used in the baptismal ceremony of the Seventeenth Ritual.

There are a number of other ceremonial articles, but rather of the nature of accessories than *sacra* in the strict sense. After the preparation of these articles, a smoke offering was made and the First Ritual brought to a close.

2. The Second Ritual the editor names, "Prefiguring the Journey of the Son." The actual journey is to be made under the leader-

ship of the corn symbol,—“Mother Corn,” the spirit of the Corn and of life-sustaining vegetation. The prefiguring is a spirit journey: the Fathers, stanza by stanza, sing of the journey, believing that their spirits under the leadership of the corn spirit do actually pass to the home of the Son and inform him of the place to which he is chosen.

“It is not the ear of corn (says the Kurahus) that travels through the air, nor do our bodies follow; it is the spirit of the corn that moves, and it is our spirits that follow, that travel with her to the land of the Son. . . . We must fix our minds upon Mother Corn and upon the Son, who is the object of our search. It is a very difficult thing to do. All our spirits must become united as one spirit, and as one spirit we must approach the spirit of Mother Corn. This is a very hard thing to do.”

When the spirit journey is completed and the lodge of the Son is reached: “The Son does not see us as we stand there; he is sleeping. . . . We fix our minds upon Mother Corn and upon the Son; if we are in earnest he will respond to her touch. He will not waken, he will not see her, but he will see in a dream that which her touch will bring to him. . . . Then, when he awakens, he will remember his dream, and as he thinks upon it, he will know that he has been chosen to be a Son, and that all the good things that come with the ceremony which will make him a Son are now promised him.”

This ritual introduces the mysticism which underlies the whole ceremony: from of old “the rites came in a vision.”

3. The Third Ritual concerns the sending of actual messengers to the man chosen as Son. The messengers come saying, “Behold! Your father is coming!” And “as the Son hears the words of the messengers he will be reminded of his dream in which Mother Corn touched him. And as he looks at the men he will recognize the tribe from which they have come and will know who has chosen him to be the Son.” If he accepts the honor he instructs the messengers to return to the Father saying, “I am ready.”

4. The first event of the Fourth Ritual is the elevation of the *sacra* on a pole set up at the lodge entrance. “Here it stands where the wind of the dawn may breathe upon the Hako and the first rays of the sun strike the sacred objects and give them life. It is all done in silence before the day dawns.”

After this the Kurahus anoints himself, his assistants and the chief of the Fathers, and the men anointed sing a song emblematic of the leadership of the Corn Spirit. Says the Kurahus:

“As we sing this song we remember that Mother Earth is very

old. She is everywhere, she knows all men, she gave life to our fathers, she gives life to us, and she will give life to our children. The ear of corn represents venerable Mother Earth, and also the authority given by the powers above. . . . As we sing we think that Mother breathing forth life, who has come out of the past, has now started to lead us on the journey we are to take and to the fulfilment of our desire that children may be given us, that generations may not fail in the future, and that the tie may be made strong between Father and Son."

The anointed men then take up the Hako and present it in turn to the Powers of the East, the West, the South and the North, the bearers moving in a figure which simulates the human form: "We have traced upon the earth the figure of a man. This image that we have traced is from Tirawa. It has gone around with us, and its feet are where we now stand; its feet are with our feet and will move with them as we now, in the presence of all the powers, begin our journey to the land of the Son."

5. The Fifth Ritual is the ritual of the journey and contains three parts.

In the first part, "Mother Corn, who led our spirits over the path we are now to travel, leads us again as we walk in our bodies over the land. . . . She led our fathers and she leads us now, because she was born of Mother Earth and knows all places and all people, and because she has on her the sign (the blue-paint symbol) of having been up to Tirawahut, where power was given her over all creatures."

The second part is devoted to the songs sung on the journey. There is a "Song to the Trees and Streams," a "Song When Crossing the Streams," a "Song to the Wind," a "Song to the Buffalo," another of "The Promise of the Buffalo"—"We do not sing this song any more as we travel," said the Kurahus, "for now there are no buffalo herds to be seen sending the dust up to the sky as they run; we sing the song in the lodge of the Son, that we may remember the buffalo, and that our children may hear of them." Two other songs of the way, of interest as indicating that the Pawnees derived their ceremony from the West or Southwest, are the song to be sung in ascending mountains and a song to be sung in traversing mesas. Of the latter the Kurahus said:

"We are told that long ago our fathers used to see the mesas. . . . This song has come down to us from that time. As we have never seen mesas, we do not sing the song on our journey; we sing

it in the lodge of the Son, that we may not forget what our fathers saw when they traveled far from where we now dwell."

The third part consists of two hymns to Mother Corn sung when the village of the Son is reached.

6. The Sixth Ritual embraces the songs and ceremonies attendant upon the reception of the Fathers by the Children. The Son's messenger is received. He is fed and clothed by the visitors—"acts which mark the care of a father for his child,"—whom he then conducts to the village and "the lodge of my Son wherein he sits waiting for me."

7. The Seventh Ritual has to do with the consecration of the lodge prepared for the ceremony, by Kawas, the Eagle, and by Mother Corn; with the clothing of the Son in gift garments; and finally with a smoke offering to the powers.

"The lodge has now been opened by Mother Corn and cleansed of all bad influences by Kawas; the Son, clothed as a child by the Father, has offered prayer and smoke to the powers above; the garments worn during this act have been removed and given away; and now everything is ready for the public ceremony to begin."

The Public Ceremony.

The Public Ceremony comprised in seven rituals occupies three days and three nights.

8. The Public Ceremony opens with a feast in which the Fathers feed the children with food they have brought.

"Before any one can be served the thoughts of the Fathers and of the Children must be turned toward Tirawa, the father of all things. . . . All the powers that are in the heavens and all those that are upon the earth are derived from the mighty power, Tirawa-atius. He is father of all things visible and invisible. He is father of all the powers represented by the Hako. He is the father of all the lesser powers, those which can approach man. He is the father of all the people, and perpetuates the life of the tribe through the gift of children. So we sing, your father, meaning the father of all people everywhere, the father of all things that we see and hear and feel."

After the songs, the Children are fed by the Fathers: for "it is the duty of a father to provide food for his child, and not to partake himself until the child is satisfied." When the Fathers are left alone they eat their evening meal.

9. With the Ninth Ritual the Mystery proper may be said to begin. When the sun has set and it is dark and the stars are shin-

ing, the Hako is taken up, and the singers carrying the drum follow the Hako slowly around the lodge singing the Invocation to the Visions.

"Visions come from above; they are sent by Tirawa-atius. The lesser powers come to us in visions. We receive help through the visions. All the promises which attend the Hako will be made good to us in this way. Visions come most readily at night; spirits travel better at that time."

The visions come from their abode above, conducted by the spirits of the birds on the wands; they reach the lodge and enter.

"As we walk, the visions walk; they fill all the space within the lodge; they are everywhere, all about us...touching the Children, touching them here and there and by their touch giving them dreams, which will bring them health, strength, happiness, and all good things. The visions touch all who are in the lodge, so it is a good thing to be there, to be touched by the visions...One by one the Children go to their homes, and the dreams brought by the Visions which attend the Hako go with them to make their hearts glad."

10. The Tenth Ritual covers the ceremonies with which the breaking day is greeted. The Kurahus and the Chief of the Fathers have kept vigil, waiting for the dawn. "As the night draws to a close, the Kurahus orders the server to lift the skins which hang at the outer and inner doors of the long passageway of the lodge, and to go outside and watch for the first glimmer of light."

When the morning air begins to stir the *sacra* are taken up and the Birth of the Dawn is sung. Says the Kurahus:

"We call to Mother Earth, who is represented by the ear of corn. She has been asleep and resting during the night. We ask her to awake, to move, to arise, for the signs of the dawn are seen in the east and the breath of the new life is here.

"Mother Earth is the first to be called to awake, that she may receive the breath of the new day.

"Mother Earth hears the call; she moves, she awakes, she rises, she feels the breath of the new-born Dawn. The leaves and the grass stir; all things move with the breath of the new day; everywhere life is renewed.

"This is very mysterious; we are speaking of something very sacred, although it happens every day.

"We call upon Kawas to awake, to move, to arise. Kawas had been sleeping and resting during the night. Kawas represents the lesser powers which dwell above, those which are sent by Tirawa-

atius to bring us help. All these powers must awake and arise, for the breath of the new life of the Dawn is upon them. The eagle soars where these powers dwell and can communicate with them. The new life of the new day is felt by these powers above as well as by Mother Earth below.

"Kawas hears the call and awakes. Now all the powers above wake and stir, and all things below wake and stir; the breath of new life is everywhere. With the signs in the east has come this new life.

"Kawas, the brown eagle, the messenger of the powers above, now stands within the lodge and speaks. The Kurahus hears her voice as she tells him what the signs in the east mean.

"The Kurahus answers Kawas. He tells her that he understands the words she spoke to him when standing there in the lodge, that now he knows the meaning of the signs in the east; that Night is the mother of Day, that it is by the power of Tirawa-atius moving on Darkness that she gives birth to the Dawn. The Dawn is the child of Tirawa-atius. It gives the blessing of life; it comes to awaken man, to awake Mother Earth and all living things that may receive the life, the breath of the Dawn which is born of the Night by the power of Tirawa-atius."

The words, adds the Kurahus, do not tell all that the song means; the meaning has been handed down from the fathers, and may be taught to any serious minded person who is sincerely desirous to learn.

With the rising of the Morning Star, for which a server has been on the watch, the second song is sung—"slowly, with reverent feeling, for we are singing of very sacred things."

"The Morning Star is one of the lesser powers. Life and strength and fruitfulness are with the Morning Star. We are reverent toward it. Our fathers performed sacred ceremonies in its honor.

"The Morning Star is like a man; he is painted red all over; that is the color of life. He is clad in leggings and a robe is wrapped about him. On his head is a soft downy eagle's feather, painted red. This feather represents the soft, light cloud that is high in the heavens, and the red is the touch of the ray of the coming sun. The soft downy feather is the symbol of breath and life.

"The Star comes from a great distance, too far away for us to see the place where it starts. At first we can hardly see it; we lose sight of it, it is far off; then we see it again, for it is coming

steadily toward us all the time. We watch it approach; it comes nearer and nearer; its light grows brighter and brighter....

"The Morning Star comes still nearer and now we see him standing there in the heavens, a strong man shining brighter and brighter. The soft plume in his hair moves with the breath of the new day, and the ray of the sun touches it with color. As he stands there so bright, he is bringing us strength and new life.

"As we look upon him he grows less bright; he is receding, going back to his dwelling place whence he came. We watch him vanishing, passing out of our sight. He has left with us the gift of life which Tirawa-atius sent him to bestow."

The Day is close behind, "advancing along the path of the Morning Star and the Dawn": the next song is a paean to the Daylight.

"We sing this song with loud voices; we are glad. We shout, 'Daylight has come! Day is here!' The light is over the earth.... We call to the Children; we bid them awake.... We tell the Children that all the animals are awake. They come forth from their places where they have been sleeping. The deer leads them. She comes from her cover, bringing her young into the light of day. Our hearts are glad as we sing, 'Daylight has come! The light of day is here!'"

The sun has not as yet appeared above the horizon. In the last part of the Tenth Ritual messengers are sent to awaken all the Children that they may be assembled to greet the rising sun.

11. The second day of the Public Ceremony is devoted to an invocation of the male element in nature typified by the sun. The course of the sun is followed throughout the day, special songs celebrating his several stations.

"Whoever is touched by the first rays of the sun in the morning receives new life and strength which have been brought straight from the power above. The first rays of the sun are like a young man: they have not yet spent their force or grown old.... We think of the sun, which comes direct from Tirawa-atius, the father of life, and his rays as the bearer of this life. You have seen this ray as it comes through a little hole or crack. While we sing, this ray enters the door of the lodge to bring strength and power to all within....

"As the sun rises higher the ray, which is its messenger, alights upon the edge of the central opening in the roof of the lodge, right over the fireplace. We see the spot, the sign of its touch, and we know that the ray is there. The fire holds an important place in the

lodge. . . . Father Sun is sending life by his messenger to this central place in the lodge. . . .

"As the sun rises higher. . . . the ray is now climbing down into the lodge. We watch the spot where it has alighted. It moves over the edge of the opening above the fireplace and descends into the lodge, and we sing that life from our father the sun will come to us by his messenger, the ray. . . .

"Now the spot is walking here and there within the lodge, touching different places. We know that the ray will bring strength and power from our father the sun as it walks within the lodge. Our hearts are glad and thankful as we sing. . . .

"When the spot has reached the floor we stop singing and do not begin until the afternoon, so that our song can accompany the ray as it leaves the lodge, touches the hills, and finally returns to the sun. . . .

"In the afternoon we observe that the spot has moved around the lodge, as the sun has passed over the heavens. . . . After a little time we see the spot leave the floor of the lodge and climb up toward the opening over the fireplace, where it had entered in the morning. . . . Later, when the sun is sinking in the west, the land is in shadow, only on the top of the hills toward the east can the spot, the sign of the ray's touch, be seen. . . . The ray of Father Sun, who breathes forth life, is standing on the edge of the hills. We remember that in the morning it stood on the edge of the opening in the roof of the lodge over the fireplace; now it stands on the edge of the hills that, like the walls of a lodge, inclose the land where the people dwell. . . .

"When the spot, the sign of the ray, the messenger of our father the Sun, has left the tops of the hills and passed from our sight. . . . we know that the ray which was sent to bring us strength has now gone back to the place whence it came. We are thankful to our father the Sun for that which he has sent us by his ray."

There are a number of incidental songs that belong to this day between the morning and afternoon chants to the sun.

12. On the evening of the second day of the Public Ceremony, in the Twelfth Ritual, the origin of the rites in vision is told in song. The Kurahus states:

"We have been taught that in a vision our fathers were told how to make the feathered stems, how to use them, how to sway them to the songs, so that they should move like the wings of a bird in flight. It was in a vision that our fathers were told how they could cause a man who was not their bodily offspring to be-

come a Son, to be bound to them by a tie as strong as the natural tie between father and son."

Visions, he tells later, "come in the night, for spirits can travel better by night than by day. Visions come from Katasha, the place where they dwell. This place is up in the sky, just below where Tirawa-atius appointed the dwelling place of the lesser powers. Katasha, the place where the Visions dwell, is near the dwelling place of the lesser powers, so they can summon any vision they wish to send us. When a vision is sent by the powers, it descends and goes to the person designated, who sees the vision and hears what it has to say; then, as day approaches, the vision ascends to its dwelling place, Katasha, and there it lies at rest until it is called again."

As on the previous night, a watcher is out alert for the first signs of dawn. When they appear the morning songs (the Tenth Ritual) are repeated.

13. The morning songs of the second day led on to the invocation of the male element, the Sun Father, on the third day these same songs serve as an introduction to invocation of the female element, typified by Mother Earth.

The invocation is preceded by a sacramental feast of corn, prepared by the Children after the manner of their forefathers. Hymns to Tirawa are then sung, "remembering that he is the father of the Sun which sends its ray, and of the Earth which brings forth." Then follows the song to the Earth, beginning: "Behold! Here lies Mother Earth, for a truth she lies here to bring forth, and we give thanks that it is so."

The gifts of the Earth are remembered, stanza by stanza. First the fields, "where seed is put in Mother Earth, and she brings forth corn"; then the trees and forests from which come "shelter and fire"; and lastly the water—springs, streams, rivers—which symbolize the continuity of life.

After this song the Kurahus addresses the Children: "My Children, your fathers are listening to what I have to say. Yesterday we remembered our father the Sun, to-day we remember our mother the Earth, and to-day Tirawa has appointed that we should learn of those things which have been handed down to us. Tirawa is now to smoke from the brown-eagle stem, Kawas, the mother, and you are to smoke from it also."

The smoke offering is then made, after which each of the Children smokes from the pipe. "This is a holy act and gives long life to the people."

On this day, though at no fixed time—save that “the song of the owl must be sung toward night”—come the songs of the birds.

“The songs about the birds begin with the egg, so the song of the bird’s nest where the eggs are lying is the first to be sung. Then comes the song of the wren, the smallest of the birds. After that we sing about the birds that are with the Hako from the smallest to the largest. These songs are to teach the people to care for their children, even before they are born. They also teach the people to be happy and thankful. They also explain how the birds came to be upon the feathered stems and why they are able to help the people.”

The “Song of the Bird’s Nest” commemorates the story of a man who came upon a bird’s nest in the grass.

“He paused to look at the little nest tucked away so snug and warm, and noted that it held six eggs and that a peeping sound came from one of them. While he watched, one moved and soon a tiny bill pushed through the shell uttering a shrill cry. At once the parent birds answered and he looked up to see where they were. They were not far off; they were flying about in search of food, chirping the while to each other and now and then calling to the little one in the nest. . . . After many days he desired to see the nest again. So he went to the place where he had found it and there it was as safe as when he had left it. But a change had taken place. It was now full to overflowing with little birds, who were stretching their wings, balancing on their little legs and making ready to fly, while the parents with encouraging calls were coaxing the fledglings to venture forth. ‘Ah!’ said the man, ‘if my people would only learn of the birds, and, like them, care for their young and provide for their future, homes would be full and happy, and our tribe strong and prosperous.’ ”

The “Song of the Wren” was made by a priest who noted that the wren, the smallest and least powerful of the birds, excelled them all in the fervor of its song. “Here,” he thought, “is a teaching for my people. Every one can be happy; even the most insignificant can have his song of thanks.”

The “Song of the Woodpecker and the Turkey” tells how, long ago, the feathers of the turkey, the most prolific of birds, held the place of the eagle feathers on the feathered stems used in the Hako. The woodpecker challenges the turkey’s right. The turkey defended, saying: “In my division of life there is great power of productiveness. I have more tail feathers than any other bird and I have more eggs. Wherever I go my young cover the ground.” “True,” replied the woodpecker, “but you build your nest on the ground,

so that your eggs are in constant danger of being devoured by serpents, and when the eggs hatch the young become a prey to the wolves, the foxes, the weasels; therefore your number is continually being reduced. Security is the only thing that can insure the continuation of life. I build my nest in the heart of a tall oak, where my eggs and my young are safe from the creatures that prey upon birds. While I have fewer eggs they hatch in security and the birds live until they die of old age. It is my place to be a protector of the life of men." The turkey was deposed; and though the eagle was put in his place, the woodpecker was given an important position on the stem, where it presides over the red path along which travels the help that comes from the Hako.

The "Song of the Duck" and the "Song of the Owl" tell how each of these two birds in visions revealed to a holy man their dominions, the duck's over the pathways of water and air, the owl's over the night. "So the people are guided by the duck and kept awake by the owl."

The ritual closes with a song of thanks for the Hako.

14. The final ritual of the Public Ceremony, falling on the evening of the third day, is a chant, accompanied by symbolic action, sung in remembrance of the coming of the revelation to the fathers. "We remember the visions of our fathers, the holy men to whom was taught this ceremony."

The Secret Ceremony.

15. The six rituals of the Secret Ceremony, occupying a night and a day, begin on the evening of the fourth day.

"At sunset the Fathers call the Children to the lodge. When all have been seated, the Children on the south, the Fathers on the north, the Kurahus, who sits at the west, back of the holy place where the Hako are at rest, addresses the Children in the name of the Fathers. He explains the meaning of the ceremony about to take place, for on this last night and the following morning everything that is done refers to the nest and to the direct promise of children to the Son, who is also to be bound by a symbolic tie to the Father."

The Fifteenth Ritual is the symbolic "Flocking of the Birds," carrying on the bird symbolism which the songs of the preceding day have presented. Says the Kurahus:

"In the early spring the birds lay their eggs in their nests, in the summer they rear their young, in the fall all the young ones are grown, the nests are deserted and the birds fly in flocks over the country. One can hear the fluttering of a startled flock, the birds

suddenly rise and their wings make a noise like distant thunder. Everywhere the flocks are flying. In the fall it seems as though new life were put into the people as well as into the birds; there is much activity in coming and going.

"This song tells of the flocking of the birds. We do not use the drum as we sing it, but we blow the whistle. The whistle is made from the wing bone of an eagle. In this song we are singing of the eagle and the other birds, so we use the whistle.

"When the eggs are hatched and the young are grown, the birds flock; the promise of young has been fulfilled. In this song, which we sing toward the close of the ceremony, we are thinking of the fulfilling of the promise given by the Hako, that children will be granted to the people, so that they may be many and strong, and we sing that the great flocks are coming.

"As we sing we are thinking of the great flocks of birds. The noise of their wings is a mighty noise. As they fly from one tree to another they shake the branches as they alight, and the tree quivers as they rise. The flocks are many and powerful; so, through the promises of the Hako, the people will become many and powerful."

After the symbolism of the flocking birds there follow sixteen circuits of the lodge accompanying hymns to the Powers. The first songs are to the Corn Spirit, during four circuits. Then follow songs to the messenger of the powers above, Kawas, the brown eagle, during the second four. Of the first of these songs to the eagle:

"One day a man was walking on the prairie; he was thinking, and his eyes were upon the ground. Suddenly he became aware of a shadow flitting over the grass, moving in circles that enclosed his feet. He stood still, wondering what this could mean; then he looked up and beheld a brown eagle flying round and round over his head. As he gazed the bird paused, looked down at him, then **flapped its wings and flew away**. Again the man was walking and **thinking**, when he caught sight of a tall tree about which a great white eagle was flying, around and around as if it were watching over something. As it flew it screamed, making a great noise. It was the father bird guarding its nest. The brown eagle was Kawas, and she flew, as told in the second song, 'straight to her nest, to her young, who cried out with joy as she came near.'

"The next songs are to the Powers above: first in doubting hope,—'I know not if my prayers are heard or if they will be an-

swered'; afterwards in assurance,—'Tirawa hears us pray and will answer our prayers.'

"We have now made four times four circuits of the lodge. In the first four we remembered Mother Earth through the corn. In the second four we sang of the eagles, which are the messengers of the powers above. In the third four we spoke of the prayers we send to Tirawa through this ceremony. In the last four we lifted our voices to the powers themselves, the mighty power above and all those which are with the Hako.

"Four times four means completeness. Now all the forces above and below, male and female, have been remembered and called upon to be with us in the sacred ceremonies which will take place at the dawn.

"The night is nearly over when the last circuit is completed; then the Children rise and go home."

16. On the morning of the fifth and last day occur the final ceremonies, which are the heart of the mystery.

"At the first sign of dawn the Fathers rise and, preceded by the Kurahus with the feathered stems, the chief with the corn, the doctors with their eagle wings, and the singers with the drum, go forth to the lodge where the family of the Son is living. As they march they sing...the words mean that the Father is now seeking his child.

"The child referred to is usually a little son or daughter of the Son, the man who has received the Hako party. Upon this child we are to put the signs of the promises which Mother Corn and Kawas bring, the promise of children, of increase, of long life, of plenty. The signs of these promises are put upon this little child, but they are not merely for that particular child but for its generation, that the children already born may live, grow in strength, and in their turn increase so that the family and tribe may continue."

The Sixteenth Ritual is divided into three parts: The Seeking of the Child by the Fathers, passing in processional to the lodge of the Son; the Symbolic Summoning of the Powers to the Child, in which the *sacra* are brought near the child in the Son's lodge; and the Symbolization of the Progress of Life, in the return to the ceremonial lodge.

In the first of these parts, the procession sets forth singing, "I go seeking my child."

In the second part, first the ear of corn, representing the fruitful union of Heaven and Earth, is held above the child; then the Kurahus "wraps the white-eagle feathered stem within the feathers

of the brown-eagle stem (male and female conjoined) and, holding with both hands the bundle, he stands before the little child, and, while the song is sung, he points the stem towards it. This movement means that the breath of life is turned toward the child. The breath passes through the stem."

In the third part, first is sung, "Come and fear not, my child; all is well"; then, the child taking four steps forward, representing the progress of life, "I am ready; come, my child; have no fear"; and finally, as they return with the child, "Behold your father walking with the child."

17. The Seventeenth Ritual contains four parts, each concerned with a phase of the ceremonial preparation of the child,—which took place concealed from the view of the warriors by an inner group closely surrounding the child.

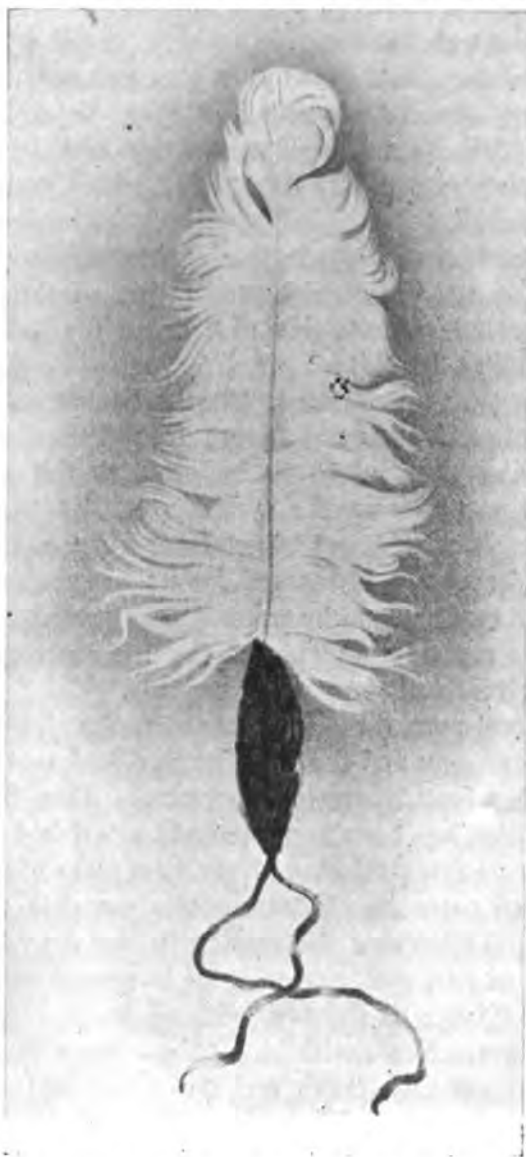
In the first part, an old man, "chosen because of his long life, and his having received many favors from the powers above, in order that similar gifts might be imparted to the child," touches the child with water from the symbolic bowl,—“shaped like the dome of the sky, because water comes from Tirawa-atius. The little child is to be cleansed and prepared for its future life by the water—sustained and made strong by water.” Afterwards, he touches the child with grass representing Toharu, the living covering of Mother Earth, which gives food to men and animals.

In the second part, the old man anoints the child with an ointment made of red clay and the fat of a sacrificed animal,—“the first animal killed on a hunt belongs to Tirawa.... This is in recognition that the life which has been sustained and nourished is now consecrated to Tirawa-atius, the father above, who gives life to all things.”

In the third part, the old man paints the child's face. First, with red paint, symbolizing the coming of the new day, the rising sun, the vigor of life, and, as the paint is spread entirely over the face, the full radiance of the sun, with all its power giving to the child its life vigor. Next, with blue paint, drawn in an arch about the forehead, down each cheek and down the bridge of the nose, so symbolizing the arch of heaven and the paths from earth to sky: “In these lines we see the face of Tirawa-atius, the giver of life and power to all things.”

“There is a group of stars which forms a circle. This is a circle of chiefs. Tirawa-atius placed them there and directed them to paint their faces with the same lines we have put upon the child, and all who are to be leaders must be so painted. From this circle of stars came a society called Raritesharu.... The members of the

society are chiefs, and these men are permitted by the star chiefs to paint their faces with the blue lines and to wear the downy feather on the head. The members of this society do not dance and sing;



THE FEATHER SYMBOL OF TIRAWA.

B. A. E., Plate XCI.

they talk quietly and try to be like the stars. I was told that it was from this society that permission was given to paint the child with the blue lines and to put the downy feather upon it."

In the fourth part, the old man fastens the featherdown in the

child's hair. "The down is taken from under the wings of the white eagle. The white eagle is the mate of the brown eagle, and the child is the child of Kawas, the brown eagle. The down grew close to the heart of the eagle and moved as the eagle breathed. It represents the breath and life of the white eagle, the father of the child." The white down also represents the fleecy clouds of the sky and the life of heaven: "ever moving as if it were breathing," it represents "Tirawa-atius, who dwells beyond the blue sky, which is above the soft, white clouds."

When the child is fully adorned it is "told to look into the bowl of water and behold its face. The running water symbolizes the passing on of generations, one following another. The little child looks on the water and sees its own likeness, as it will see that likeness in its children and children's children. The face of Tirawa-atius is there also, giving promise that the life of the child shall go on, as the waters flow over the land."

A black covering is now put over the child's head, "That no one may look on the holy symbols. Only Tirawa looks on them and knows all that they mean. We do not look on them, for they are holy."

18. In the Eighteenth Ritual the Kurahus marks off a symbolic nest. He does this with his toe, "because the eagle builds its nest with its claws."

"Although we are imitating the bird making its nest, there is another meaning to the action: we are thinking of Tirawa making the world for the people to live in. If you go on a high hill and look around, you will see the sky touching the earth on every side, and within this circular enclosure the people live. So the circles we have made are not only nests, but they also represent the circle Tirawa-atius has made for the dwelling place of all the people."

Over the symbolic nest the child is held so that its feet rest within the circle. A chief puts his hand under the robe which conceals the child's legs and drops within an oriole's nest so that the child's feet rest upon it. "The oriole's nest is used because Tirawa made this bird build its nest so that no harm could come to it. It hangs high, is skilfully made and is secure. An eagle's nest may be torn away by a storm, but the oriole's nest sways in the wind and is not hurt." Tobacco and bits of fat "representing the droppings that mark the trail made by the hunters as they carry meat home from the field" are placed in the nest. "No one but the chief and the Kurahus know what is being done beneath the robe."

"The child represents the young generation, the continuation

of life, and when it is put in the circle it typifies the bird laying its eggs. The child is covered up, for no one knows when the bird lays its eggs or when a new birth takes place; only Tirawa can know when life is given. The putting of the child's feet in the circle means the giving of new life, the resting of its feet upon the oriole's nest means promised security to the new life, the fat is promise of plenty of food, and the tobacco is an offering in recognition that all things come from Tirawa. The entire act means that the clan or tribe of the Son shall increase, that there shall be peace and security, and that the land shall be covered with fatness. This is the promise of Tirawa through the Hako."

The ritual closes with a thank offering of sweet smoke.

19. The Nineteenth Ritual contains the songs sung during the dance of thanks which follow the mystery. This is performed before the lodge and is accompanied by the giving of gifts, the recounting of exploits, and other social features. At its close the prominent members of the two parties return to the ceremonial lodge for the final rites.

20. In the Twentieth Ritual, within the lodge, a song of blessing is eight times sung over the child. The song means: "All that I have been doing to you, little child, has been a prayer to call down the breath of Tirawa-atius to give you long life and strength and to teach you that you belong to him—that you are his child and not mine."

The child is then unveiled, the symbolic painting removed, and the articles used in the ceremony are made into rolls and presented to the Son: "When the chief has finished speaking he puts the bundle in the arms of the little child and leads it to its father, the Son, who receives it, and the child runs off to play."

A final distribution of gifts ends the ceremony.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

THE SUPERPERSONALITY OF CHRIST.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE question of the personality of Jesus has come most powerfully into the foreground since liberal Christianity has spread more and more. Since the beginning of Christianity there has been a party who object to miracles and myth. They were led in the third century by Arius (256-336), and so this faction in the church was called Arians.

The Arians may be characterized as old Unitarians. Arianism had its strongest hold on the more sober-minded northern nations, especially the Goths, while the orthodox doctrine had its roots mainly in the southern peoples, the Greeks and the Italians.

The Arians' objection to orthodox Christianity is mainly based upon their rationalism. They want the truth in literally true statements. They object to allegory, and for this reason they throw out all ideas which are on the face irrational. They are religious free-thinkers, and object to believing that a man can be a god. Accordingly all the ideas connected with it, such as divine incarnation or the idea that God can be born, that there is a mother of God, that God can die, are blasphemies in their eyes, and since these notions are the characteristic features of the ancient paganism, since all pre-Christian religions possess a hero-worship which tells us of the birth of a son of some god, mostly of Zeus, of his deeds of valor, of his martyrdom and of his return to life, the Arians look upon the dogmas of orthodox Christianity as a revival of paganism.

This old contrast between the liberals and the orthodox is revived to-day in the discussion about the personality of Jesus. Modern criticism beginning with Bruno Bauer, the head of the so-called Tübingen school, and finding a classical representative in David Friedrich Strauss, resolved Christianity into an efflorescence of myth, and this movement has found new strength in the denial of the historicity of Jesus. The latest phase of this view has reached its

climax in William Benjamin Smith, who found an able prophet in the German professor Arthur Drews. Smith's work on "The pre-Christian Jesus" made a deep impression on Drews, and he by his scholarly and more popular methods gained the ear of the German public, claiming that Christ never lived, and that his figuring in history was due to the formation of a myth. These views he published in his two books, *The Christ Myth* and *The Witnesses to the Historicity of Jesus*. Drews found favor in the eyes of the masses, but naturally neither Smith nor Drews were recognized by theologians.

Our own position in this controversy has been set forth repeatedly on different occasions¹ and we may here summarize it thus: Christianity is a religion similar to its pagan forerunners. In fact Christianity is the sum total of pre-Christian pagan religions purified through the rigorous Jewish monotheism which served as a protest against polytheism and other outgrowths of superstition which had become unacceptable even to the uneducated masses of the Mediterranean nations. At the time of the beginning of the Christian era there were several rival religions among which Mithraism was most prominent. They resembled each other in tendency and doctrine, but in the struggle for survival Christianity conquered because it was the most vigorous protest against the objectionable features of the ancient paganism and also because the figure of its Saviour was more human and less mythological than the Greek heroes.

There were several saviour ideals, but Christ assumed a more concrete and definite personality than others such as Mithras, Apollonius, Seth and Hermes Trismegistus. Christ crystallized around the figure of Jesus, the Galilean, and there is a concreteness in the humanity of Jesus and in his martyrdom on the cross which endeared him most to the large multitudes of the lowest classes, the slaves, many of whom were quite prepared to end like Jesus on the cross. This feature is not sufficiently appreciated but is attested in the Roman comedy when Davus speaks of his prospective death on the cross with great indifference, stating as a matter of little concern that his father and grandfather had also died on the cross. This recalls the story of the captain who with carelessness speaks of his death in the ocean as a man would speak of his death in bed, and yet the bed does not for that reason become an object of disgust

¹ See the writer's little book, *The Pleroma*, and several discussions of the New Theology in *The Open Court*: especially "Pro Domo," Vol. XIX, 577; "Christ and Christian," Vol. XXII, 110; "Modern Theology," Vol. XXII, 234, 407; "The Nazarene," Vol. XXIV, 26; "The Synoptic Gospels," Vol. XXIV, 600.

to the people whose ancestors have generation after generation quietly found their end in bed.

We must distinguish between Jesus and Christ. Jesus is the man, whether historical or not does not concern us here, of whom the Gospels tell us that he was born in Bethlehem, was educated in Nazareth, that he preached in Capernaum his city, that he wandered through the country healing the sick and preaching to the poor, that he went to Jerusalem, offended the priests and Pharisees, drew upon himself the suspicion of the Romans, was crucified, buried, and rose from the dead on the third day.

Christ is a superpersonality. It is the Saviour ideal, the incarnation of God, the God-man, and the claim of the Apostle St. Paul consists in this that Jesus is the Christ. The Gospel story has been accepted by Christians with more or less belief in the several details; the resurrection story especially has given offense to the Arians or people of their kind. The healing miracles have been doubted or explained in a natural way. The birthplace and the virgin birth have been subjects of fierce controversies, and the myth theory has almost at all times found many advocates. Scholarly critics have discovered traces in the detailed items of the Gospel story which are repetitions of pre-Christian saviours. One of the most obvious of them is the massacre of the innocents in Bethlehem, and for other details the temptation, the transfiguration, the raising of Lazarus have been declared to be inventions of pious imagination, which arose on the ground that Christ could not have performed smaller miracles than other prophets before him. Others have done or said this or that; therefore Christ must have blessed his enemies on the cross, therefore he must have raised the dead, therefore he must have had a supernatural birth, etc.

If we understand the nature of religious psychology, we must know that all people have a need of ideals. The Greeks admired Heracles as the Babylonians cherished the legend of Gilgamesh, as the Teutonic nations enjoyed listening to the stories of Siegfried, and such figures are most potent presences in the minds of the growing generation. Whether or not Heracles ever lived is indifferent. The Greek people of classic antiquity certain believed in his reality, and later on when rationalism made religious notions of the gods and other superpersonal presences fade away the decay of ancient Greece set in. At the same time there developed a dualistic soul-conception which replaced the ideals of heroism by a new and more ascetic conception of the saviour. The hero type changed into the healer type, the transition being formed by such a demigod as Æs-

culapius in Greece. The courageous leader in battle, the bold muscular conqueror changed into an ascetic, a wandering preacher, a man without a wife, without family, without property. It is natural that the religious ideals of the different ages change with our world-conception and we find such superpersonalities individualized by different nations in the same phase of development in a quite similar way all over the ancient world.

With the breakdown of the old religions and with the rise of a monotheistic religion a new saviour type was needed, and found expression for instance in the life of Apollonius, a wandering preacher, of whom stories were told very similar to those about Jesus. Apollonius was a kind of ascetic. He was not a hero like Heracles. He was the product of the same age as Jesus, hence the similarity of the picture, and Apollonius was not a mere myth, he was a real living personality. The historian does not believe the miracles attributed to him, and we need not believe that the sermons attributed to him are his own words, but no critic has as yet come forward to doubt his historicity.

The truth is that the mythology of superpersonalities very easily crystallizes around historical figures which resemble them and play a prominent part in history. Such figures are most drastic where they appear in the field of action, men like Alexander the Great, Cæsar, Napoleon. And how easily legends cluster around them, how naturally the stories of similar deities, of the incarnate son God, and even anecdotes are attributed to these extraordinary personalities may be seen in the fact that all the legends of Gilgamesh and of sun-heroes were attributed to Alexander the Great in books which were finally reduced to poetic shape in the Middle Ages. How easy was it for M. Pérèz and for Archbishop Whately to prove that Napoleon was a mere myth, and that therefore there is no inkling of historical fact about him.

It seems to me that the Christ-ideal has settled on the figure of Jesus in the same way as the myth of the similar heroes clustered around the persons of Alexander and Napoleon. What the scholars do is to trace the origin of the Christ-ideal back to its various historical sources, and when they have exhausted the whole figure of Jesus they come to the conclusion: *Ergo*, nothing human is left; there is no truth in the historicity of Jesus. This seems to me a *non sequitur*. On the contrary the existence of Jesus is plausible for the very reason that the most reliable and oldest Gospel reports of Jesus possess several features and a few mention sayings of Christ which stand very strongly in contrast to the later Christ-ideal. This

proves that there is a nucleus of the life story going back to a tradition which was not invented for the purpose of proving that Jesus was the Christ, but is a tale of a wonderful preacher and healer called Jesus.

We do not consider it probable that the stories which betray a Judaic character in Jesus have been invented by the Christians. Incidentally we will mention here that the existence of Jew-Christians was really a fiction of the church. The Jew-Christians were the Nazarenes of whom Jesus was apparently a member, and this little sect was decidedly a Jewish sect. It is not probable that the Nazarenes changed their entire creed and their communistic institutions into a Christian religion, such as was evolved in later days among the Greeks and Romans. The religion of the Nazarenes was apparently absolutely Jewish, and several passages critically examined prove that Jesus was a Jew of the Jews. He had no idea of preaching his Gospel to the world in spite of the passage in Matthew xiii, which has long been recognized as a very late interpolation. We can not assume that the passages which make Jesus believe in every diacritical dot and dash of the Mosaic law were inventions of the Gospel writers, they must be historical, and the same is true of the story according to which Jesus calls the Gentiles dogs. In fact we read that Jesus was opposed to casting pearls before swine, which latter word was a common epithet among the Jews to denote Gentiles. There is enough in the Gospel, although means have been found to cover it, which goes far to prove an original Jewish tradition that can not be the product of a mythological fiction.

The properly Christian sayings of Jesus are very questionable as utterances of Jesus. It stands to reason that the beatitudes and other passages of the Sermon of the Mount were transferred on Jesus because according to the logic of the times he as the Christ must have uttered them. The Gospel of St. Mark by no means reflects a Christ-personality after the type of the Christian Christ-ideal. Were we to read the Gospel of Mark through in one sitting as if it were a new book to us, we would find that the personality here portrayed is by no means very sympathetic. It is not exactly Jewish, but may very well be Galilean, a mixture of Judaism with the notions of surrounding nationalities. But upon the whole there are enough features in the story which make it probable that a certain Jesus existed who was the leader of a Jewish sect, and having offended at the same time the priestly authorities of the Jews and the Roman governor, fell a victim to political prejudices. It is not impossible that such a Jesus existed. In fact I deem it more probable than

not, but so far as I can see the historical existence of Jesus is as indifferent as the historicity of Osiris in Egypt, or Heracles in Greece, or Siegfried among the Teutons. The potency of the ideal is the real actual fact in the soul-life of believers, and I grant that to many people it is essential to believe that this ideal has been an actual historical man. So far as I can see the believers in the non-historicity of Jesus can only prove that the rise of the super-personality of Jesus is the rise of an historical development, and that the several features which have entered here can be traced to definite sources.

The orthodox conception that the main part of the Christian Saviour was his character as Christ, remains standing and will remain forever, while the theory of the Arians, of the rationalists, and all their kin is untenable from purely *a priori* considerations. What is the use of believing that a little more than 1900 years ago Jesus was born in Bethlehem, or died on the cross of Calvary? The mystics have preached that whether or not Christ lived and died, and rose to life again is indifferent. The main purport of the Gospel story is that every believer in Christ should make his life an imitation of Christ, and this is the burden of the most typical Christian preacher Thomas Aquinas. Angelus Silesius expresses these sentiments in some of his quaint rhymes:

God as a child is born
In stillest, darkest night,
Whereby He has restored
What's lost by Adam's plight.
Thus in a creature dark,
Here in thy soul so still,
God is becoming man
And that will mend all ill.

Golgotha's cross from sin
Can never ransom thee,
Unless in thine own soul
It should erected be.

I say it speeds thee not
That Christ rose from the grave,
So long as thou art still
To death and sin a slave.

The resurrection is
In spirit done in thee,
As soon as thou from all
Thy sins hast set thee free.

Thou must above thee rise
All else leave to God's grace:
Then Christ's ascension will
Within thy soul take place.

* * *

In connection with the subject here discussed I have to mention that one of the most prominent defenders of the historicity of Jesus is Professor Benjamin W. Bacon of Yale Theological Seminary. Rather thoughtlessly and in a rash and ungentlemanly way he pitched into my propositions of the origin of Christianity published in my little book *The Pleroma*, and I answered him carefully, thanking him for corrections of little details, and calling attention to the

failures of his own logic. At the same time I invited him to state his views more fully in *The Open Court*. His main argument, explained at great length in voluminous works on his specialty, New Testament Criticism, is briefly the old theological method of constructing a Jesus ideal. He tells us much about the sane mind of the carpenter's son, and this carpenter's son, the man of the working people, must have done this or that and must have preached thus or so. Such argument is convincing only to men of his own type, and shows poor judgment before the tribunal of a scientific treatment of history.

I do not blame Professor Bacon for his errors, but I regret to find that the *furor theologicus* is also a powerful factor in his character. Instead of either accepting or rejecting my invitation to answer my reply and express himself more fully, his only method of justifying himself is by disposing of my answer with a shrug. But an insult is no argument. I will quote literally the few lines in which Professor Bacon refers to me. They are hidden in an article entitled "A Mythical Collapse of Historical Christianity," in which he disposes in like manner of other opponents. Very incidentally in speaking of "mythological theology" he says: "Whether Dr. Paul Carus, editor of *The Monist* and its satellites in Chicago, entertains similar theological ideas, those must tell who are better acquainted than we with the thousand or more publications to which he confesses." A footnote is added thus: "In reply to a review of one of these by the present writer pointing out a series of inaccuracies, Dr. Carus presents voluminous explanations and a counter-attack, offering the columns of his own publication, *The Open Court*, for reply. We do not require so much space. A footnote here will suffice. We refer Dr. Carus to a well-known saying of Josh Billings: 'It's better to be ignorant about a few things than to know such a terrible lot of things that ain't so.'"

It is a common experience that the scholar who has no arguments calls his adversary names. Professor Bacon in the same passage shows that he is unfamiliar with my writings, and yet by inference he classes them among "a terrible lot of things that ain't so."

THE HUMANITY OF JESUS?

CONTESTING A PROTEST.

BY WILLIAM BENJAMIN SMITH.

IT is always pleasurable and profitable to meet Mr. Kampmeier in the arena of controversy. Always he has something interesting to say and says it with clearness, directness, and precision, so that one may join issue sharply and grapple hand to hand. In this regard he reminds one of Schmiedel and only by contrast of the majority of "historicists." Especially, however, his attacks offer admirable occasions for strengthening the positions attacked.

In the May number of *The Open Court*, Mr. Kampmeier directs a very earnest "Protest" to the present writer. His general complaint is against the air of confidence becoming more and more apparent in the ranks of the anhistoricists (if such a frightful word be justified by such analogies as anharmonic). Thus it seems that *Das freie Wort* announces that the pure-divine and non-human character of the Jesus may now be regarded as a settled fact. Such a proclamation may indeed be early, but it is not alone. In a review of *Ecce Deus*,¹ Baars some months ago called upon the liberals to abandon their position now rendered untenable and range themselves on the side of the new doctrine of the pure divinity of Jesus. Other reviewers have thought similarly; an illustrious Biblicist has in a private letter announced his abandonment of Jesus the Man, and to judge from their printed statements, a number of others are wavering and almost persuaded to become Protochristians. Whence it might seem that the German fortnightly, even if a little too previous, is nothing worse, but merely anticipates a fast-forming judgment.

However, the more especial grievance of Mr. Kampmeier lies

¹ Smith, *Ecce Deus*, Jena, Diedrichs, 1910. English enlarged edition, *Eternal Gospel*, Chicago, Open Court Publishing Co., 1912.

against a recent statement made by the writer, that "no shred of evidence for the humanity of the Jesus has yet been produced." The statement may seem a trifle bold, but it is not too bold, and it is hereby reaffirmed with emphasis. If there be any such shreds of evidence the world would be much indebted to any one for their early production. The nearest approach yet made thereto seems to be found in the Pillars of Schmiedel, generally recognized as *a* if not *the* "chief bulwark" of the liberal position. Schmiedel himself has distinctly declared that there are no other really cogent proofs of the historicity, that but for these or similar passages we should not be able to affirm the human existence of Jesus.² But how has it fared with these Pillars? Windisch in the *Theol. Rundschau* admits that they have been "powerfully assailed," that *Ecce Deus* proves that Schmiedel has attempted the impossible, and that at least five of the nine must be surrendered as "not convincing," "not able to bear" (*nicht tragfähig*) the burden of proof. Among the five thus surrendered is what seems to be by far the strongest (Mark x. 34), the cry on the Cross, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" than which nothing in the New Testament sounds at first more human. All of these Pillars are examined carefully in *Ecce Deus*, where it is shown that none of them yields one scintilla of the evidence for which they have been invoked. Windisch would still "let four of them count," especially the word to the rich man, "why callest thou me good?" But this reads in Matthew, "Why askest thou me about the Good?" and it is shown clearly in *Ecce Deus* that the passage offers no evidence in point. Meyboom in the *Theol. Tijdschrift* seems disposed to accept the contentions of *Ecce Deus* at this point. But in any case, when five of the nine Pillars admittedly crumble, who can any longer put faith in the other four? And how bizarre to rest the historical character of Jesus on four uncertain, ambiguous, and isolated phrases! Neumann and Meltzer have tried to strengthen these pillars by adding to their number, but with what nugatory results is clearly shown in *Ecce Deus*. Even Windisch puts little trust in this second colonnade, declaring they must be "sifted," and the conservative Dibellius had already shown (1911) that much the strongest-seeming pillar in this group (Matt. xi. 18, 19) is by no means historical but merely the church's interpretation of a parable of Jesus. We may repeat then that these passages at present present no evidence of the historicity in question.

It seems highly important to observe closely the logical situation at this point. It *might* very well be that we should find some

² See the quotation, *Eternal Gospel*, p. 33.

passage in very early canonic or uncanonic Scripture that seemed quite irreconcilable with the notion of the primitive divinity and non-humanity of the Jesus. True, no such passage *has* thus far been found, but it *might* be. Would that prove the humanity? Very far from it! As argued in *Ecce Deus* and as now conceded by Windisch, what might appear to us to be a contradiction need by no means have seemed such to some mind or minds among the primitive Christians. Their ways of thinking and types of consciousness were very varied and in some cases departed very widely from the European and American of to-day. It is entirely futile then for even Schmiedel to attempt to wrest the historicity from a few isolated verses of doubtful interpretation. Such a weighty doctrine can not be supported by such slender and sporadic pillars, even were they of granite and not of sand. If the doctrine of the pure-human Jesus were true, it would not have to rest on a few such lonely props; it would be found ingrained in the history of the epoch, a part and parcel of the whole web of events. To take it away would not be like removing some more or less superfluous thread or flounce from the garment, but like unraveling its whole texture and reducing it to a shapeless mass. The human personality of Jesus, if it be indeed the center and emanative focus of Protochristianity, must pervade, permeate, and penetrate the whole fabric of the new religion, must vitalize it at every point, must form at once the necessary and the sufficient explanation of most or all of its distinctive features. Now it is notorious that such is not the case. The example of Paul alone is sufficient at this juncture. However much Paulinism may employ the notion of the divine Christ, it makes no use at all of the human life, teachings, and personality of Jesus.

Liberals have felt keenly the imperative necessity of finding the human Jesus in the very earliest doctrine and history of the Christian propaganda; hence not only the strenuous striving of Schmiedel and his school to establish the Pillars, but also the unrelenting zeal of nearly all in trying to discover, decipher, and delineate that marvelous human personality. All such efforts have proved utterly futile, fanciful, and mutually contradictory. In *Ecce Deus* this famous argument from personality is carefully considered, and it is shown clearly not only that there is no shred of evidence for the existence of any such single human personality, but that there is a large number of clear indications of its non-existence; that the witness of early Christian history is at many points directly against the historicity in question, that so far from explaining the course of history, the hypothesis of historicity makes everything unintelligible

and unexplainable. This most famous of liberal arguments has indeed been exactly reversed; its tenfold weight now falls wholly into the opposite scale. Professor Meyboom, of Groningen, who is surely not sympathetic with *Ecce Deus*, nevertheless in writing of the book in *Theol. Tijdschrift* (1912), after quoting from its treatment of this argument from personality, sums up the situation in these words (p. 44): "Am I in error when I maintain that here the finger is skilfully laid upon a weak spot in the traditional conception of the course of events at the appearance and first development of Christianity?"³ It is noteworthy also that in Case's recent work on the *Historicity of Jesus*⁴ the favorite proof from personality shines most through its absence.

But the two foregoing arguments are not the only ones that "in dim eclipse disastrous twilight shed on half the" critics "and with fear of change perplex" professors. The Pauline witness is fundamental and in the minds of some (as Reinach) is the only one that has genuine evidential value. Now in *Ecce Deus* this witness is cross-examined and with the result, that it not only fails to attest, but also tells powerfully against the historicity in question. In his recent *Taufe und Abendmahl im Urchristentum*, Heitmüller, certainly a most acute and liberal critic, seems to surrender the citadel itself (as is noted in *Eternal Gospel*), recognizing as contended in *Ecce Deus* that the view set forth in 1 Cor. xi. 23 ff. is a later "theologizing interpretation" of the earlier view given in 1 Cor. x. 16, 17. Moreover Schläger in a very recent thorough and methodic study (published in *Theol. Tijdschrift* because the German journals shrank from printing it!) has confirmed these conclusions (of *Ecce Deus*) at every point, so that we may now safely say that the Pauline witness is not *for* but distinctly *against* the "historicity."

Mr. Kampmeier does indeed cite the celebrated verse in 1 Cor. xv. 28, that "the Son shall be subject to the Father, that God may be all things in all," as evidence that Paul thought of Jesus as a human personality. One would think this would be among the last verses in the New Testament to be called by Mr. Kampmeier to the witness stand. His notion seems to be that the subjection of Son to Father implies that the Son was the "Jewish Messiah" "of human descent." Here must the present writer also be allowed to "**protest.**" It is not a pure Jewish consciousness that is speaking.

³ Heb ik ongelijk als ik beweere, dat hier op handige wijze de finger gelegd wordt op een zwakke plek in de traditionelle vorstelling van den gang van zaken bij het optreden en de eerste ontwikkeling van het Christendom?

⁴ University of Chicago Press, 1912.

So much is plain in the phrase that "God may be all things in all." This (as set forth in *Ecce Deus*) is the homeomery of Anaxagoras, a profound and favorite Greek philosophic speculation, according to which the seeds of things were so universally diffused that in every thing were to be found the elements of all things. Indeed it is well known that the writings of "The Apostle" (by whom is not necessarily meant Saul of Tarsus) are deeply tinged with Stoicism and other Hellenisms as shown, e. g., in the argumentative use of "God forbid," a use peculiar to Stoical disputation.

Now it is not at all strange that a half-Greek half-Hebrew consciousness should strive to reconcile the notion of Jesus the Saviour-God with a pure philosophic monotheism. The task may not be an easy one, in fact it seems never in 1900 years to have been accomplished perfectly. But it is not the only persistent problem of theology or philosophy. Indeed it is only one aspect of a perpetual riddle, the relation of the individual and the universal, which not even Hegel could unravel or see through. Perhaps there is nothing better to be said about the relation of Jesus to God Most High than is hinted in the great Pauline phrase "the light of the glory of God in the person (aspect, countenance, *προσώπῳ*) of Christ" (2 Cor. iv. 6). It might remind one of a particular, or of the all-important singular, as contrasted with the general solution of a differential equation.

The at least half-mythologic conception of the relation in question as that of Son to Father seems to have made the strongest appeal and to have established itself most firmly. Alongside thereof has asserted itself the far more philosophic idea of the Spirit, identified by "The Apostle" with the Christ, but later sharply distinguished therefrom. The "Father" also has been recognized as only an aspect of Deity so that we now have the orthodox dogma of the three persons (aspects) of the one God, "not confounding the Persons nor dividing the Substance." There is in truth nothing to say against such a doctrine, unless one should ask, Why three rather than four or thirty or a thousand? We might ask a similar question about the dimensions of space, and neither question may be finally unanswerable. Three is in fact a very odd number. With such matters, however, we have no present concern, further than to insist that there is nothing at all in the Corinthian verse to imply any natural human history of the Son who surrenders to the Father. The old-world consciousness felt perfectly at home in dealing with Son-Gods as well as Father-Gods.

Nay, we must not even think of the Jewish mode of thought

as excluding the notion of purely heavenly beings subject to the Jehovah-God. It is well known that such celestials peopled the realms of later Jewish imagination, nor had they any human ancestry or earthly history whatever. Who were the parents of Michael, so prominent in Daniel? Or of Gabriel? If these, like Melchizedek, could dispense with parentage, what need of it for the Christ, for the Jesus, for the Saviour-God? Perhaps *some* did think of Messiah as earth-born. What of it? Others did not, and there was no reason why they should.

How familiar and even native to the Jewish mind was the idea of a Being purely divine yet subordinate to God Most High is clearly shown in the strange doctrine of *Metatron*. Hitherto in this whole discussion the present writer has carefully avoided broaching this all-important theme, since it deserves a volume rather than a paragraph. However, it seems hard to maintain this reserve any longer or to avoid saying so much at least as the following: The rigorous rabbinical monotheism with which we are all familiar was by no means the only recognized form of Judaism. The notion of Jehovah's angel (Malak YHVH), frequent in the Old Testament, and that of *Mediator*, already present in Gal. iii. 19, 20 and apparently current, pervade both Hebrew writings and the Apocrypha. In the latter this heavenly and even divine Being is often called Enoch, also Michael, and *Metatron*, which latter name he bears pre-eminently in the former. In Greek and Latin the word is written *Metator* and is said to mean *Guide*. It looks very like a disguised reflection of Mithra, as Kohut contends. Many scholars identify this Being with the Logos of Philo, against the protest of Cohn. That profound Talmudist, Max Friedländer, in his *Der vorchristliche jüdische Gnosticismus* and elsewhere, identifies him with the early Gnostic Horus, "the surveyor or guardian of frontiers." Still other interpretations have been suggested.

For us the important point is that this *Metatron* is clothed with attributes and powers very nearly equal to those of God Most High. Thus, when Elisha b. Abuyah beheld *Metatron* in Heaven he thought there were two Deities (Hag. 15a). When God wept over the temple destroyed *Metatron* fell on his face, exclaiming, "I will weep, but weep not Thou," whereupon God answered: "If thou wilt not suffer Me to weep, I will go whither thou canst not come, and there will I lament" (Lam. R., Introduction § 24). Compare Jer. xiii. 17 and John xiii. 33, "Whither I go, ye can not come." *Metatron* shares in the functions of God: during the first three quarters of the day he teaches children in the Law, during the last

quarter God himself teaches them ('Ab. Zarah 3b). Involuntarily one thinks of freshman, sophomore, junior,—senior! He is a "mighty scribe," little lower than God (Ps. viii. 6). We are reminded of the secretary-angel of Ezekiel (ix. 2, 3, 11, x. 2, 6, 7). He is a youth, suggesting the mysterious youth of Mark xiv. 51, 52; xvi. 5—a supernatural being. He bears witness to the sins of mankind, recalling the "faithful witness" of Revelation. Most of all, however, he bears the sacred ineffable name, the tetragrammaton YHVH, for in Ex. xxiii. 21, it is written, "My name is in him." Nevertheless, he must *not* be worshiped, since the same passage commands, "Exchange not Me for him," (Sanh. 38b). However, it is conceded (*Jewish Encyclopedia*, VIII, 408 a, b,) that "angel worship was not unknown in certain Jewish circles," and that prayers addressed to angels insinuated themselves even into the liturgy. Even in Daniel xii. 1, Michael appears as Intercessor, along with whom Metatron is frequently mentioned by Gnostics as the mediator of revelation. Even when Abraham ibn Ezra, commenting on the Pentateuch, finely says: "The angel that intermediates between man and God is reason," he is still not far from John and Theophilus, not far from Heraclitus and Philo, with all of whom the Logos (Reason) serves to link man with God. Enough. It is superfluously clear that in Jewish conception Metatron was quite in line with the Second Person in the Trinity, that, if not in official, at least in unofficial Judaism, the idea of a Vice-Elohim, a Pro-Jehovah, a Mediator-God, was perfectly naturalized, was popular, and was widely active. This mid-Being or *Mesites* (by which latter term Lactantius describes Jesus) was wholly divine, without any tincture of humanity, and yet was distinctly lower than God Most High, with whom he was even contrasted. Herewith then not only Kampmeier's obstacles but all the Pillars of Schmiedel are swept aside completely and beyond recall.

It appears then that even if we should regard the consciousness in 1 Cor. xv. 28, as pure Jewish, there would still be no implication whatever of any historical humanity in the Son, the Jesus. Neither can any argument at all be drawn from any alleged preconception of the Jews that the Messiah was to be human. *On the contrary*, such a conception would merely *help to account* for the *humanization* of the Jesus conceived at first as a pure divinity. It is evident and generally recognized that much of the Gospel story was devised to fulfil supposed prophecy. Still later we find Justin Martyr and others reasoning with confidence that so and so must have happened, because it was already typified in the Old Testament. If

then "the monotheistic Jesus-cult" was accepted by some one who identified the Jesus with the Christ (Messiah), and who had the notion that this latter was foreseen by the prophet as a man, such a worshiper had no logical choice: he *had* to think of his Jesus as having lived in Palestine, and very naturally he would invent a plausible "Life of Jesus"—there was nothing else he could do.

Lastly we come to Mr. Kampmeier's *pièce de résistance*, the brotherhood of James. It seems a little queer that he should lean so heavily on such a broken reed. The matter has already been discussed, and it must suffice here to resume some of the principal points:

1. In the Gospels the brethren of Jesus are more than once defined as having no blood-kinship. "Behold my mother and my brethren! For whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother." "Go, tell my brethren," where plainly the disciples are intended. Unless then there be positive counter evidence we must understand the word brethren in this spiritual sense. No such counter evidence is found in the Gospels, as is shown in *Ecce Deus*.

2. In 1 Cor. ix. 5, "The Apostle" speaks of "the other apostles and the brethren of the Lord and Kephas." Combine this with the fact that there were many parties in Corinth, that some said "I am of Paul," others "I of Apollos," others "I of Kephas," others "I of Christ," and the suggestion presents itself instantly that "the brethren of the Lord" were such a party, the same or in line with those "of Christ," perhaps a select and inner circle of Messianists or other Christians. That these "brethren of the Lord" should be in Corinth or anywhere else a group of flesh-and-blood kinsmen of the man Jesus, who certainly cut no figure in the Gospel-story as even sympathetic with him, seems to be in the last degree improbable. The very name "brethren of the Lord" sounds very suspicious. Why not "brethren of Jesus," if such they were? Remember that Lord (Jehovah) is the very highest designation of the ascended Christ. Is it not incredible that such brothers-in-flesh, absolutely unknown as Christians, should receive such a superlative title?

3. In Gal. i. 19, we read of "James the brother of the Lord." The remarks already made apply with full force. As early as Jerome, already quoted in this discussion, the term brother was taken to refer not to blood-kinship but to spiritual likeness. Some one may say that this was done in the interest of the dogma of the perpetual virginity of Mary. But nearly 150 years earlier, before such an interest was felt, we find the highly enlightened Origen

taking the same view. In *c. Cels.* I, 47, he says: "Paul the true disciple of Jesus says that he saw this James as brother of the Lord (brother, that is) because not so much of blood kinship or community of their education, as of character and reason." If it be said that Origen himself accepted the humanity of Jesus and perhaps the blood-brothership of James, the answer is, Certainly! But this merely strengthens our contention. If, for entirely independent reasons, although he conceded that James was a natural brother of Jesus, the ablest of all early expositors still held on the face of the text that "brother of the Lord" must refer to spiritual rather than carnal kinship, so much the more are we justified in so understanding it, we who find elsewhere no ground at all for granting any such consanguinity. It seems hard to imagine any reply to this reasoning.

4. Finally the testimony of Josephus, in the phrase "James the brother of Jesus, the so-called Christ" (*Ant.* XX, 9, 1). Can there really be any doubt that this clause is interpolated? Let the reader reflect on the considerations already advanced in the article on "The Silence of Josephus and Tacitus."⁵ Neither have the arguments of Credner (who brackets the words as a Christian insertion) ever been answered. Let the reader also remember that Case claims no more than that it is "quite possible" that the Josephine reference to James is genuine (p. 256), while on the other hand Windisch (a hostile reviewer of *Ecce Deus*) admits that its demonstration of the "Silence of Josephus" hits the mark (*ist treffend*) in both cases⁶ and that Zahn, who among conservatives has no superior in learning or in acumen, now concedes that the James-passages also is interpolated, a part of "the falsified Josephus." Notice further the advance on New Testament phraseology, which has "brother of the Lord," but not "brother of Jesus." Each writer seems to have expressed himself correctly. The New Testament does *not* mean "brother of Jesus" and does not say it; the late interpolator of Josephus does mean it and does say it.

It is true that an honored critic, Rudolf Steck, of Bern, has come valiantly to the rescue of the Josephine testimony (*Prot. Monatsh.*, 1912). But how and why? He perceives clearly, what Mr. Kampmeier should also perceive, that the phrase about James is most improbable in Josephus, *if there be no previous mention of*

⁵ In *The Monist*, Oct. 1910.

⁶ Also that the critique of the passage in Tacitus is "equally worthy of attention" (*ebenso beachtenswerth*). This passage can then no longer be produced in "evidence"; for even if not proved an interpolation, it is at least discredited.

Jesus. He admits also, what any unbiased mind must admit, that the total silence of Josephus is hard or impossible to understand and must throw the gravest doubt upon the historicity of Jesus. Furthermore, he can not deny that the famous section (Ant. XVIII, 3. 3) as it stands is a Christian insertion. What then does he do in this desperate plight? He follows the Hollander Mensinga, who in the *Theol. Tijdschr.*, 1884, proposed the hypothesis that there stood originally in Josephus a scurrilous account of the relations of Joseph and Mary, suggesting the story of Paulina in section 4, and provoking some deeply offended Christian to supplace it with the extant section. In this way it is hoped to break the silence of Josephus and save the "historicity of Jesus."

This "bare hypothesis," as Steck himself calls it, has certainly the merit of boldness, but what other? An airier imagination has seldom been engendered in the brain of any critic. It is of course superfluous to oppose any such fancy, further than to note that it wrecks even before it fairly starts out, and on the very simple fact, already noted in "The Silence of Josephus," that section 4 is an immediate continuation of section 2, as is shown in the opening words, "About the same time a second terrible thing confounded the Jews etc." In section 2 the first "terrible thing" has been detailed, the merciless slaughter in Jerusalem. This close connection of sections 2 and 4 shuts out any section 3. Steck indeed would translate *δεινόν* by "strange" or "unusual" instead of "terrible." But that is not only against common usage but also against common sense. "Terrible" is the regular meaning of the word and in this case the necessary meaning. For only something terrible would have "confounded the Jews," that is, the Jewish people. To speak of an entirely unknown scandal touching two entirely unknown Galilean peasants as confounding the Jewish race, would be to move a smile hardly gentle enough for such grave discussion.

In all sincerity therefore we now ask, where are the shreds of evidence? Surely it is not enough to produce some fact consistent with the historicity but equally consistent with the anhistoricity. If the human character of the Jesus stood well established on independent basis, some of the facts passed in review might be regarded as confirmations. But which one can be regarded as a shred of evidence on its own account? It is by no means incumbent on us to show that our interpretations of the facts in question must be correct, but only that they may be correct, with no high degree of improbability. The Liberals do not advance their cause by producing passages that consist with their hypothesis of the historical

Jesus; they must produce something that requires that hypothesis for its reasonable explanation. This they have not done. Their texts are either equivocal or at best they lie under grave suspicion of being interpolations. In no court of justice would such texts be considered as "shreds of evidence." If a man owes you \$100 and offers you in payment a bill or draft that smells of forgery, it is not a legal tender; nor if it be drawn on a bank or other institution of doubtful solvency would you accept it. Not even if he offer you a stately heap of such dubious paper would you be satisfied. You would only wonder how he happened to have so much of that kind and none of any other. Such is the case with regard to the texts in question. Not one is convincing; not one raises any considerable probability; all may easily and even naturally be understood in exactly the opposite sense.

But are there no other proofs? The historicists hint vaguely at various others, but they do not state any clearly or even intelligibly. Nor do they come forward with any disproofs of the many counter-arguments developed in *Der vorchristliche Jesus* and especially in *Ecce Deus* and *Eternal Gospel*. It is not strange that they appear to German reviewers to "have nothing tenable (*stichhaltiges*) to urge against Smith's thesis." Under these circumstances, while fully nine-tenths of the most important argumentation of these books remains virtually unassailed, it would seem to be questionable whether the "Protest" under consideration be thoroughly justified.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN THE ORIENT.

BY STANWOOD COBB.

THERE are many charges to bring against the Christian missionary—that he takes a wrong standpoint in attacking religions which are dear to their followers; that he is apt to be narrow in his theology, a generation behind the times; that his motives are mistrusted by the natives he works among because he lives at so much higher a standard of living than they do that his position seems to them a sinecure—all these things can be brought against a missionary; yet, I should like to give my testimony to his general nobility of character and his self-sacrifice.

It is true, he enjoys the luxury of foreign travel, he is assured of a living, and his children are educated at the expense of the Board—but that is as far as the advantages of his profession go. When he leaves this country with all the comforts and pleasures of high civilization, he goes among people who are far below him in every way, and leads an isolated life among them. He is always giving out—there are no friends he can go to to take in inspiration. The terrible monotony of missionary life in a far away town of an interior, can hardly be realized by home-staying Americans. It is a monumental sacrifice for a person of culture to go and spend the best years of his life in an Armenian town. Only the inspiration of religion could make such a sacrifice possible or joyful.

Many a missionary has had to endure more than mere hardships and loneliness. They have seen their wives or children die as a result of unhygienic conditions and the absence of good medical aid. One missionary in the interior of Asia Minor lost four out of five children in one year. Who can say that this is not a life of sacrifice? Moreover, almost every missionary over-works as a result of immense opportunities for service and only limited resources. I was in one missionary station where four men were doing the

work of eight—not because they were directed by the Board, but because they could not bear to cut down the work.

There are some missionaries who are lazy and enjoy an easy berth; there are some who are small and mean and bigoted; but on the whole, the profession of the missionary is one of constant sacrifice, a life of devotion which must command respect from all men.

We may not believe in sending people over to attack the foreign religions; we may not believe in proselyting; and there are many who condemn the foreign missions altogether, saying we should confine our efforts to our own country. Yet the work that missionaries are doing in educating the people they go among, in lifting them up to higher standards of living, and bringing joy into weary lives beaten down by centuries of despair, is without parallel on the face of the globe.

All over Turkey are mission-schools, bringing education to those who would otherwise never get any. I wish our young men who are so surfeited with education and so athletically negligent of it, could see the spirit and enthusiasm with which the boys of the East tackle study. To them, education opens the golden doors of opportunity—and they work like the immigrants in our night-schools.

Last year into one of the leading American schools of Turkey, walked an Armenian from an interior town some five hundred miles away—walked, tramped it all the way, getting his living by charity as he went along, for he had no money. How could we turn him away? He would work, do anything, to earn his living. And he accepted one of the most menial, and in Oriental eyes most degrading, tasks, and carried it on cheerfully and manfully, while he picked up an education as fast as he could.

I know of no more noble work in the world, nor any service more inspiring, than that of carrying education to these backward peoples—opening up to them all the vast knowledge of the twentieth century, the accumulated wisdom of the ages. This is the work the missionaries are doing, and I am proud of them. If they would modify their efforts to proselyte, and confine themselves more to education, to social upliftment, and to Christian influence; if they would free their schools from perfunctory and useless Christian ritual which offends the non-Christian students; if they would become broader and more tolerant; if they would come into the field with thoroughly trained minds, and an intelligent sympathy for the religion and customs of the people they go among,—if they would do these things, they would be sure of a welcome into whatever country they enter, and would be able to take a glorious share in

bringing to pass that brotherhood of man which the founder of their religion visioned forth.

In the near East the missions have done a wonderful work in uplifting and educating the different subject races of the Turkish empire—Bulgarians, Armenians, Syrians, Copts; and in Persia, the Nestorian Christians. When the first missionaries were started in Constantinople and Smyrna, some fifty years ago, efforts were made to convert Mohammedans. The success was not large. I inquired of one missionary who had just finished a service of fifty years in Constantinople, how many Mohammedans had been converted there within his memory. He thought of one. This one later turned out to be a rascal—the missionaries were therefore not inclined to boast of him. When Abdul Hamid came to the throne in 1873, he pledged the missionaries not to attempt to proselyte among the Mohammedan population of his empire. Since that time, therefore, the work of the missionaries has been confined to the Christian sects, Armenian, Bulgarian and Greek. The pictures shown by missionaries of their students in the native schools, sitting cross-legged with red fezzes on, might lead one to thinking them Turks. They are not Turks, in spite of the red fez. All subjects of the Turkish empire may wear the fez, and you find it on the head of Greeks and Armenians, as well as of Turks. This same condition is true in other Mohammedan countries—the mission work is largely confined to the native Christian population. In Persia, the missionaries work mainly among the Nestorian and the Armenian Christians. Very little proselyting among the Mohammedans is attempted, although medical aid is given them. Such a thing as a Mohammedan becoming converted is very rare. In Syria the work is among the Syrian Christians. They need education and social upliftment. In Egypt, it is the Coptic Christians who receive the attention of the missionaries. Although this country has been under French and English rule for some time, and protection has been given the missionaries, very little success has been attained among the Mohammedans.

I was speaking with one of the older missionaries who has been in Egypt for fifty years. "How many converts from Mohammedanism have been made in Egypt during these fifty years?" I asked.

"About one hundred and fifty," he answered.

"In all Egypt?"

"Yes, and even then you are not sure."

"What do you mean?" I said: "That they become Christians for interested motives?"

"Yes," he answered. "Some do it in order to get aid, or Christian patronage for business." (I was also told by native Egyptians that such was the case, and that the Mohammedans who became converted to Christianity were men of no character.)

"Do you think then," I asked, "that there is any hope of all Mohammedans ever becoming converts to Christianity?"

"No," he said, "I am afraid not."

This is the verdict of a man who has worked fifty years among Mohammedans under the most favorable conditions. Such opinions, however, do not as a rule, reach the churches of this country.

I asked the same question of a missionary who was born and brought up in Turkey, and whose father was a missionary before him—both men of learning and authority in the missionary world.

"Do you believe the Mohammedans will ever be converted to Christianity?" I asked.

"No, and there is no need of it."

"You think the Mohammedans have a good religion of their own?"

"Certainly."

"You would limit the mission work to trying to correct the faults of Mohammedanism?"

"Yes. And even then, have we not faults of our own? Can Christians afford to throw stones? I believe the Mohammedans will reform their own religion, as we did ours."

Here is one of the broadest missionaries one could meet. If all were like him, there would be more chance of the Mohammedans being, if not converted, at least influenced by Christianity.

This man's position is not altogether exceptional. It is the position of many other missionaries in the near East—to such an extent that these may be said to form a division or school, opposed to which are the opinions of the old school missionaries who continue to load their blunderbusses up with Gospel Truth (meaning the dogmas of their own particular sect) and discharge them at Mohammedanism, hoping to bring down a few victims.

We see then, not only that little success has been met with in the Mohammedan world, and that the work there is mainly among native Christians, but also that the more progressive missionaries have given up the idea of conversion altogether. They do not believe in it. In the first place they feel it is too difficult, and in the second place that more can be done by influencing Mohammedanism itself—letting the progressive followers of that religion bring about

a reform from within, adopting anything in the Christian religion which appeals to them.

The missionaries who have lived among Mohammedans are usually broader and more tolerant than their lay supporters at home. The reason for this is that no one can live long among Mohammedans, especially the Turks, without coming to admire them, and to respect their religion. One is obliged to recognize that it is on the whole a good religion, influencing its followers for good—not an invention of the Devil, to pander to the lusts of man, as we are often told by earnest Christians.

Let any fair-minded person compare the worship in a Mohammedan mosque with that in a Greek or Armenian church, and he will recognize that there is much more of real religion in the former. I have never been in a mosque without feeling a spiritual uplift. On the other hand, I have never been uplifted by the tiresome and irreligious service of the Greeks.

Let not any one suppose that St. Sophia, once the head of the Greek churches, has suffered any on being converted into a Mohammedan mosque, save in the effacing of a few mosaics. The simplicity of its present interior is in pleasing contrast to the Greek churches, where idolatry stares one in the face at every side—pictures of the Virgin Mary which are kissed—images and candles everywhere.

A second point in which I wish to correct impressions which seem to prevail in America, is in regard to the recent Turkish revolution.

It has been announced in sermons, in missionary books, and even in thoughtful magazines, that the chief cause of the freeing of Turkey from the tyranny of Abdul Hamid, was the influence of the missionaries who have been working for years in Turkey. Such a flagrant violation of fact staggers one who knows anything about this revolution. It is a statement which, unfortunately, is a proof of the small interest taken by Americans in Eastern affairs and of their entirely superficial knowledge in this direction.

A clergyman, a graduate from Harvard, Ph. D., preaching in one of the most cultured suburbs of Boston, remarked from his pulpit shortly after the revolution, that he had no doubt that Robert College had as much to do with the revolution as any one thing. Now as only one Turk ever graduated from the college, his statement is rather unfounded. Strangely enough, I find that this idea is held by many people of wide culture and education.

The fact is, neither Robert College nor any of the missionary

schools contributed one iota toward freeing Turkey from the rule of Abdul Hamid. The revolution was entirely a military affair, planned and brought to pass by Mohammedan soldiers and officers, few of whom had probably ever met a missionary, much less been influenced by him. It was planned in Paris, by exiled Turks, who, far from being influenced by American missionaries in Turkey, have been for the most part followers of the French materialism. It was carried out by soldiers who were faithful Mohammedans. It cannot even be claimed that the revolution was made possible by the *general* influence of the missionaries in uplifting the people—for their work has been wholly confined to the Armenians who had nothing to do with the affair. It was the army which did the thing.

If any zealous Christian still doubts about this matter, let him read the words of Prof. E. C. Moore, of Harvard in *Religious Education*, October, 1909. In speaking of the Turkish revolution he says: "Those are all abroad who have been hastily asserting that the work of modernization was the result of a changing attitude in Turkey toward Christianity, due to the permeation of the body of Young Turks with Christian ideas, or to the direct effect upon these men themselves of Christian education. The effect of Western education offered in Turkey by the collegiate institutions which grew out of the Protestant missions, the most distinguished of which is Robert College, has no doubt been great. But the effect has been the effect of education *qua* Western, and not *qua* Christian. The early Christian missions never influenced anybody but the constituency of the Oriental churches (Greek, Armenian, Syrian, etc.). The old colleges practically never touched the Mohammedan youth at all."

These are the words of a man who had just been traveling around the world studying missions, and is competent by learning and position, to give an opinion. He has analyzed the conditions perfectly. It is not the Christian religion, but the civilization of Christendom which has been influencing both Turkey and Persia to progress. *They are ashamed to stay behind the rest of the world.*

Let the Christians claim the credit, then, for the civilization of Christendom if they will, but let them remember that this civilization contains many elements which are not Christian in origin. Its intellectual culture it owes to the Greeks; its laws to the Romans; its love of liberty to the Teutonic spirit. Just to what height the modern world would have risen if the Carpenter of Nazareth had not appeared upon the scenes of history two thousand years ago, no one

can say. But surely, no one supposes we would all be barbarians still—Teutons wandering in the woods for game.

From what we have seen of missionary success in the near East, it does not look as if the Mohammedan world were to be converted soon to Christianity. The missionaries themselves have given up this hope, and seek to influence rather than to directly proselyte. The war cry "The World for Christ in one generation" does not seem possible of fulfilment in the far East either, in spite of a very considerable success in the past and present.

In Japan, Christianity has had as good opportunity as it could ask for—doors finally thrown open, a people looking for a new religion. Yet, in spite of the fact that many converts have been made, Japan as a whole has not accepted Christianity, and is less inclined to do so now than it was some years ago. It is a fact that at one time the leaders of Japan got together and discussed the advisability of selecting Christianity as a national religion, but decided that it was too narrow—too much wrapped up in theology and dogma—and so dismissed it from further official consideration.

In China, Christianity has had a longer history than most people realize. It reached that country as early as the eighth century A. D., carried there by the Nestorian Christians from Persia, and for a time prospered. Here too, it had full opportunity to spread as it was looked on with tolerance by the rulers, and met with little persecution. Yet, when the Catholic missionaries came in the sixteenth century, they found no trace of this early Christianity. If our religion had been adapted to the Celestials, why did it not spread as it did among the Gothic and Slavic races of Europe? Again, with the entrance of the Catholic missionaries in 1555, Christianity had another chance to spread and by 1664 there were nearly 270,000 converts, yet when persecutions arose and these missionaries were later driven out the native Christians died away, and upon the reopening of the field in the nineteenth century, the work had to be done all over again.

To-day, the missionary work of China is kept up chiefly by outside stimulus. If all missionaries should withdraw from China, would the native Christians lapse into their former national belief again as they did two centuries ago?

In India, we have an excellent field for missionary work. Here is a vast population of 300,000,000 tied down by foreign government, so to speak, and unable to resent the establishment of Christianity. How have the missionaries succeeded there? They have established many excellent schools, have converted thousands of

Hindus, and can even hold large conventions of Hindu native pastors and lay converts. They have done, and are doing, a noble work in uplifting women, in teaching more hygienic habits, and in raising their converts to a higher standard of living. But are there any signs that within forty years India's 300,000,000 souls will be Christian?

If we look into the facts we shall find that the converts are mostly from the lowest class of the population, the outcasts who have no caste at all, and have for centuries been spurned as clay under the feet of the high-caste Hindus. Is it a wonder that they are attracted by the attention of the missionaries, and that they are won by kindness and the readiness to serve? Beautiful as is this influence, it is not a proof of the ultimate success of Christianity.

Suppose the Brahmins should send missionaries among our negroes of the South—and by their kindness and willingness to live and mingle with them, should win them over to Brahmanism? Is it probable that the rest of the country would also be converts? Could that in any way be considered an entering wedge? Would our highly cultured, thinking white population be induced to become Brahmins because their colored brethren were?

In the East, even more than in the West, people follow the leaders. Whole villages take the religion of their chiefs. If you can win over some of the intellectual leaders, then the masses will follow. But the success among the masses is not likely to influence the higher castes. Christians have been made by the thousands, it is true, but what is the ratio of these thousands to the millions of India? Taking into account the vastness of the population, the length of time our religion has been among them, and the opportunities it has had for free play, the outlook is not very encouraging.

Here too, the native Christians have to be continually propped up by foreign missionaries. If all foreign aid were withdrawn the native Christians of India would tend to be reassimilated to the religion of their country. I doubt very much whether they could stand out against the environment.

We must remember that Christianity had an earlier chance in India—as in China—in the sixth century, when the Nestorian Christians came that way; and again in the sixteenth century under the Mogul emperors. Why did it not flourish there as it did in the Isles of the West?

In fact, the success of a missionary in converting a few people to his religion is no proof of the validity of that religion, or of its chances to predominate. Zeal and patience are all that is required in order to make converts. We have only to look about us in order

to see dozens of peculiar causes which win followers, hold meetings, and acquire some measure of success. It is a psychological fact that if a man be on fire with a belief he will set other people on fire with it. Let any man, with any belief whatsoever, settle in one locality and preach there for fifty years earnestly and steadfastly, and he will make dozens of followers.

A great religion is known by its *durability* and its rapid powers of assimilation. The great world religions after passing through their persecutions and their first struggle for existence, have swept like wildfire over certain races to which they seem adapted. Christianity spread thus through all Europe, but has never made any impression on Asia. Buddhism had a rapid growth in India and China. Islam swept over the brown races of the East—and is now having great success in Africa, where it is making a hundred converts to Christianity's one.

This historical fact would lead one to see a principle of adaptation in religion, as in all other forms of life. Why did China choose to follow Confucius rather than Lao-tze? Why did Christianity never spread east of the birthplace of its founder? Why has not Islam led captive the white races?

One who is interested in this aim—the world for Christ in one generation—should ask himself these questions, and then ponder whether it be possible to superimpose Christianity with all its Occidental trend, upon peoples whose religions have for hundreds of years grown to be a part of their racial life.

A HIEROPHANT OF THE AMERICAN INDIANS.

BY THE EDITOR.

ONE of the chief blessings of the Religious Parliament of 1893 is the new spirit which pervades our religious sentiments in the endeavor to understand people of a different faith. The old narrow view which looks upon non-Christians as misguided by Satan is fast disappearing, and we learn to look upon the pagans as well-intentioned in their attempts to grope after a solution of the deepest problems of life.

Much progress has been made in deciphering the religions of other nations by personal contact and sympathetic inquiry. The religions of Asia have been studied by scholars and scholarly missionaries, while the religion of the American Indian has been undertaken at the expense of the Smithsonian Institute under the supervision of the United States, and we come to the conclusion that the Indian is full of inspiration and truly religious sentiment. While he is ferocious in war, he is by no means the savage he is represented to be in many of our stories, and that he might easily appear in the history of the white pioneers of the wild west.

Professor Hartley B. Alexander, of the University of Nebraska, has devoted much of his energy to a study of the religion of the American Indian. See his article "The Religious Spirit of the American Indian," *Open Court*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 45, 74.

The same author describes in the present number a mystery play which is characteristic, not only of the Pawnee Indians but generally of the religious ceremonies of many tribes in the Mississippi valley. In fact it may be considered as typical of the religious spirit at the stage of mankind when agriculture begins to take root, and changes hunters into tillers of the soil. He has also written a poetic version of the ceremonial here described which renders faithfully the great mystery of life as interpreted in the religious expression of these simple people. In scope and meaning it is anal-

ogous to the ceremonies of the Eleusinian mysteries and may also be looked upon as a primitive Passion play. It has been published in the current number of *The Monist* (July, 1912) under the title "The Mystery of Life."

Professor Alexander's "Mystery of Life" is not pure imagination. On the contrary it is based on fact, and the main change which he has permitted himself to make is that of abbreviation of the lengthy performance of the Hako, the veneration of the corn as the source of life representing divine dispensation through sustenance of food. The statement is based upon a report by Miss Alice C. Fletcher embracing a whole volume of the 22d Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, and her report is based in turn upon the description of the Kurahus, the hierophant, or leader of the ceremony. Miss Fletcher says of this title: "This term is applied to a man of years who has been instructed in the meaning and use of sacred objects as well as their ceremonies. The word is sometimes employed as a synonym for a venerable man, one who commands respect."

This Kurahus, by the name of Tahirussawichi, a full-blooded Pawnee, had been invited to visit Miss Fletcher in Washington, and it will be instructive to read the characterization of this Indian priest because it will teach us best the deep spirit of the Indian religion. She says:

"Tahirussawichi is a member of the Chaui band of the Pawnee tribe and about 70 years of age. He is tall and well made, and preserves much of the vigor of his earlier days. He is mentally alert, quick to observe, possessed of a tenacious memory, and gifted with a genial nature. He enjoys a joke and is always ready with good-fellowship, but he never forgets the dignity of his calling, or fails to observe the conduct befitting his position as the guardian of sacred rites. Although he is childlike and trusting, he has a keen discernment of character and a shrewd common-sense way of looking at men and things. While he is not indifferent to the great changes which have overtaken his people, new conditions have failed to disturb in any way the convictions of his early religious training.

"He has struggled to avoid living in a house, and has held to an earth lodge until it has dropped to pieces about him. He said: 'I can not live in a white man's house of any kind. The sacred articles committed to my care must be kept in an earth lodge, and in order that I may fulfil my duties toward them and my people, I must live there also, so that as I sit I can stretch out my hand and lay it on Mother Earth.' Last fall (1901) I saw how he had propped

up a part of the ruins of his lodge so that he might still keep the sacred objects in a primitive dwelling.

"When he was in Washington in 1898 he was taken to the Capitol and the Library of Congress. While the vastness and beauty of these structures gave him pleasure, they did not appeal to him, for such buildings he said were unfitted to contain the sacred symbols of the religion of his ancestors, in the service of which he had spent his long life. He admired at a distance the Washington Monument, and when he visited it he measured the base, pacing and counting his steps. Then he stood close to the white shaft and looked up, noting its great height. After going inside, he was asked which he would take, the elevator or the stairs, and replied: 'I will not go up. The white man likes to pile up stones, and he may go to the top of them.'

"Equally characteristic was his interview with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. When introduced, he said: 'I am glad to see you and to take you by the hand. Many chiefs of my tribe have done so. I never expected to do it. I came here to talk of the religion of my fathers, which I follow. You can ask my sister (referring to me) what I have said.'"

For some time we have published in *The Monist* philosophical poetry, translations from Schiller and Herder, and also original poems by Major J. W. Powell. The current number contains the Indian drama on "The Mystery of Life," based upon the report of Tahirussawichi and reduced to English verse by Professor Hartley B. Alexander.

By philosophical poetry we understand such expressions of sentiment in verse or in exalted diction as describe man's conception of life, and certainly in the same category we must range the religious poetry of the different stages of human development. Among them the American Indian represents one of the oldest types, and we need not hesitate to say that the aborigines of the Western Continent are more religious than is the white man of the twentieth century. The Indian more than we feels himself as the child of nature, and his poetry is deeper than we can imagine. He admires the marvels of civilization, our ships, our railroads, our towering buildings, but in contemplating our big monuments and cathedrals he does not feel the holiness of a religious inspiration such as impresses him when he thinks of the sacred mysteries of his own more primitive folks, by which they express thanks to the powers above them and establish among the members of the tribe and their confederates the spirit of love and good will.

A GERMAN SCHOPENHAUER SOCIETY.

BY THE EDITOR.

UNDER the auspices of Dr. Paul Deussen, a professor at the University of Kiel, and also of Arthur von Gwinner, member of the House of Lords of the German Empire and director of the Deutsche Bank of Berlin, a Schopenhauer society has been formed under the title *Schopenhauer-Gesellschaft*, the purpose of which is the study and development of Schopenhauer's philosophy. The society intends to institute an archive which shall contain all the documents and other pieces of interest having reference to Schopenhauer's life, personality and literary activity. Where the originals can not be obtained copies will be procured. The society further promises to bring all its members into personal contact and will publish membership lists with addresses so as to make it possible to reach one another by letter for an exchange of thought whenever it is desired. The home of the archive is not yet stated, but applications for membership may be addressed either to Professor Paul Deussen, Kiel, Germany, or to Arthur von Gwinner, Deutsche Bank, Berlin W. 8, Germany. The annual assessment will be 10 marks, or life membership 100 marks.

The Schopenhauer Society announces that it intends to publish all the collected works of Schopenhauer. The editor-in-chief is to be Prof. Paul Deussen. The works will be brought out in fourteen volumes, and the subscription prices for each volume will be: unbound, 6 marks; bound in linen, 8 marks; half-calf, 10 marks; and edition de luxe in Morocco, 28 marks. The price is decidedly high if compared to the cheaper editions in which Schopenhauer can now be had in the open market; but the editors promise that this edition will be unique by being supplied with notes of textual criticism based upon the private copy in which Schopenhauer copied his personal comments. This copy was lost and has only recently been discovered, which explains why it was not at the disposal of Greizebach and why Frauenstedt had used it only to a limited extent.

Willst du dich deines Werthes freuen;
So mußt du der Welt den Werth weisen.

in Erfolg und zum Andenken
mancher vertraulichen Gespräche

Weimar, d. 8 May 1874 Goethe

Mihi.
A.S.

The labor of the different volumes has been distributed among several scholars who will collaborate with the editor-in-chief, Professor Deussen. The price of each volume will be 12 marks higher in the book market than it is furnished to subscribers. The edition de luxe will be limited to 200 numbered copies, and while single volumes may be had of the other editions, subscribers must buy the whole set if they choose to buy a de luxe edition. Volumes VII, XII, and XIV are expected to be of special value because they contain much unpublished material. Volume XIV will discuss the most important contemporaries of Schopenhauer's works and thus will be indispensable for any one who makes a specialty of Schopenhauer in the interest of the history of philosophy.

The Schopenhauer-Gesellschaft published in its first annual a reproduction of one of Goethe's verses dedicated by the German poet to the pessimist philosopher Schopenhauer, and dated Weimar, May 8, 1814. It reads:

"Willst du dich deines Werthes freuen,
So mußt der Welt du Werth verleihen."

In this epigram Goethe has immortalized his critical view of Schopenhauer's pessimism. This is the sum total of his opinion of the badness of the world which he had discussed with Schopenhauer, in many confidential talks as Goethe himself says. The lines were written in consequence of these discussions as a souvenir for the philosopher. When this poem was published by Goethe's publisher, Cotta, in 1815, Schopenhauer wrote on the margin of his copy "*Mihi A. S.*," which means, "This verse was written especially for me."

No better answer could have been given to pessimism, no better criticism and no better comment could have been made upon it than is contained in this verse. We can very well imagine that Goethe was deeply impressed with the truth of Schopenhauer's views. There can be no question that the world is full of misery, and that at best "its strength is labor and sorrow." But after all the world as it is is the fact which we have to face and it is our business to make the best of it. The world to us is how we mold circumstances and what part we play in it, and thus the poet says:

"Thy worth, wouldst have it recognized?
Give to the world a worth that's prized."

The question is not whether the world is bad or good, but whether our life is worth the living, and if it is not in our power to change the constitution of the world it is our duty to acquire worth ourselves.

MISCELLANEOUS.

BUDDHIST OMISSIONS IN HASTINGS'S DICTIONARY OF RELIGION AND ETHICS.

BY ALBERT J. EDMUNDS.

Never before was there such an international and interreligious encyclopedia as this. Never before on the same leaf (see "Ages of the World") could the seeker for truth find the usual Christian claim made and contradicted. For in this remarkable article the Christian writer says that the Christian Age of Gold is in the future and the pagan age of gold in the past; while on the same leaf the great Buddhist scholar, Louis de la Vallée Poussin, gives the textual proof that Buddhism also has a future Age of Gold, when another Buddha shall appear.

But while the world's second great religion receives more justice than ever before in a Christian encyclopedia, there are still some grave omissions. Thus, in the article "Assumption and Ascension," there is no mention of the Buddhist Ascension story, which first saw the light, in English, in *The Open Court* for February, 1900, and has since been twice reprinted in a well-known work. (See also Strong's *Udāna*).

In the article "Councils and Synods, Buddhist," La Vallée Poussin, with all his vast learning, omits one of the keys to the whole situation, viz., the Great Council account of the first schism, translated for us by Samuel Beal in the Introduction to *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XIX.

Then again, the same valuable critic, in his article *Bodhisattva*, gives the volume of the London edition of the Majjhima Nikāya where the Canonical story of Buddha's birth may be found, but forgets that the English appeared in *The Open Court* in August, 1898, reprinted as before.

Finally, Anesaki, in his splendid account of Buddhist Docetism (a doctrine supposed to be wholly Christian before 1902) refers to Kathāvatthu XVIII, I, which only specialists will understand, but omits to state where that passage is to be found in English, viz., in a book edited and published by the modest professor himself.

So far the letter D has been reached, but it is to be hoped that no more important Buddhist parallels or doctrines will be overlooked, and that the English sources, when available, will always be given.

BATTLE SCENES IN ANCIENT ART.

BY THE EDITOR.

Generally the idea prevails that art in its primitive shape represented human figures in action in a very stiff and crude way. This notion is based

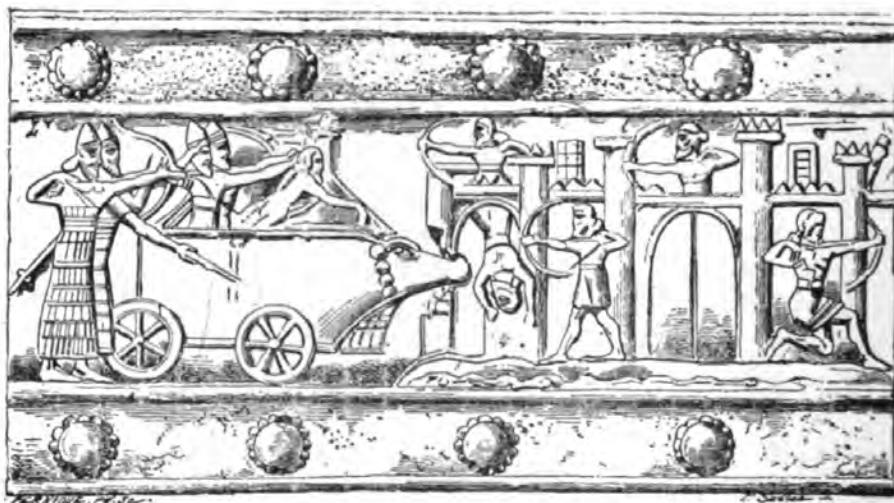


STELE OF NARAM-SIN.

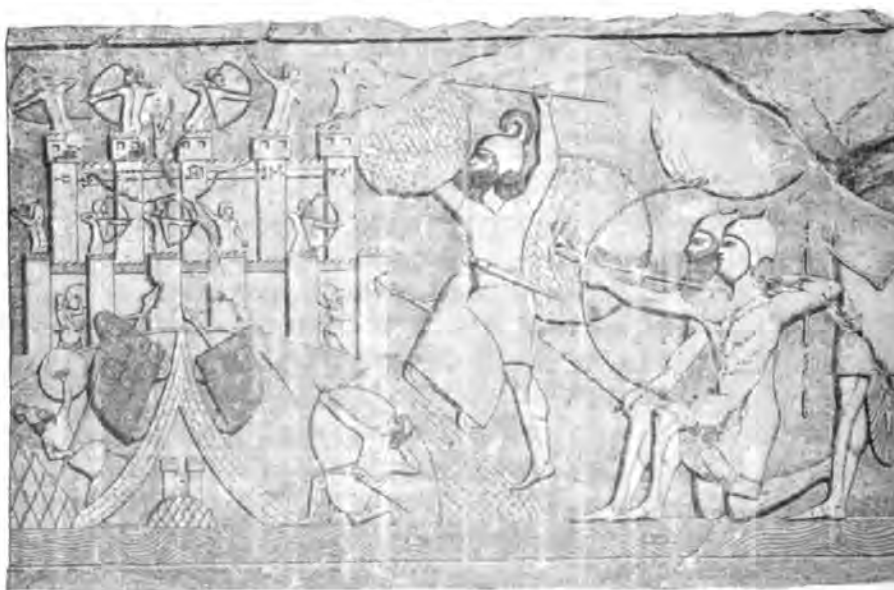
Found in the ruins of Susa, now in the Louvre.

on Egyptian sculpture as it is preserved in Egyptian monuments, and we assume that Greek artists had gradually freed themselves from this tradition imported into Greece from the valley of the Nile.

But such is not the case. We find in ancient Babylonian and Assyrian monuments a remarkable freedom in many human figures which comes out most boldly in battle scenes such as represented on Naram-Sin's stele of the



ASSYRIANS BATTERING A FORTRESS.
Delitzsch, *Babel and Bible*, Fig. 10.



ASSYRIAN BOWMEN AND SPEARMEN ATTACKING A FORTRESS.
Delitzsch, *Babel and Bible*, Fig. 13.

fourth millennium B. C. (See the article "Naram-Sin's Stele" in *The Open Court*, XVIII, 563) and also in other monuments representing the defence of beleaguered cities. But it seems that these Babylonian monuments have



ASURNAZIRPAL IN BATTLE.
Original in the British Museum. Photograph by Mansell. *Babel and Bible*, Fig. 100.

been eclipsed by Greek artists at the time when the technique of the sculptor was not as yet developed and the human figure was still represented in slim outlines. We here reproduce from Perrot and Chipiez illustrations which picture such battle scenes by the hand of prehistoric Greek artists. The



A PREHISTORIC BESIEGED CITY.

Fragment of chased silver from a tomb in the Acropolis of Mycenae.



CARVED GEM FROM A MYCENAEAN GRAVE.

larger one of the two, a relief, exhibits the defence of a beleaguered city, while the smaller one, a gem, shows a valiant fight of four men at the moment of a most vigorous onslaught. These attest the artistic promise of a nation that at the beginning of civilization could produce such works of art.

THE CAUSE OF ISLAM.

The world of Islam forms a more solidary unit than is commonly known in Christian lands. The fellow-feeling among Moslems is very strong and as an instance we cite a recent number of *The Islamic Fraternity*, a periodical published in Japan as an organ of the Mussulmans living in Japan, in which the editor publishes a report of a mass meeting held at *Kabul*, the capital of Afghanistan in the presence of His Majesty Ameer Habibullah khan. The ruler of "the God-granted kingdom" addressed his subjects in an animated speech in behalf of the Moslem brethren in Tripoli who are heroically defending their hearths, their home and their religion. He denounced the unrighteousness of the Italian aggressors and exhorted his people to show their sympathy in large contributions for the martyr-heroes of their faith. He expressed regret that geographical conditions and the great distance prevented him from taking an active part in the war and sending his valiant warriors to aid in the cause of Islam.

We have published in former numbers the position of the Italian invaders who claim to fight for civilization and righteousness and wish to show here our impartiality by pointing out that there is another side of the question.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

THE ESSENTIALS OF PSYCHOLOGY. By *W. B. Pillsbury*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1911. Pp. 358. Price \$1.25 net.

The author makes no special claim of originality in furnishing a new textbook on psychology. Whatever differences may mark it as distinct from others of its class, Professor Pillsbury has set forth in the first paragraph of his preface as follows:

"The aim of this volume is to present clearly the accepted facts of psychology. Throughout, emphasis has been placed upon fact rather than theory. Where theories conflict, the better one has been chosen, the others merely neglected. This may seem dogmatic in places, but in a text dogmatism is preferable to confusion. The point of view is on the whole functional; more attention is given to what mind does than to what it is. With this goes an emphasis upon the outward manifestations of consciousness and upon the behavior of others to the subordination of the individual consciousness. Nevertheless, use is made of the results of structural psychology wherever they throw light upon function or are interesting for themselves. The position, it is hoped, combines the advantages of the rival schools." p

THE DOCTRINE OF CREATION. By *C. M. Walsh*. London: Fisher Unwin, 1910. Pp. 160. Price 3s. 6d. net.

Without chapter headings, table of contents or index, without even a secondary title or preface, it is difficult to gain an adequate idea of the purpose and scope of this book without a careful and consecutive perusal which we cannot give it at this time. On a cursory examination it seems to attempt an historical investigation of the subject. The author's conclusions are summed up on the last page as follows:

"The doctrine of creation from nothing is not a revelation, and has been taken for such only by a misinterpretation consequent upon faulty translation of the opening passage of Genesis. . . . Those who are not trinitarians may rest with the conviction that the proof of either the creation or the emanation of matter (and of soul too) is beyond our reach, and that we need not try to decide between which is not of importance for our salvation, or for any other purpose, and between which, in fact, there is at bottom no great difference." p

CHRIST'S SOCIAL REMEDIES. By *Harry Earl Montgomery*. New York: Putnam, 1911. Pp. 433.

This book emphasizes the practical value of Christ's teachings as applied to the various social and industrial problems which confront us to-day. While attempting in some degree to present remedies for current evils, the author does so in the spirit just indicated instead of following the teachings of economic or philosophical schools. The subjects discussed as indicated in the titles of the chapters are as follows: Responsibility of Citizenship; Was Christ an Anarchist?; Was Christ a Socialist?; The Kingdom of God; Non-Resistance; Marriage and Divorce; Crime and the Criminal; Wealth; Labor; Sunday Observance; International Controversies; Social Reconstruction. The

author belongs to a law firm in Buffalo and writes for the laity from the layman's point of view. P

A COSMIC VIEW OF GOD AND MAN. By *J. Stirling Miller*. Glasgow: Chattworth & Company. Pp. 267. Price 3s. 6d. post paid.

This "contribution towards the science of religion" distinguishes man from brute creation by defining him as "creative energy." The author believes in the fundamental truth of the laws of conservation of energy and of the survival of the fittest and is convinced there is a personality behind the evolutionary creation of the universe as surely as there must be a personality behind the invention of the telephone. He does not believe that man is a creature created by God, but is himself a creator begotten of God his Father. He agrees with Haeckel, that "Man's physique, its life and faculties, are fundamentally the same as that of the ape, from whom man derived them," but does not think it follows that "therefore mechanical evolution is established as the sole factor in cosmic history." P

Professor Royce has published a collection of essays on a variety of subjects which he has collected under the name "William James and Other Essays on the Philosophy of Life" (New York, Macmillan, 1911; price \$1.50). He says concerning them in the preface:

"The final discourse on 'Immortality' approaches the familiar problem in a fashion different from that chosen for the purposes of my Ingersoll lecture on the same topic (published by the Riverside Press in 1900), and thus forms a sort of supplement to the Ingersoll lecture. The present way of dealing with the concept of immortality also gives me the opportunity to sketch anew some of my general idealistic theses, and incidentally to repudiate the frequent and groundless assertion that my own form of idealism regards time as 'unreal,' or the absolute as 'timeless,' or the universe as a 'block'....I have ventured to make the honored name of William James part of my title. The first essay is a tribute to his memory. The others show, I hope, that, if I can oppose his views, I owe to him, as teacher, and as dear friend, an unfailing inspiration, far greater than he ever knew, or than I can well put into words." K

Dr. C. D. Spivak and Sol. Bloomgarden have published in a handy volume of 340 pages a *Yiddish Dictionary* which explains Hebrew words in Yiddish. The original title reads:

איריש ווערטערבוך

The introduction (pp. V-XI) is followed by some indispensable comments on the Hebrew words which are used in Yiddish (p. VII ff.), and by other explanations on Yiddish grammar. The book is published by the Yehoash Society, 85 Canal Street, New York City. For people who take an interest in Yiddish we will state that any German who is familiar with the Hebrew alphabet can puzzle out the meaning of Yiddish, for Yiddish is actually German, as spoken by the Polish and Russian Jews. It is interesting to notice how certain odd pronunciations have here become fixed, and so we can see that even dialects have their own rights to determine what is correct. The spelling appears at first sight ponderous to a German but one grows quickly accustomed to its queer formations.



PORTRAIT OF GOETHE.
After a painting by H. Kolbe.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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MENTALITY OF NATIONS.

IN CONNECTION WITH PATHO-SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

BY ARTHUR MACDONALD.

THE general purpose of this article is a comparison between States of the Union and of different countries as to education and diffusion of knowledge, and to determine what relation, if any, intellectual conditions may have to patho-social and other conditions in those countries.

The countries selected are those in which data could best be obtained, except in the case of Russia. The official statistics upon which this article is based are for the year 1908, or as near that date as possible. It was frequently necessary to work the original data over again into other forms, so that the tables, especially for European countries, are entirely new.

It would carry us far beyond the limits of this inquiry to give the official statistics of the different countries of the world, showing that with few exceptions there has been within the last thirty to forty years a general increase, relative to population, of crime, suicide, insanity and other forms of abnormality.¹

Similar statistics also indicate within the same period, a great increase, relative to population, in education and in diffusion of knowledge. Likewise there seems to have been a still greater increase in business and commercial activities, resulting in a great accumulation of wealth and, unfortunately, among all classes an abnormal desire for material things which wealth can bring.

¹ See the author's *Man and Abnormal Man*, pp. 439 to 550. This book (780 pages) and its companion *Juvenile Crime and Reformation* (330 pages) are Congressional documents and may be obtained through any United States Senator or Representative.

In general, the world has been growing fast in almost all forms of activity, both good and bad, relative to population, but whether the good has increased faster than the bad, statistics are not as yet adequate to decide.

MENTALITY.

The word "mentality" is here used in the sense of diffusion of education, knowledge or information throughout the population as a whole. While the term "education" includes "knowledge," it also embraces training and development of the intellectual faculties, as carried on in school, college and university. The knowledge acquired in these institutions is of a more systematic nature than that which is understood as general knowledge or information.

In treating of the mentality of a community or country, there is no intention to determine which produces the greatest men, best books, or highest intelligence. To make such a study would require a comparative and historical estimate of the men of genius, the literature, art, architecture, etc. of each country. The purpose here is to estimate in a general way the diffusion of education and knowledge throughout the community, or country as a whole.

It is a general belief that the number of great men or geniuses is much less than in former times. The cause of this may be that the mentality of nations, instead of being concentrated in a few extraordinary individuals, is now more distributed or diffused throughout the population, raising the general level of intellectual activity.

One cause of this may be the great increase in educational opportunities of modern times, tending to develop talent which otherwise might remain in a latent condition.

The educational status of a nation consists in the amount of literacy, number of teachers, and number of persons in its primary and secondary schools, and in its colleges and universities, relative to population. The status of knowledge may be indicated by the number of books, periodicals and newspapers relative to population. This knowledge may take two forms, one gained through books, the other through periodicals and newspapers. One is knowledge in general; the other consists more in current information.

The question may be asked, if a community or country leads another in literacy, diffusion of education and knowledge; if relative to its population, it has more pupils in school, more teachers, more students in colleges and universities, more books in its libraries to read, and more periodicals and newspapers to peruse, is not this

country or community as a whole, very probably better educated and more intelligent than the other country or community? While there are exceptions due to special conditions, we are disposed to answer this question in the affirmative.

EDUCATION AND KNOWLEDGE IN THE UNITED STATES.

Before comparing a few of the leading countries of Europe, we will consider the degree of diffusion of education and knowledge in the United States, as indicated in the following tables (1 and 2).

Table 1.

MENTALITY.						INFORMATION KNOWLEDGE.	
STATES.	EDUCATION.					INFORMATION KNOWLEDGE.	
	Per cent of Native white adult males not able to write (1900)	Per cent of School population (children 5-18 yrs. of age) enrolled, (1908)	Number of Teachers per 10,000 population (5 to 24 years of age) 1900.	No. of secondary students per 10,000 population (1909)	No. of students in higher education (1908) per 1000 population	No. of books in libraries per 100 population (1908)	No. of Newspapers and periodicals: No. of copies issued per capita (1900)
Column	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
North Atlantic	2.0	68.5	162	13.6	3.89	131	171
South Atlantic	11.5	64.8	93	6.7	13.19	58	30
South Central	11.1	64.7	83	5.8	2.23	15	26
North Central	2.9	71.6	174	14.4	4.54	60	95
Western	2.4	91.3	181	18.74	4.93	78	81
United States	4.9	69.3	140	11.7	3.75	72	93
Massachusetts	0.9	75.6	188	19.4	5.67	269	0.48
New York	1.8	66.8	164	14.3	3.50	120	0.33
Pennsylvania	2.5	65.1	137	10.2	4.32	73	0.56

Table I indicates in a general way the status of education and knowledge for the large groups of states.

In column 1 of the table is given the percentage of illiteracy among native whites; in column 2, of school population enrolled; in column 3, the relative number of teachers to population; in columns 4 and 5, the relative number of persons in high schools, colleges and universities to population.

Columns 6 and 7 refer to knowledge and information, one giving the books in libraries relative to population, and the other the number of copies of newspapers and periodicals issued per capita of population.

From examination of the table it will be seen that the Western and North Central States excel the other groups in diffusion of education. The groups rank in education as follows:

1. Western States;
2. North Central;
3. North Atlantic;
4. South Atlantic;
5. South Central.

It is true that the North Atlantic States have the least illiteracy, but the difference in their favor in this respect (Column 1) is not near so great as the differences in favor of the Western and North Central in other respects, as shown by Columns 2, 3, 4 and 5.

In regard to knowledge or information as indicated by the number of books, periodicals and newspapers (Columns 6 and 7) relative to population, the North Atlantic States are far in advance, the North Central and Western coming second and the South Atlantic and South Central following. The North Central excel the Western in issues of newspapers, and the Western excel the North Central in number of books in libraries. The rank then is as to knowledge:

1. North Atlantic,
2. Western and North Central,
3. South Atlantic,
4. South Central.

In general the groups excelling in diffusion of education excel also in diffusion of knowledge, with the exception of the North Atlantic, which are first in knowledge and third in education. Thus it may be true of communities as of individuals that those who have most education do not always possess the most knowledge. Many students take a college course on account of the benefit and help they may receive and not for love of knowledge. On the other hand, some deprived of early educational advantages have a thirst for knowledge, as indicated in the reading of many books.

For further comparison we will select three of the old and wealthy states, as Massachusetts, New York and Pennsylvania at bottom of Table I. It will be seen that Massachusetts excels in diffusion of education and knowledge except in knowledge of current events (Column 7) represented by newspapers and periodicals, in which New York (0.33) leads. Pennsylvania, as compared with New York, is inferior in all points except in diffusion of higher education. Further comparisons between individual states can be made by examining Table 2:

Table 2.

MENTALITY.							
STATES.	EDUCATION.					INFORMATION KNOWLEDGE.	
	Per cent of Native white adult males not able to write (1900)	Per cent of School population (children 5-18 yrs. of age) enrolled, (1908)	Number of Teachers per 10,000 population (5 to 24 years of age) 1900.	No. of secondary students per 10,000 population (1900)	No. of students in higher education (1908) per 1000 population	No. of books in libraries per 100 population (1908)	No. of Newspapers and periodicals: No. of copies issued per capita (1900)
Column	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Maine	3.1	79.2	259	16.6	3.58	147	0.27
New Hampshire	2.0	67.4	232	17.7	3.59	233	1.44
Vermont	4.1	79.7	265	17.6	3.34	172	1.60
Massachusetts	0.9	75.6	188	19.4	5.67	269	0.48
Rhode Island	2.0	65.3	156	15.4	2.89	201	2.32
Connecticut	1.0	77.3	182	14.3	4.60	225	1.50
New York	1.8	66.8	164	14.3	3.50	120	0.33
New Jersey	2.3	70.0	133	10.3	1.78	79	0.97
Pennsylvania	2.5	65.1	137	10.2	4.32	72	0.56
<i>South Atlantic:</i>							
Delaware	7.1	75.4	125	9.4	1.30	63	3.03
Maryland	5.1	65.0	130	8.0	4.45	103	2.66
District of Columbia . . . . .	.9	77.5	193	20.3	13.57	1111	0.72
Virginia	12.2	59.1	106	8.3	3.12	37	4.79
West Virginia	10.7	74.2	120	4.7	2.59	15	5.85
North Carolina	18.9	70.6	68	5.0	3.55	16	9.09
South Carolina	12.3	61.9	67	4.7	2.75	20	9.46
Georgia	11.8	60.4	80	5.7	2.33	15	2.51
Florida	8.3	65.7	99	6.3	0.74	11	3.65
<i>South Central:</i>							
Kentucky	14.3	60.0	90	5.2	2.58	21	2.55
Tennessee	14.1	71.3	82	7.2	2.30	20	1.22
Alabama	13.8	55.7	61	4.5	2.41	18	6.13
Mississippi	8.1	77.9	77	5.0	1.72	10	11.93
Louisiana	16.9	49.2	70	3.8	1.99	11	3.12
Texas	5.8	65.5	101	8.1	1.95	12	3.40
Arkansas	10.5	74.2	73	5.7	1.36	11	5.85
Oklahoma	2.7	63.1	103	3.6	2.29	6	4.22
<i>North Central:</i>							
Ohio	3.2	71.6	176	14.5	3.26	76	0.65
Indiana	4.4	69.1	158	16.5	5.26	48	1.69
Illinois	2.8	64.1	160	12.3	4.62	68	0.48
Michigan	2.4	74.2	167	15.4	5.54	76	1.38
Wisconsin	1.9	67.3	173	14.2	3.81	63	1.60
Minnesota	1.0	69.2	181	12.6	4.27	56	1.27
Iowa	1.6	81.8	251	19.8	5.37	58	1.76
Missouri	5.4	68.9	128	10.5	4.41	43	11.93
North Dakota	1.0	85.9	187	9.73	2.05	26	2.11
South Dakota	0.8	78.1	230	14.5	3.92	32	2.31
Nebraska	1.0	87.1	206	20.4	7.19	49	1.67
Kansas	1.7	79.6	182	16.8	4.81	49	1.89

Table 2 (Continued).

Column	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<i>Western:</i>							
Montana	0.8	71.1	152	7.6	1.76	72	1.92
Wyoming	0.8	83.3	142	6.0	0.94	51	2.49
Colorado	2.4	101.2	181	21.2	6.63	84	1.79
New Mexico	23.6	63.8	78	6.7	1.40	22	6.83
Arizona	4.5	69.5	108	8.4	1.78	30	2.67
Utah	1.2	76.4	136	16.6	3.43	40	3.06
Nevada	0.8	108.2	274	18.2	4.82	178	3.15
Idaho	1.1	111.0	138	14.9	2.22	27	3.97
Washington	0.5	121.1	189	25.3	5.50	57	1.71
Oregon	1.1	82.5	215	17.1	6.14	46	1.50
California	1.1	89.6	212	21.3	5.98	120	1.05

EUROPEAN NATIONS.

In Table 3 we have applied a method similar to that in the case of the United States, in estimating diffusion of education and knowledge in some of the leading European countries.

Column 1, Table 3, gives the relative amount of illiteracy among army and navy recruits. As these are mostly adults, they probably represent best the real amount of illiteracy. Column 6 gives the number of publications (relative to population) in the list of the Smithsonian Institution here in Washington. These publications are of the highest class, including journals issued by learned societies and governmental institutions.

Examining Table 3 it will be seen that Switzerland is much in advance of all the other countries in general diffusion of education and knowledge, and Russia is last. Italy also is very low in these respects. France shows a high degree (next to Switzerland) of diffusion in university education (81) and newspaper information (251). Germany shows the lowest degree of illiteracy and publishes the largest number of books, but not relative to its population. Denmark issues the largest number of books relative to population.

The United States, compared with European nations is next to highest (Switzerland) in number of newspapers issued, but next to lowest (Russia) in number of university students enrolled and books produced, relative to population.

COMPARISONS.

Since we are disposed often to estimate countries as to their mental status or literary production without reference to their population, we will compare the countries in Table 3 according to the absolute number of books, periodicals and newspapers published, as given in columns 7, 8 and 10.

and Belgium, we find a correspondingly low percentage of the population enrolled in the public schools and a relatively low percentage of newspapers published. But when we come to the number of university students enrolled, the correspondence fails as to Italy and Belgium, which have, relative to population, a larger number of university students than Germany or Great Britain. As to the number of books published relative to population, the correspondence fails in the case of Belgium which produces as many books as France (Column 5, Table 3) relative to its population. As to the Smithsonian list of publications, the correspondence fails in the case of Belgium, which is next to the highest (Column 6, Table 3).

If, now, the countries distinctly the least illiterate, as Germany, Switzerland and Denmark, are compared in respect to enrollment in schools or primary education, the correspondence fails in the case of Denmark, which is behind France, Great Britain and the Netherlands. There is no further correspondence of these three highly literate countries, in the other educational columns.

In brief, there appears to be but little necessary relation in these countries between degrees of education or amount of literary production. Thus, Italy with its great illiteracy, stands very high in university education. This is interesting in connection with the fact that Italy is doing some of the best work in sociology, which is suggestive in connection with the further fact that she stands next to the highest in production of sociological works, as indicated in Table 4, Column 6.

The United States has a large percentage of illiteracy, yet ranks highest in percentage of population enrolled in schools, but has the smallest number of university students. It has next to the largest number of newspapers, but produces next to the smallest number of books. Russia, about which data are more difficult to obtain, stands lowest in all respects relative to its population.

Different countries naturally do not classify books in the same way, and sometimes one country will include under one head publications that other nations would place under another subject, and hence results given in Table 4 must be taken in a general way.

In order to render the table more trustworthy, we have included two or more subjects under one head. For instance, under "History," both "Biography" and "Geography"; under "Literature," "Poetry," "Fiction," and "Drama," and under "Religion," "Theology." "Fiction" is both put by itself, and also combined with "Literature."

A few headings could not be classified nor combined with

others and were omitted so that the table is not complete, but the percentage for each subject given is, of course, not affected.

It may be interesting to note the kind of books some countries prefer, as shown in Table 4. Thus, France publishes relatively more medical works (10.5) than any other nation here mentioned. Italy is second (7.6) and Belgium third (5.6) in this subject. That is, the Latin nations seem more inclined to medical knowledge. Belgium publishes relatively the most law books, Denmark the fewest. United States, Denmark and Belgium lead in religious works. Denmark and France excel in literature, and Germany and Italy in educational works, and France in books on military science.

Table 4.

BOOK PRODUCTION—PER CENT FOR EACH SUBJECT.						
COUNTRY 1908	MEDICINE	LAW	PHILOS- OPHY	RELIGION	HISTORY	SOC.OL- OGY
Belgium.....	5.7	7.0	2.6	3.8	13.4	8.6
Denmark.....	3.7	1.1	1.2	9.6	....	...
France.....	10.5	6.3	2.1	7.3	17.3	6.4
Germany.....	5.8	10.0 ¹	2.3	8.4	9.0	10.0 ¹
United Kingdom..	3.1	2.6	...	9.5 ²	13.9	6.7
Italy.....	7.6	4.9	2.8	4.4	12.0	6.7
Netherlands.....	3.3	5.3	...	6.2	....	5.3
Russia.....	4.6	3.1	...	6.8	3.0	...
United States.....	3.6	9.9	1.9	8.8	14.7	5.9

COUNTRY 1908	LITERA- TURE	EDUCA- TION	ART	SCIENCE	MILITARY SCIENCE	FICTION
Belgium.....	17.3	3.8	6.2	7.0	1.1	...
Denmark.....	23.2	3.3	2.2	9.7	...	...
France.....	22.0	11.4	1.2	4.5	3.9	...
Germany.....	19.5	13.8	2.9	5.7	2.3	13.7 ⁵
United Kingdom..	18.4	6.4	...	11.8	...	2.6
Italy.....	14.1	13.1	2.6	5.8 ³	1.9	6.3
Netherlands.....	....	9.3	...	5.3 ³	...	...
Russia.....	10.2	7.9	...	2.5	...	...
United States.....	13.3	4.5	2.5	5.1	...	16.0

¹ Law and Political Science. — ² Religion and Philosophy. — ³ Science and Technology. — ⁴ Law and Administration. — ⁵ Belles Lettres.

SOCIOLOGICAL CONDITIONS.

In Table 5 are given some sociological data as to the several countries.

Russia, Germany and Italy show the highest birth rates (Column 1), but also high death rates (Column 3) and a high percentage of mortality of children under one year of age (Column 4).

Under the head of persons actively engaged in some occupation (Column 6), are excluded the infirm or those incapable of work. Women who have no regular occupation are excluded. Persons living on their money, or from rents, or who are pensioned, are also

excluded. The countries having more than the average of such active citizens are France, Italy, Switzerland and Germany. Russia, Netherlands and the United States show the lowest percentage of this class of citizens.

In number of still births (Column 2, Table 5), Italy, France, Belgium and United States show highest rate in order given.

England and the United States have the largest number of marriages (Column 5, Table 5).

There is a great difference as to number emigrating from their native country (Column 7). This occurs usually where density of population (Column 8) is considerable, though not in direct relation to the the degree of density. Italy, England and Belgium have the largest figures for emigration (Column 7).

Table 5.

SOCIOLOGICAL CONDITIONS.								
BASED UPON OFFICIAL REPORTS 1908	Number of births per 1,000 popula- tion	Number of still births per 100 births	Number of deaths per 1,000 popula- tion	Number of deaths under one year of age per 100 born	Number of mar- riages per 1,000 population	Per cent of popula- tion actively en- gaged in some oc- cupation in 1901	Number emigrating from Europe per 10,000 inhabitants	Number of inhabit- ants for every q. k. m.
COUNTRY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Belgium (1907)	25	4.3	15.7	13.2	8.02	46	24	227
Denmark	29	2.4	14.7	10.8 ^a	7.5	45	17	66
France (1905)	21	4.5	20.6	14.3	8.1	51	..	73
Germany	33	3.6	19.0	17.8	7.9	45 ^b	4	112
England and Wales..	26	..	14.7	12.1	14.3	44	74 ^c	215
Italy (1905)	32	4.5	21.9 ^d	15.6 ^e	7.7	50	183	113
Netherlands	30	3.9	15.0	10.3	7.3	38 ^f	5	154
Russia (1903)	47	..	29.4	27.2 ^g	8.7	25 ^h	..	6
Switzerland	27	3.2	16.2	10.8	7.8	47	10	80
United States	22	4.3	15.9	15.9	9.1	38	..	8

^a 1900.—^b 1907.—^c per 100 births.—^d 1904.—^e 1907.—^f 1899.—^g 1901.—^h 1897.—ⁱ 1900.—
^k United Kingdom.

PATHO-SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

In Table 6 are given figures (relative to population) of patho-social data, based upon official reports of the several countries.

The difficulties of comparing the statistics of crime and other social abnormalities in different countries is well known. This is due to difference of statistical methods, diversity of laws, variety of points of view as to not only what is crime, but as to different forms of crime and immorality.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, a few of the figures in Table

6 may be used for comparison in a general way as to murder (Column 2), suicide, (Column 7), illegitimacy (Column 8) and divorce (Column 9).

Italy exceeds the other countries in murders to an enormous extent, being nearly 8 for every 100,000 population, Belgium (0.71) and France (0.69), show relatively high figures for murder.

As to suicides (Column 7), Italy 6.9, England 7.4, and Netherlands 8.4, are very low, compared with Germany 22, France 22, and Denmark 20, per 100,000 inhabitants.

As to divorce, Italy is the lowest, 6, and the United States the highest, 86 per 100,000 inhabitants.

The Netherlands and Italy show the lowest percentage of illegitimacy, and France the highest (3.2). It will be noted that while Italy shows such a high percentage of the gravest form of crime (murder), it has the lowest percentage of illegitimacy and divorce, and a low figure for suicide, illustrating a tendency to change the forms of evil as distinguished from the amount of it.

Table 6.

PATHO-SOCIAL CONDITIONS.									
<div> <div>BASED UPON OFFICIAL REPORTS, 1908</div> <div>COUNTRY</div> </div>	CRIMINALITY				<div>Number of Insane in institutions per 100,- 000 inhabitants</div>	<div>Number of Paupers in institutions per 100,000 inhabitants</div>	<div>Number of Suicides per 100,000 popula- tion</div>	<div>Number of illegiti- mate births per 1000 population</div>	<div>Number of divorces and separations per 100,000 population</div>
	NUMBER CONVICTED PER 100,000 IN- HABITANTS								
	Crime in general	Murder or homicide	Theft	All offenses and crimes					
Column.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Belgium	715	0.71	114	2628	234	900	11	1.6	17
Denmark	258	0.30	76	....	...	...	20	...	25
France (1905)	501	0.69	156	1392	178	153	22	3.2	25
Germany	1240	0.13	152	199 ^m	22	...	22	2.9 ⁿ	21
England and Wales...	298 ^b	0.19	217 ^c	1699	356	221	7.4	...	22
Italy (1905)	1350	7.81	413	2562	...	3070 ^d	6.9 ^e	1.1	6
Netherlands	2701	0.12	...	....	187	2360 ^f	8.4 ^g	0.64	32
Russia (1903)	92	...	...	....	42 ^h	...	...	...	..
Switzerland	211	...	...	525 ⁱ	231 ^j	...	19	1.2	43
United States .....	...	...	...	....	256 ^k	101 ^m	18 ^e	...	86

^b all crimes known to police.—^c larcenies known to police.—^d known to police.—^e deaths from suicide.—^f number sent to prison, jail or workhouse.—^g number on January 1.—^h 1906.—ⁱ 1903.—^m 1901.—ⁿ 1907.—^o out-door relief included.—^p 1907.—^r 1899.

CORRESPONDENCE OF MENTAL AND PATHO-SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

Although correspondence between mental and patho-social conditions, or concomitant relations, does not necessarily indicate causal

connection, yet it is interesting to note a few instances. In general, those countries which have the greatest illiteracy, as Italy, Belgium and France (Table 3, Column 1), show the highest percentage of murder (Table 6, Column 2). They also have a high percentage of still births, death rate and death rate under one year of age (Table 5, Columns 2, 3, 4). Two of these countries, where the illiteracy is more pronounced, as in Italy and Belgium, show a low rate of suicide and divorce (Table 6, Columns 7 and 9).

On the other hand, the least illiterate countries, as Germany, Switzerland and Denmark (Table 3, Column 1) have a high rate of suicides (Table 6, Column 7).

[The reader is referred for sociological and patho-social data to the official reports of each country. See also the following works: *Annuaire de la Presse Française*, Paris, 1909; *Bibliographie de la France*, Paris, 1909; *Bibliographischer Monatsbericht*, Leipsic; *Bollettino delle pubblicazioni Italiane*, 1909; Brinkman's *Alphabetische List*; Bureau of Education, *Annual Report*, 1909, and *Report on Libraries*, 1908; *Bureau de la Presse*, St. Petersburg; *Cercle de la librairie*, Paris, 1909; *Handwörterbuch für Staatswissenschaften*, Jena, 1909; *La Belgique Artistique et Littéraire*, March, 1908; *Le Droit d'Auteur Lausanne*, December 15, 1909; *London Publishers' Circular*, 1909; *Meyers Konversations-Lexikon*, article "Zeitungen"; *Offizielles Adressbuch des deutschen Buchhandels*; *Publishers' Weekly*, New York, 1909; *Records of National Library*, Switzerland, 1908; *U. S. Census Statistics of Teachers*, 1905, Washington, D. C.]

THE LIFE OF GOETHE.*

BY THE EDITOR.

GOETHE began his great drama *Götz von Berlichingen* at the end of 1771; he finished it in 1772 and submitted it in manuscript to Herder, but when Herder called the poet's attention to its shortcomings Goethe recast the whole, mercilessly canceled long passages and introduced new material. In this revised shape he had it printed at his own expense in June 1773, because he could not find a publisher in Germany who would risk its publication.



JOHANN BERNHARD BASEDOW.

Many men of prominence had become interested in Goethe and visited him in his father's house. Among them must be mentioned first Johann Caspar Lavater (1741-1801), a pious pastor of Zürich, and Johann Bernhard Basedow, an educator of Hamburg. In company with these two men, both with outspoken theological interests, the young worldling, as Goethe called himself in a poem of that period, undertook a trip along the Rhine in the summer of 1774.

* The first instalment of this sketch appeared in the June number.

They visited Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi (1743-1819) on his estate at Pempelfort near Düsseldorf.

Lavater was a well-known pulpiteer and the founder of the study of physiognomy, a subject in which Goethe too was interested :



JOHANN KASPAR LAVATER.

After a water color by H. Lips in the K. K. Familien-Fideikommiss-Bibliothek.

and Basedow the founder of an educational institution called the Philanthropin. Jacobi had deep philosophical interests and regarded himself as a disciple of Spinoza, whose philosophy, however, he

accepted only so far as it could be made to agree with a childlike belief in God, for he was no less a faithful Christian than his friend Lavater. Goethe, an ardent admirer of Spinoza, differed from Jacobi on theism, but in spite of transient misunderstandings they remained good friends for the rest of their lives.

In October 1774 Klopstock, the author of the "Messiade" which corresponds to Milton's "Paradise Lost" and "Paradise Regained," called on Goethe,—a great distinction, as at that time he was the

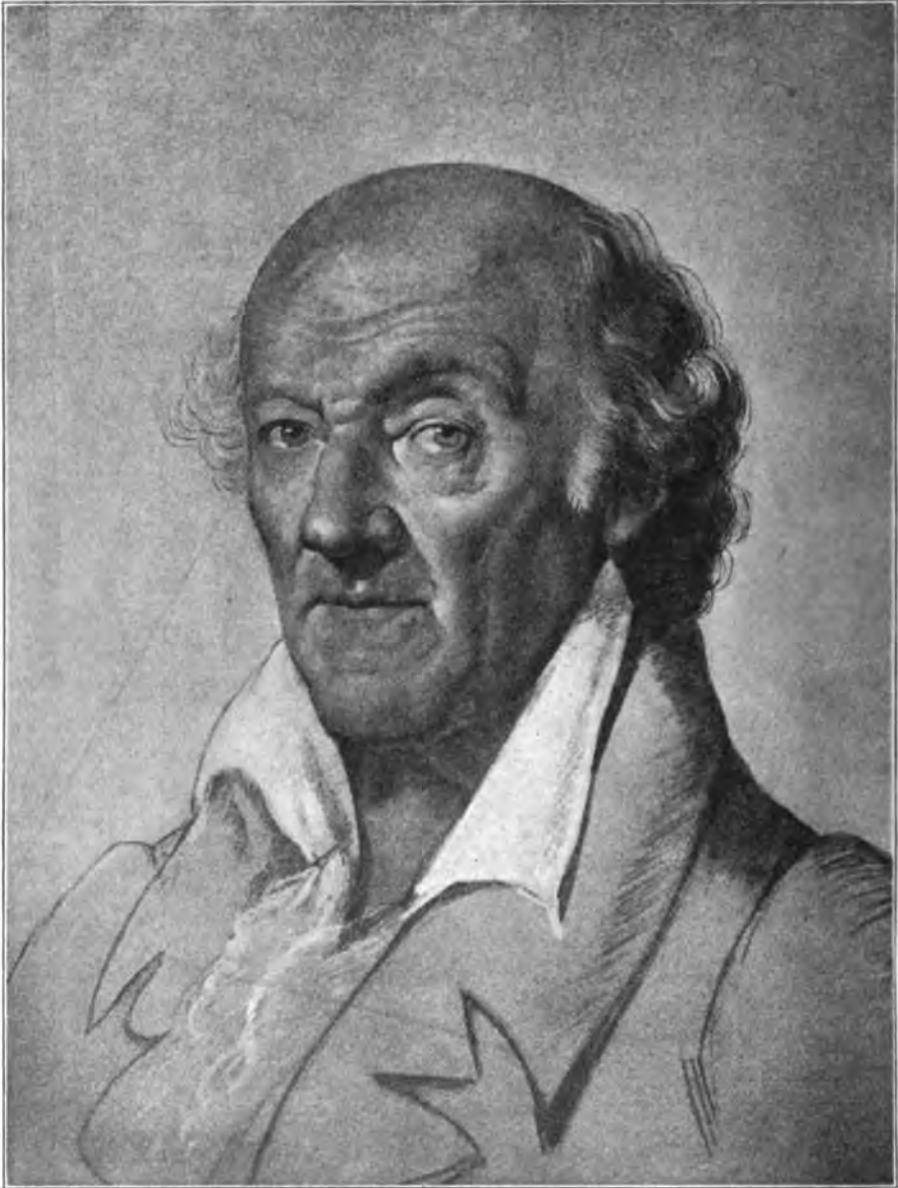


FRIEDRICH HEINRICH JACOBI.

greatest poet of Germany, but now when Goethe's fame has so far eclipsed that of Klopstock it is difficult to appreciate the fact.

By far the most important visit which Goethe received—important through its consequences—was that of Karl Ludwig von Knebel, tutor of Prince Constantine, the second son of the Duchess Dowager, Anna Amalia of Saxe-Weimar. He was accompanied by both princes, Karl August being at that time seventeen years of age. The duchess-mother, a noble woman of refined literary taste, the daughter of Duke Karl of Brunswick and of a sister of Frederick the Great, had called Wieland to Weimar from the University of

Erfurt to educate her oldest son Prince Karl August, the heir apparent to the duchy. When the Duke became of age, Wieland was



KARL LUDWIG VON KNEBEL.

Drawn by Schmeller, 1824. In his younger years tutor of the Duke.

made Court Councilor and lived for the remainder of his life on an estate near Weimar, where he died January 21, 1813.

In April 1775 occurred Goethe's brief engagement to Lili

Schoenemann, and we have a number of poems and songs of this period inspired by the acquaintance and dedicated to her.

In the summer of 1775 Goethe made a journey to Switzerland in company with the two counts Stolberg. In Zürich he visited his friends Jakob Bodmer and Lavater. The Stolberg brothers, Christian and Friedrich Leopold, were members of the Göttingen Fraternity of the Grove (*Hainbund*), an association of young poets, all admirers of Klopstock. Count Friedrich von Stolberg, following his mystic inclination and frightened away from liberalism through the French Revolution, became later on a convert to Roman Catholicism.



CHRISTIAN COUNT STOLBERG
After a painting by Gröger.



FRIEDRICH LEOPOLD COUNT
STOLBERG.
After a painting by Rincklacke.

Other visitors of distinction who sought the personal acquaintance of the new star that had risen on the horizon of German literature were Heinrich Christian Boie (1744-1806), the editor of the *Musen Almanach* (1770-1775), and of the *Göttinger Deutsche Museum* (1776-1791),² Gerstenberg (1737-1823) the author of the bizarre story *Ugolino* and of other poetry, Johann Georg Zimmermann, Court Physician at Hanover, author of a book "On Solitude" (1756) and on "Experience in Medical Art" (1763).

² Since 1788 called *Neues Deutsches Museum*.

A center for literary activity in which Goethe and his friends (Merck, Lenz, Herder, Klinger, etc.) took an active part was the *Frankfurter Gelehrten-Anzeiger*, founded in 1772.

In 1774 Goethe published his tragedy *Clavigo*, which in 1775 was followed by a drama entitled "Stella."³ Neither of them are important and Goethe himself cared little for them. A farce, *Gods*,



CHRISTOPH MARTIN WIELAND.

Heroes and Wieland (1774), a criticism of Wieland, though just in substance, was too personal in its form and might better have been left unwritten. In praise of Wieland it may be stated that he did not retaliate, and recognized the greatness of the young Goethe without a grudge. The two poets were afterwards the best of friends, and Goethe learned from this experience moderation in his criticism.

Of great interest and remarkable for its wit is Goethe's satire on

³ *Stella* was changed in later years into a tragedy.

the higher criticism of the New Testament directed against Bahrdt.⁴ At the same time (1773-1774) his soul was stirred with plans of great works, such as Faust, Socrates, Prometheus, Ahasverus the Wandering Jew, and Mahomet, but only Faust reached completion



KARL AUGUST, DUKE OF SAXE WEIMAR.

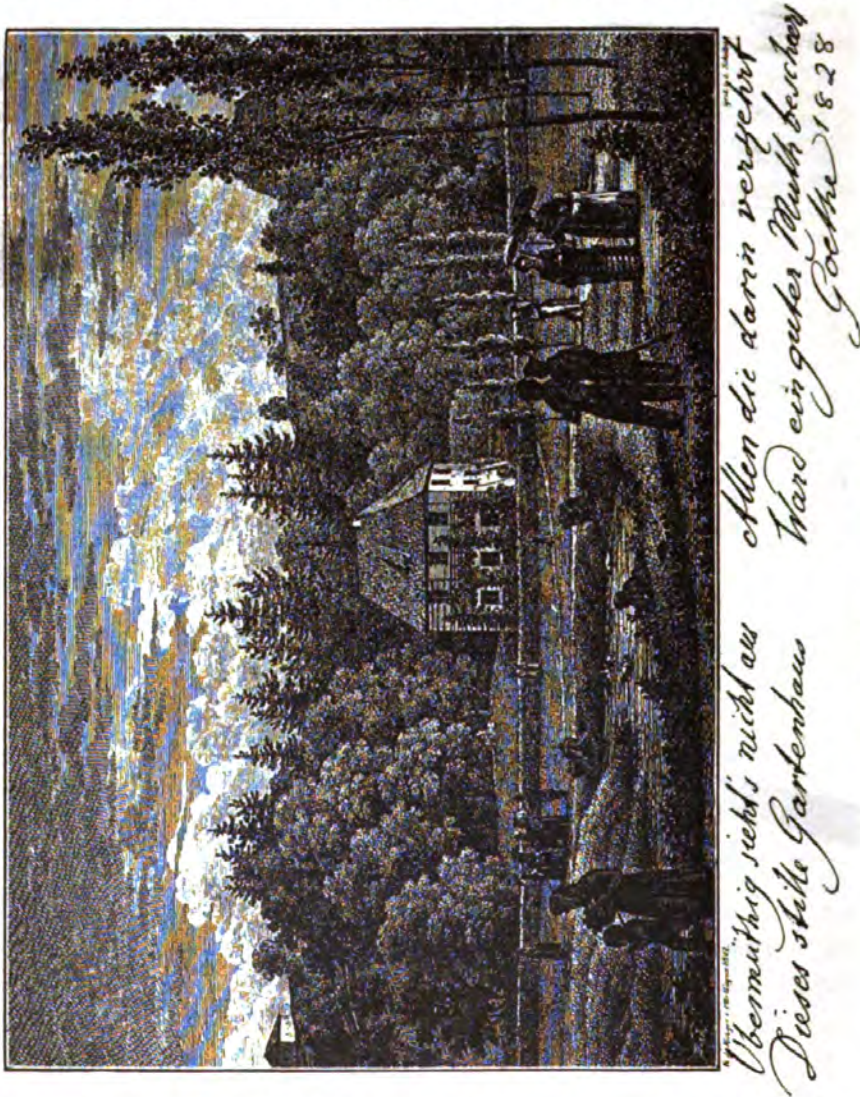
Drawing from life by Lips in 1780.

(though much later), while the other topics afforded him material for poems of great depth of thought in a smaller compass.

The young Duke Karl August, who having become of age had ascended the throne of Saxe-Weimar, called on Goethe in Frank-

⁴A translation of this satire was published in the article "Goethe and Criticism," *Open Court*, XXI, 301.

fort, and on his return after his marriage on October 3, 1775, to Louise, the daughter of the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, he invited the poet for a visit to his capital Weimar in Thuringia. The bride's mother, the Landgravine Catherine, had during her life surrounded herself with a literary circle and was a patron of German



GOETHE'S LITTLE COUNTRY HOUSE.
After a drawing by Otto Wagner, 1827.

poetry. She had died in 1774, but her daughter Louise had inherited her literary tastes, and in this she agreed with her noble mother-in-law, the Duchess Dowager Amalia, and also with her young husband, Duke Karl August of Weimar. The result was auspicious, for it made Weimar the center of the development of German literature.

Goethe reached Weimar in the autumn of 1775. He was received as a welcome guest, and the time was spent in festivals, journeys, outings, skating parties, rural dances and masquerades; and there was some danger that these pleasures would prove the ruin of Goethe's genius. It seemed as if the spirit of Storm and Stress had upset all Weimar, and Goethe himself felt that they had carried their wanton madness too far.

In April 1776 the Duke presented him with the little garden on the Ilm, a babbling brook which passes through Weimar. Here in 1778 he wrote his beautiful poem "To the Moon." In June Karl August added to his former gift an appointment in the govern-



GOETHE'S COAT OF ARMS.

ment of the small state with the title of Councilor and a salary of 1200 thalers. This was the beginning of his career in the Duke's service, and the city of Weimar remained his residence ever afterwards. In 1779 Goethe was made Privy Councilor and in 1782 Emperor Joseph II conferred upon him the rank of nobility with a coat of arms showing a silver star on a blue field.

Goethe's salary was increased in 1781 to 1400 thalers, in 1785 to 1600, and in 1816 to 3000 thalers per annum.

In 1777 Goethe began to take his duties seriously and tried to be of service to the Duke. Nor did he forget his literary interests, although for a while he was more receptive than productive.

To this period belong the several poems dedicated to Frau von

Stein, and also the beautiful songs incorporated in *Wilhelm Meister*, "He Only Who Knows Longing's Pain," and "Who Never Ate his Bread with Tears," besides the ballads "The Fisher," "The Singer," "Limits of Mankind" and "The Divine." New plans were conceived which gradually took a definite shape. Among them "Tasso," "Wilhelm Meister," "Egmont" and "Iphigenia in Tauris."

In 1779 Goethe made another journey to Switzerland, this time with the Duke in strict incognito. On his way he spent two days with his parents at Frankfort and paid a visit to Friederike at Sesenheim. At Strassburg he called on Lili Schöнемann, who was happily married and had just become the mother of a baby. At the Staubbach, one of the most beautiful cataracts, he composed the poem "Song of the Spirits Over the Water." On his return they passed through Constance, saw the falls of the Rhine, visited Stuttgart and attended a meeting of the scholars of the Württemberg Military Academy (December 14, 1779) which was in so far remarkable as on this day in Goethe's presence a prize was awarded to a youth who was destined to become his best and greatest friend. It was Friedrich Schiller.

January 13, 1780, Goethe returned to Weimar. He began his "Tasso," a drama in which two characters reflected the double part which Goethe himself was playing at the time, a poet and a diplomat or courtier. At the same time he was engaged in an elaborate novel, "Wilhelm Meister."

In 1782, on March 25, Goethe's father died.

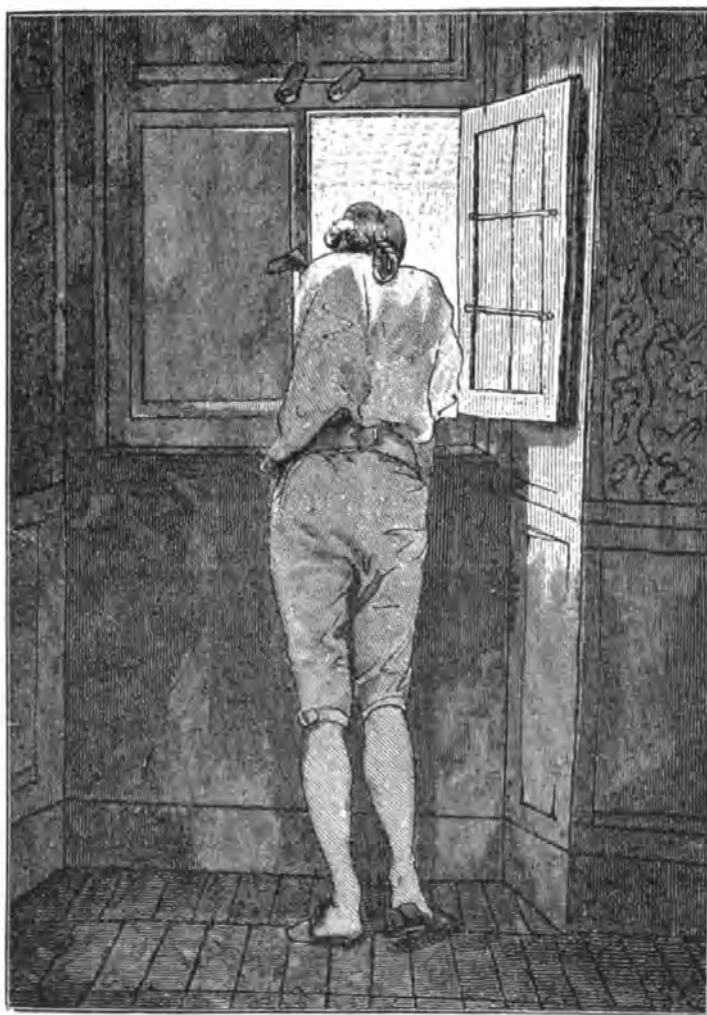
In 1785 Goethe visited Karlsbad, where he met Herder and also some of the ladies of Weimar, notably the Duchess Louise and Frau von Stein.

In July 1786 he revisited Karlsbad and left secretly for his beloved Italy in August, traveling under the name of Müller. He reached the country of his dreams in September and stayed there until April 1788.

The country and its traditions were so congenial to him that he felt "as if he had been born and raised there and had only come back to his home from an expedition to Greenland." In Rome he tarried twice, for he loved "the capital of the world" and declared that "there is but one Rome." He finished in Italy his versified version of "Iphigenia" and his "Egmont." He also worked diligently on "Tasso" and "Faust."

In Rome Goethe met an Italian copper engraver, Giovanni Volpato, who was director of a school of engraving. He was born 1733 at Bassano and died August 26, 1803. At the time Goethe

was staying at Rome a beautiful young Milanese girl, Maddalena Riggi, was visiting with friends there, and Goethe became acquainted with her in 1787 at Castle Candolfo while the guest of a wealthy English art dealer whose name was Jenkins. Goethe took a great fancy to this Italian beauty and immortalized her in a poem

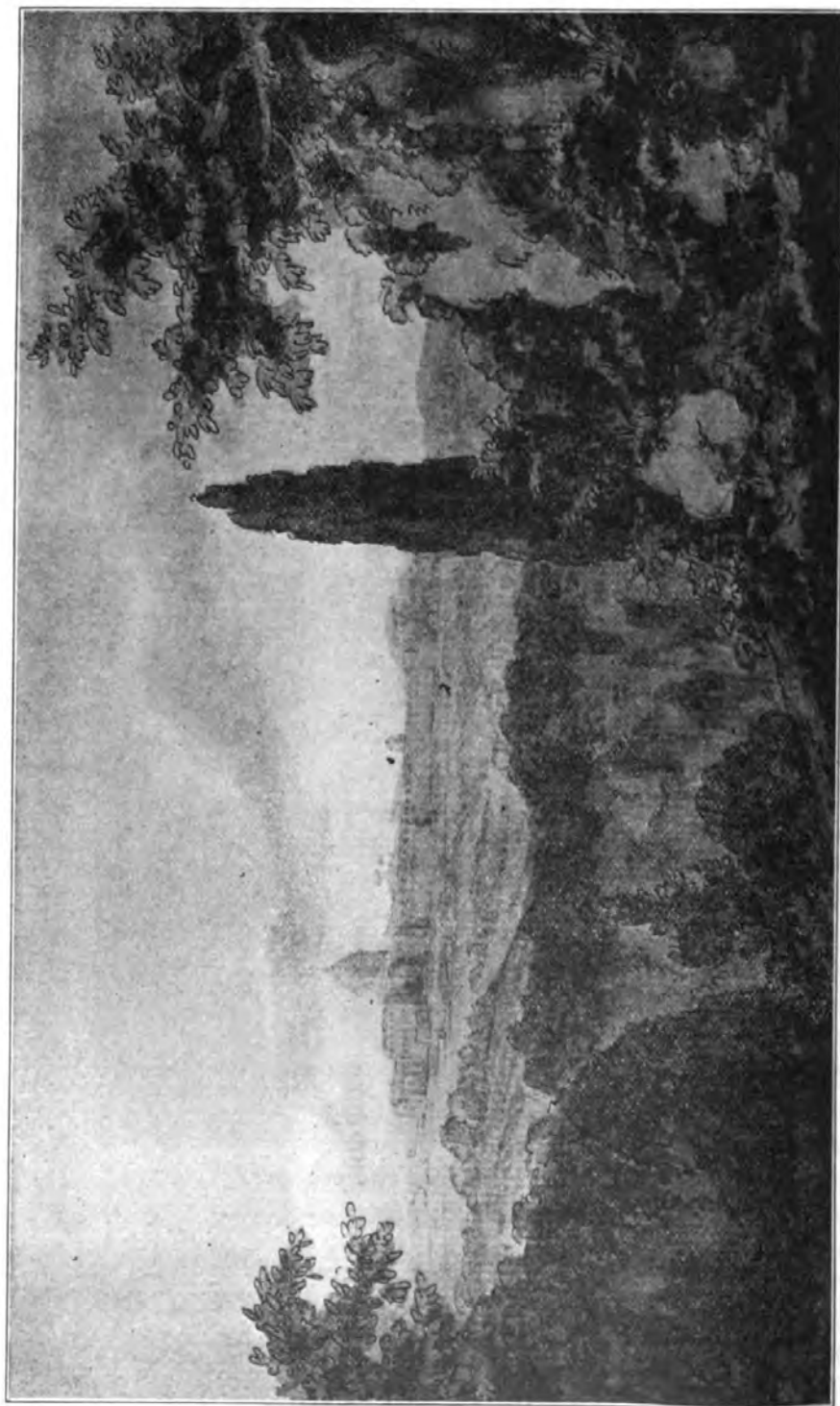


GOETHE IN ROME.

Drawing by Tischbein in 1787.

entitled "Second Sojourn in Rome." But this episode was of a passing nature, for Maddalena very soon afterwards, in 1788, married the son of Volpato, the engraver, and after his death she married the architect Francesco Finucci.

Among prominent Germans whom Goethe met in Rome must



VIEW OF ST. PETERS.
Sketched by Goethe.

be mentioned the famous artists, Angelica Kauffmann, Philipp Hackert, and Tischbein.

Goethe returned to Weimar on June 18, 1788, and it was in the same year that he met Christian August Vulpius, whose sister Christiana was for many years his faithful housekeeper. Vulpius was a poet of some talent. How popular he was as a playwright can be de-



MADDALENA RIGGI.

After a painting by Angelica Kauffmann.*

duced from the fact that his name appears in the repertoire 46 times against 20 times of Goethe's, but his dramas are forgotten and only his song of the robber Rinaldo Rinaldini survives, and even that only as a humorous specimen of antiquated taste.

On Christmas day, 1789, Goethe's only son was born, and in

* There are two copies in existence, one in the possession of Dr. Werner Weisbach of Berlin, the other of Rudolf Rieter-Ziegler of Winterthur.

baptism received the name August after his godfather, the Duke Karl August.



CHRISTIAN AUGUST VULPIUS.

1762-1827. Brother of Christiana Vulpius and Goethe's brother-in-law.

In the spring of 1790 Goethe traveled to Venice where he met the Duchess Amalia on her homeward way from Italy. In the fall he accompanied the Duke to Silesia.

In the same year he wrote his poem "The Metamorphosis of Plants" in illustration of the doctrine of evolution.



AUGUST VON GOETHE.

Crayon drawing by Schmeller. Original in the Goethe National Museum at Weimar.

In 1791 Goethe helped the Duke build the new theater of Weimar of which on its completion he was made director.

In August 1792 Goethe accompanied the Duke on his campaign in the Ardennes against the French revolutionists. In 1793 both attended the siege of Mayence. In the same year Goethe began to rewrite the old German epic "Reynard, the Fox," the "unholy secular Bible" as he called it, because it describes the ways of the world in which the scoundrel triumphs by dint of his shrewdness.

In the meantime Schiller had settled in Jena, so close to Weimar, as professor of history. The two greatest poets of Germany had thus lived in close proximity for several years, but remained indifferent toward each other until now in the spring of 1794 Goethe felt more and more attracted by his younger rival, and their friend-



OLD THEATER IN WEIMAR.

ship became a source of inspiration to both. Buoyed by Schiller's interest, Goethe quickly completed his novel "Wilhelm Meister" and the epic "Hermann and Dorothea."

In 1795 Schiller started a literary periodical, *Die Horen*, and in 1796 the *Musen-Almanach*. The former proved disappointing in spite of a good beginning; the latter was more successful and contained a great number of poems by both Goethe and Schiller. Goethe published here for the first time his "Epigrams of Venice," "Alexis and Doris, an Idyl," and his satire, "The Muses and the Graces in the Mark." However, the climax of an excitement in the literary circles of Germany was reached when the Xenions appeared in the *Musen-Almanach*, satirical distichs in which the two poets

attacked their several adversaries with great bitterness.⁵ They were answered in many Antixenions with the same or even greater bitterness, but instead of continuing the feud Goethe and Schiller decided to justify their position by henceforth creating only noble works of art.

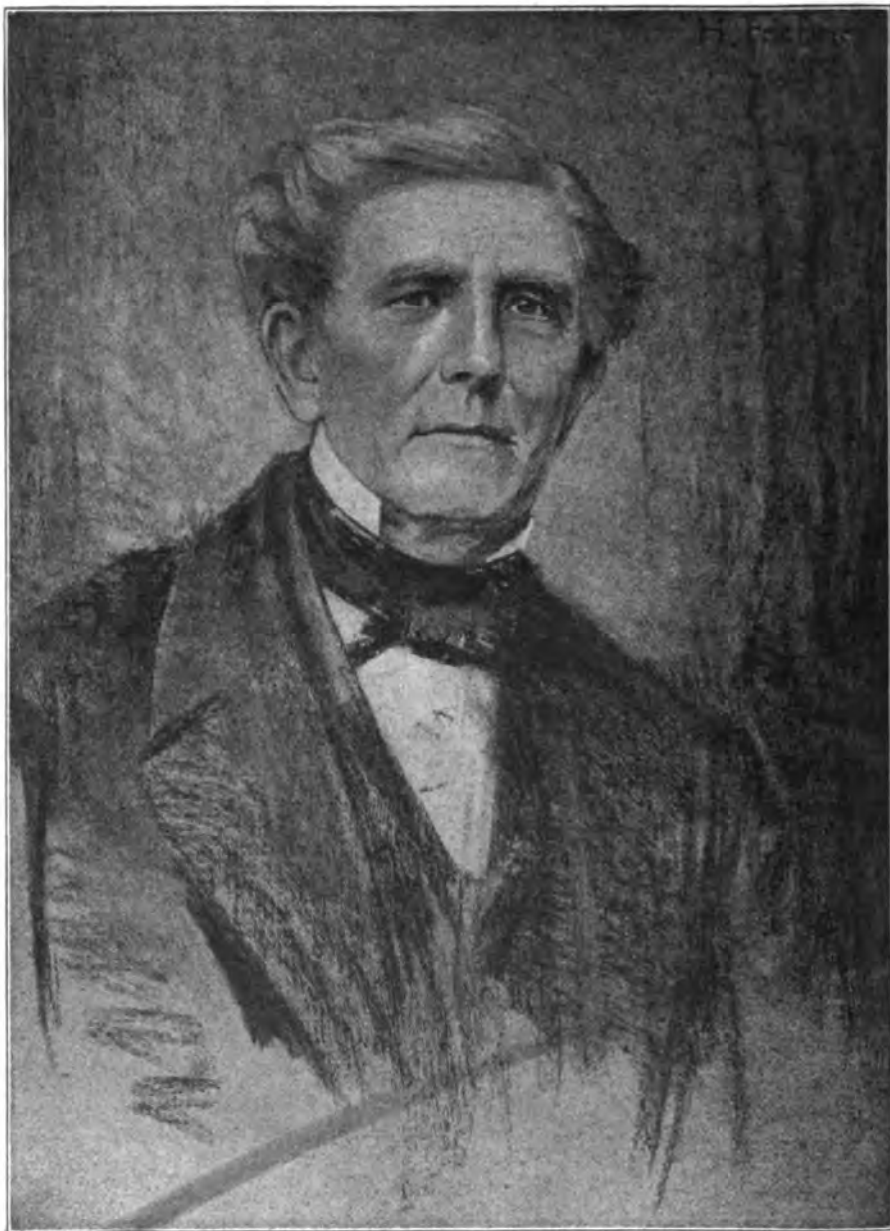


FRANZ SCHUBERT.

The year 1797 was the year of ballads for both Goethe and Schiller. Goethe wrote, "The Disciple in Magic," "The Bride of Corinth," "The Treasure Digger," "The God and the Bajadere," and others.

⁵ The writer has published a selection of them under the title *Goethe and Schiller's Xenions*, Chicago: Open Court Publishing Company, 1896.

Goethe's poems with all their simplicity in diction are so filled with sentiment that they naturally invite the composer to set them

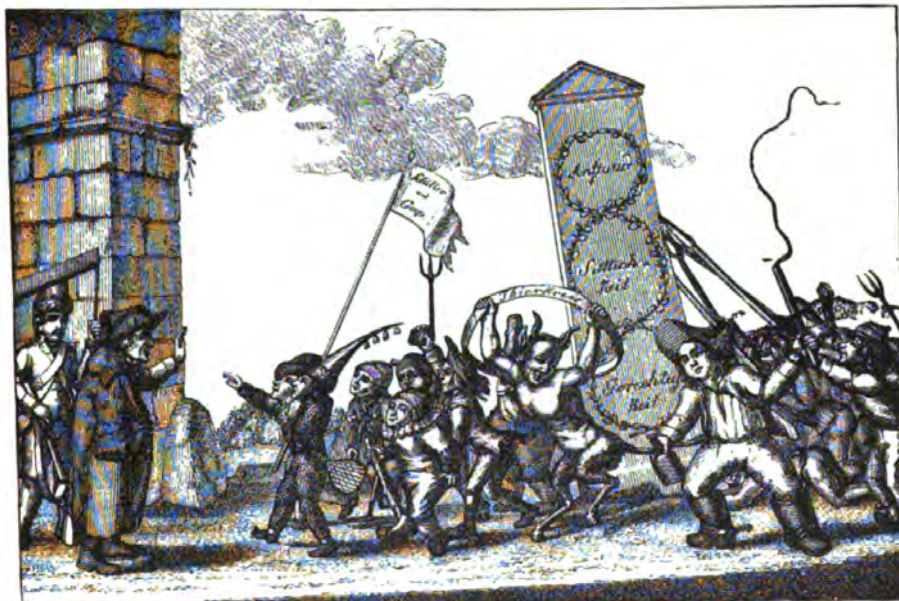


KARL LOEWE.

to music. His devoted friend Zelter was always ready to write the music of his songs, and his melodies are very singable, but he was eclipsed in his task by others, especially by Franz Schubert,

the master of lyric composition, and by Karl Loewe, the greatest composer of ballads. It will be interesting to compare Schubert's composition of Goethe's *Erlkönig* with that of Loewe, both different in style and yet each one in its way unsurpassed.

In 1798 Goethe revisited Switzerland. On his way he saw his mother at Frankfort for the last time, and presented to her Christiana Vulpius and his son.



*"Himmel! was kommt da für ein Gefindel?— Halt, Passagiere!—
Keiner passirt mir durch, eh' er den Paß mir gezeigt."*

SCHILLER AND GOETHE RIDICULED.*

During the following years Schiller's star rose and threatened to eclipse Goethe's genius, for Goethe was then not productive. He was engaged in scientific and archeological labors and translations. He wrote some discussions on classical art, "The Doctrine of Color" and "Winckelmann and his Century," and translated Voltaire's "Mahomet and Tancred" and his drama "The Natural Daughter."

* A caricature made in answer to their Xenions. It shows a pageant of burlesque figures representing the Xenions as unruly street urchins who upset a column bearing the inscription "Decency, Morality, Justice." They are stopped at the gate because they do not deserve admittance. Goethe is represented as a faun, hooved and tailed, carrying a ribbon in his hand inscribed *Tierkreis*, i. e., zodiac; Schiller is represented as a drunken coachman with boots, whip and bottle. The portraits of both Schiller and Goethe are supposed to be very good and easily recognizable by people who knew the poets at that time. Nevertheless they are not based on any known portraits and are therefore assumed to be taken from life.

The adversaries of Schiller and Goethe tried to make use of the changed situation and Kotzebue glorified Schiller at the cost of Goethe in an attempt to sow enmity between the two, but in vain. Goethe remained firm in his friendship and showed no sign of envy. On the contrary he felt the more attracted to Schiller because he found more reason to admire him.

As a tutor for his son, Goethe engaged in 1803 a young man who had already made a name for himself as a Greek lexicographer,



THE GOETHE TABLE IN SCHILLER'S GARDEN.

Where the friends often conversed together.

Friedrich Wilhelm Riemer (1774-1845). The young scholar soon became a useful helpmate for the literary work of his pupil's father and continued so beyond the end of the great poet's life as a redactor of his collected works and posthumous papers.

In 1805 Goethe was in poor health, and Schiller too was ill. Goethe was convinced that one of the two would die in that year. Schiller seemed to recover and visited Goethe in his sick room

On April 19 they saw each other for the last time. Schiller was on the way to the theater while Goethe was too ill to accompany him. They parted at the door of Schiller's house.

Goethe recovered. Destiny granted him another lease of life, but Schiller died May 9, 1805.



CHRISTIANA VULPIUS AND AUGUST VON GOETHE.

Water-color by Heinrich Meyer made either in 1792 or 1793, imitating the attitude and coloring of Raphael's *Madonna della sedia*. The very youthful mother is dressed in violet and the child in light green.

Goethe missed his friend very much and expressed his admiration for him in a memorial poem. He sought comfort in solitude and in scientific work, devoting much of his time to the theory of color.

On October 14, 1806, the battle of Jena was fought in the neighborhood of Weimar. French troops took possession of Wei-

mar, and the quiet town suffered much for a few days from plunder, incendiarism and murder. The life of Goethe himself was once endangered by drunken marauders, but Christiana Vulpius saved him by her heroic interference and by resolutely showing the rude



FRIEDRICH WILHELM RIEMER.

intruders the door. On the 19th of the same month Goethe married her, and so Christiana became Frau Geheimerath Goethe with all the rights of a legitimate wife.

Madame Goethe was not welcomed socially in the homes of Weimar, nor was her presence deemed desirable at court. The first

lady who received her was Johanna Schopenhauer, the mother of the famous pessimist. She had just moved to Weimar in 1806 after the death of her husband, a banker of Danzig. Johanna Schopenhauer was at the time a popular author, while her son the philosopher was almost unknown. Goethe, however, prophesied that the gloomy young thinker would sometime grow above the heads of his con-



CHRISTIANA VULPIUS.

Since 1806 Goethe's wife. After a crayon by F. Bury, 1800.

temporaries, and the **latter**, conscious of his own importance, said to his **mother in** a dispute about the worth of their respective writings, that his works, then ignored, would be read when her novels would moulder in the attic as waste paper.

In 1807 Goethe lost one of his noblest and most loyal friends in the person of the Duchess Dowager Amalia, who died April 10.

It was just at this time that Goethe met Bettina Brentano who

later greatly misrepresented him in her "Goethe's Correspondence with a Child."⁶

The year 1808 had another sad bereavement in store for Goethe, for his mother died on September 13.

At this time the Congress of Erfurt was in session and Goethe accompanied the Duke on that important occasion. On October 2



GOETHE IN 1800.
After a crayon by F. Bury.

he had a personal interview with Napoleon which was pleasing to both men, both great and yet so different in their talents and destinies. Napoleon said of Goethe, "*Voilà un homme!*" and Goethe was overawed by the extraordinary power of this successful conqueror who had then reached the zenith of his glory. He believed in genius, and in Napoleon he saw the incarnation of military and

⁶ See "Goethe's Relation to Women," *Open Court*, Feb. 1912, pp. 108-110.

diplomatic greatness. When a few years afterwards the German people rose against Napoleon, Goethe did not believe it possible that he could be overthrown. He said: "Shake your chains! that man is too great, you can not break them." When a few years later in the War of Liberation his own son wanted to enter a battalion of volunteers, he refused to give his permission.



FRAU JOHANNA SCHOPENHAUER AND HER DAUGHTER ADELE.

Goethe was sufficiently German to rejoice in the German victory over the French conqueror, and even his admiration for the genius of the tyrant could not prevent him from taking an active part in the patriotic celebrations of the victory. He even went so far as to write verses for the purpose and praised Field Marshal Blücher for his successful campaign. It must be observed, how-

ever, that his patriotic poetry does not possess the genuine ring of the minor poets of his day, such men as Arndt and Koerner. It is



BETTINA VON ARNIM.

At an advanced age.

artificial and stilted. A play which he wrote in celebration of the victory under the title "The Awakening of Epimenides," was performed in Berlin on March 15, 1815, but it did not arouse any great

enthusiasm, and though perfect in form belongs to the weaker productions of his muse.

Nor did time change Goethe's appreciation of Napoleon himself. In fact after Napoleon's death he wrote a poem on the great conqueror which not only paid tribute to his manhood but also is remarkable for its delicate humor. It reads thus:

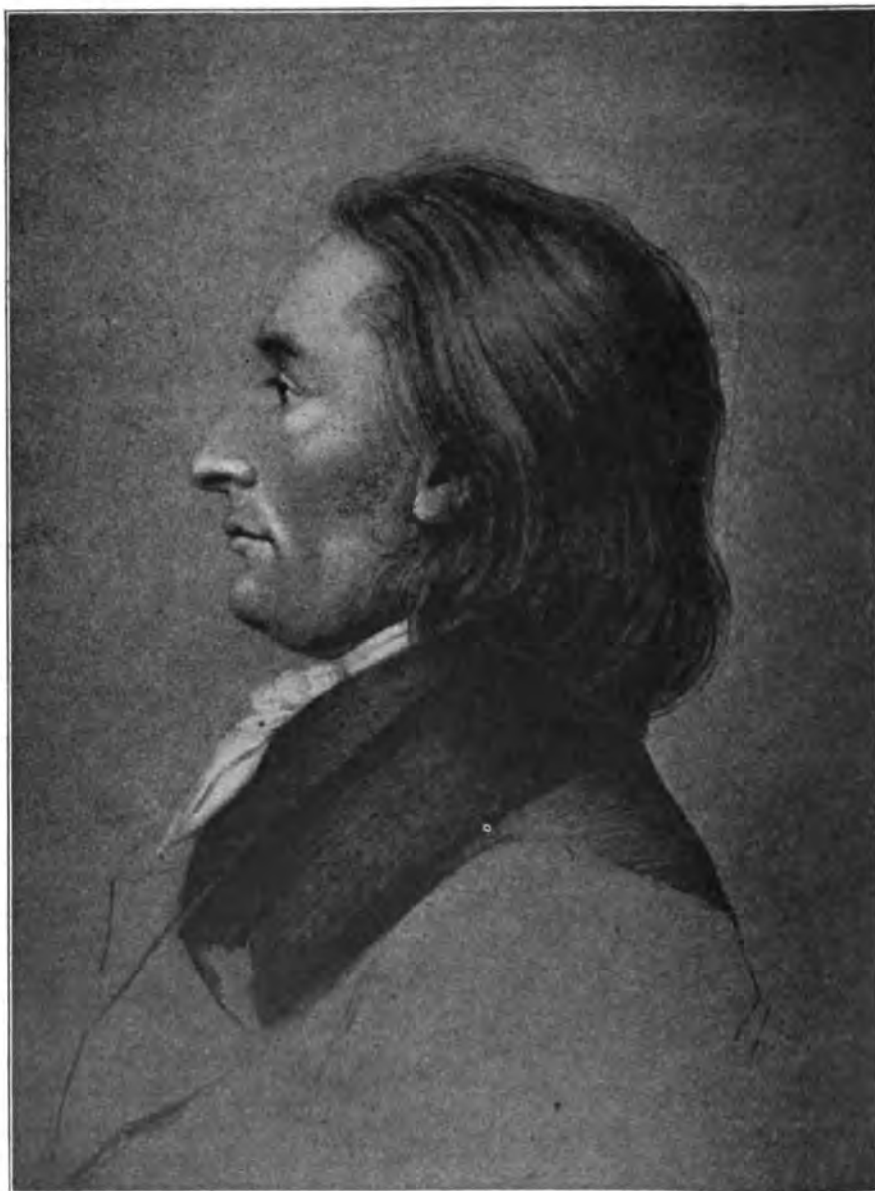
"At last before the good Lord's throne
At doomsday stood Napoleon.
The Devil had much fault to find
With him and with his kin and kind,
Of all his sins he had a list
On reading which he did insist.
Quoth God, the Father,—or the Son,
Perchance it was the Holy Ghost—
He was indignant innermost:
'I know it all, make no more stir!
You speak like a German professor, sir.
Still, if you dare to take him, well—
Then drag him down with you to hell.' "

In 1808 Goethe wrote his humorous poem on telepathy entitled "Effects at a Distance."

In 1809 he published his novel "Elective Affinities," the main character of which is thought to be founded on that of Minna Herzlieb, for whom Goethe felt a fatherly attachment in the preceding year. The book was widely read and though severely censured by many, proved that the aged poet was still capable of producing literary work of high merit.

During the time of the French invasion in 1808 Goethe finished his first part of *Faust*, which was published in 1808 under the title, "Faust, a Tragedy." Further he wrote a continuation of "Wilhelm Meister" under the title "Wilhelm Meister's Journey Years," and began his autobiography, the first instalment of which appeared in 1811. Originally he called it "Poetry and Truth," but when the work was completed he reversed it to read "Truth and Poetry." In the best known English translation the title reads *Truth and Fiction*. It has ever remained the most valuable key to a comprehension of Goethe, although the poet's biographers are often embarrassed by the unreliability of its dates and sundry contradictions to established facts. However we must bear in mind that Goethe does not mean us to take his story as a recapitulation of facts but as his recollection of facts as they lived in his imagination. Other smaller poems are "Johanna Sebus," "The Faithful Eckart," "The Wander-

ing Bell," "Ergo Bibamus," and "In Nothing Have I Placed My Trust."



JOHANN PETER ECKERMANN.

1792-1854. Original preserved in the Goethe National Museum at Weimar.

Goethe was too cosmopolitan to be a patriot. In 1812 he dedicated poems not only to the Emperor and Empress of Austria, but also to their daughter, the Empress Marie Louise, wife of Napoleon.

During the troublous times of the Napoleonic wars Goethe had devoted himself to Oriental studies which bore fruit in the "West-Eastern Divan" (1814-1815) a collection of poems in which the literary student believes that he finds a prototype of Suleika in Marianne von Willemer, Goethe's acquaintance with whom began at this time.



GOETHE DICTATING TO ECKERMANN.

After an oil painting by J. J. Schmeller in 1831.

On June 6, 1816, Goethe's wife, Christiana, died and he mourned her loss very sincerely.

In 1817 Goethe resigned his position as director of the theater.

In 1819 Goethe wrote his poem "The Metamorphosis of Animals," a companion piece to his "Metamorphosis of Plants," and he completed his arguments on the intermaxillary bone, the exist-

ence of which helped to establish the doctrine of evolution, so much discussed at that time in the circles of naturalists.⁷

After 1821 he was engaged with an edition of his complete



GOETHE'S SON AUGUST.

Medallion by Thorwaldsen, which the great Danish artist had finished a few days before August's death. It was attached to the pyramid of Sestius on August's tomb.

works in which he was assisted first by Riemer and afterwards by Eckermann.

In 1827 Johann Peter Eckermann (1792-1854) was introduced to Goethe and became his secretary who served him faithfully to the

⁷Goethe's comments on the intermaxillary bone of the upper jaw were written in 1784 and published in 1820. The enemies of the doctrine of the kinship of the several forms of life and their common origin (now called the theory of evolution) claimed that man had no intermaxillary bone such as is plainly traceable in animal skeletons. Goethe refuted this objection by pointing out that man possessed an intermaxillary bone, though it is difficult to trace the sutures.

very last. He is best known in German literature through the memoirs which he published under the title "Goethe's Talks with Eckermann."

Frau von Stein died in 1827, and the Duke, Goethe's patron and faithful friend, in June 1828. But the worst bereavement came in

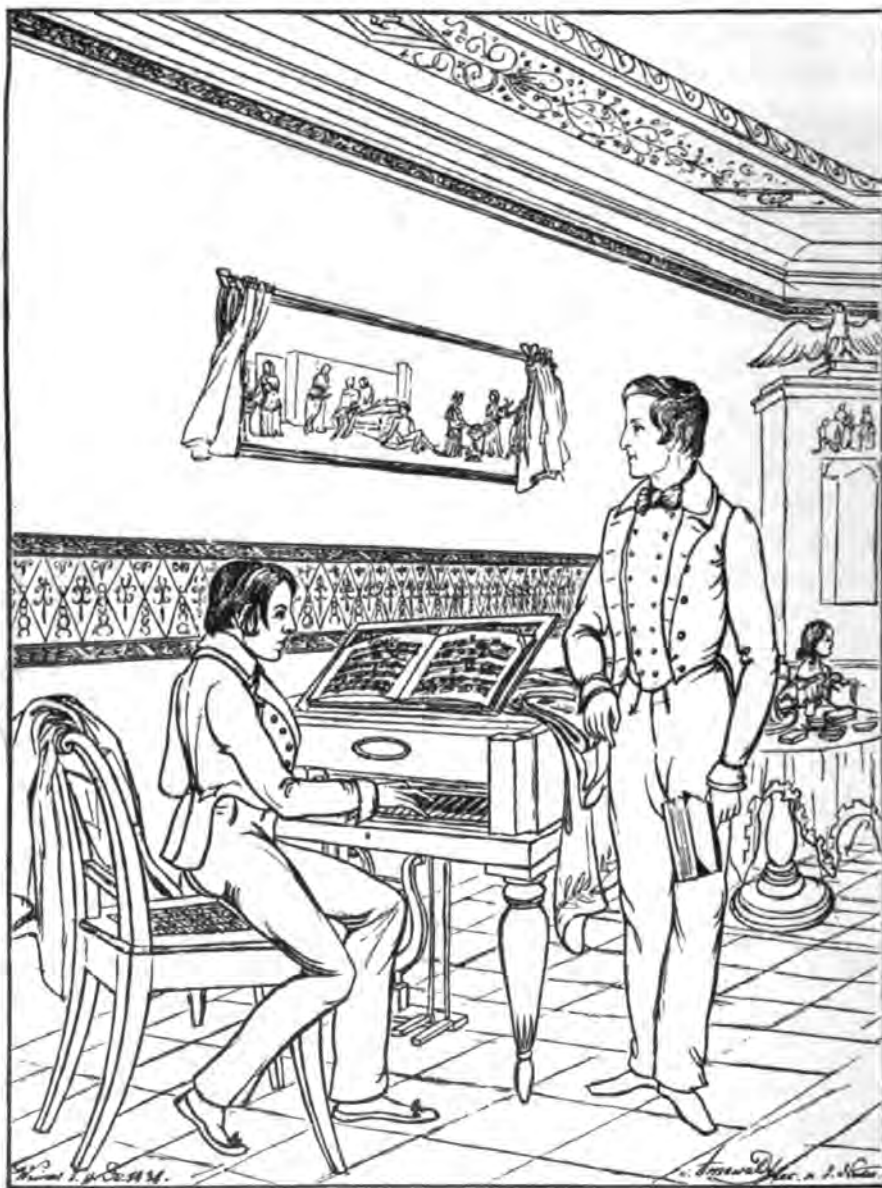


"MORE LIGHT."
From a painting by F. Fleischer in the National Goethe Museum at Weimar.

1830 when on October 27 his only son August died away from home in the city of Rome, while traveling in Italy. The aged poet received the news with remarkable composure and gave expression to his resignation in the oft quoted words: "*Non ignoravi me mortalem genuisse.*"

On August 31, 1831, when in his eighty-third year, Goethe com-

pleted the second part of his "Faust" which he had begun in 1824—one of the profoundest and most remarkable dramatic poems in the



GOETHE'S GRANDCHILDREN IN THE POET'S HOUSE.

After a drawing by Arendswald made in the year 1836, five years after Goethe's death. Walther (at the piano); Wolfgang Maximilian (book in hand); and Alma Sedina Henriette Cornelia (seated at the table in the background).

whole history of human literature. Apparently Goethe's genius had not suffered by old age.

On Thursday, March 15, 1832, Goethe spent a cheerful and happy day. He awoke in the morning with a chill, but he recovered and was enabled to resume his usual work on Monday; but another chill awoke him in the middle of the night. He recovered again and had no anticipation of death. His daughter-in-law Ottilie attended him. On the morning of the 22d he sat slumbering in his arm chair holding Ottilie's hand. He ordered the servant to open the second shutter to let in more light. At half past eleven he turned towards the left corner of his arm chair and went peacefully to sleep. It took some time before Ottilie knew that his life was ended.

Goethe's oldest grandson became a musician who studied under Mendelssohn, Weinlig and Loewe and published several compositions. He died April 15, 1885. His second grandson took a doctor's degree in law at Heidelberg and published an anonymous work of three volumes on "Man and Elementary Nature," a poem "Erlinde" and collections of "Poems." He died Jan. 20, 1883. Little Alma died as a child of typhoid fever, September 29, 1844. With these three grandchildren Goethe's posterity died out.

A PAWNEE MYSTERY.

BY HARTLEY B. ALEXANDER.

[CONCLUDED.]

III.

It is perhaps not too much to say that the ceremony which has thus been described, chiefly in the words of an intelligent and reverential custodian of the mystery, is the most complete and perfect extant example of a type of religious rite worldwide in its development.

The essentials of the rite are a mystic representation of the union of Father Heaven and Mother Earth and the resultant birth of a Spirit of Life, primarily a Vegetation Spirit, vegetation being the basis of animal life. This fundamental cosmical event gathers additional meaning: (1) As an account of Creation, as a Cosmogonic or Theogonic myth. (2) As a forthfiguring and in some sense an explanation of animal procreation, and of human parenthood. (3) As a symbol of the perpetuity of life, tribal and individual; and in the highest developments, as a symbol of rebirth in a life to come.

Thus the rite stands at the center of the primitive conception of the world and of man's life; it stands at the center of what used to be called "natural religion,"—the attitude of the mind without revelation to the divine powers encompassing mortal ways. It is wholly to be expected, therefore, that such a rite would assimilate to itself, as we find that it does, many of the more incidental elements of early mythologies; so that in various centers it would appear in varying form and with changing accessories.

In the New World, the rite or its near analogy appears not only in North America, but also in ancient Mexico and Peru,— wherever, in fact, agriculture had gained a sure foothold. In the Old World we have reason to suppose that it was spread over primitive **Europe**, while the whole series of Mediterranean mysteries—**Isis** and **Osiris**

in Egypt, Ishtar and Tammuz in Babylon, Venus and Adonis in Syria, Cybele and Attis in Asia Minor, Demeter and Persephone in Greece—center about the birth of Corn from Mother Earth.

How remarkable the analogies in two utterly remote localities may be is beautifully illustrated by a comparison of the Pawnee Ceremony with the Eleusinian Mysteries of ancient Attica. The *Hako* represents the mystery in its primitive and pure form, with a minimum of mythic addition. The Mysteries of Eleusis present us with a highly complex version, and one, moreover, in which the highest promise of religion, that of human immortality, had come to be the paramount meaning. Nevertheless, the two are astonishingly similar.

The likeness extends even to the externals. The Mysteries of Eleusis open with the bringing of the *sacra* (*ιερά*) from Eleusis to Athens and with ceremonial purifications of the initiates in the latter city. This corresponds closely enough with the Pawnee preparation of the *sacra* (*Hako*) at the home of the Fathers and the attendant purification of the participants. The correspondence might be yet closer were we to take into account the fact recorded by Miss Fletcher that the Indian *sacra* were often carried from one tribe to another, being preserved through many ceremonies, and that this transmission was the symbol of the establishment of a bond between diverse peoples: which, as scholars agree, is precisely what happened as between Eleusis and Athens, for the participation of the Athenians in the Mysteries was a part of the covenant of agreement between the two cities, originally hostile.

The return of the *sacra* from Athens to Eleusis, in the company of the party of candidates for initiation; led by a "genius of the mysteries," Iacchos, who was at once a vegetation-god and, as Sophocles hails him, "dispenser of men's fate"; the party singing songs by the way: this is surely a striking parallel to the reverential journey of the Fathers to the home of the Sons, under the leadership of Mother Corn, singing the Songs of the Way. Speaking of the journey with the *Hako*, Miss Fletcher says: "If from some distant vantage a war party should descry the procession, the leader would silently turn his men that they might not meet the *Hako* party, for the feathered stems are mightier than the warrior; before them he must lay down his weapon, forget his anger, and be at peace." And in Greece the period of the mysteries was a period for truce in war.

As the Pawnee ceremony, at the village of the Son, comprised public and private rites, so at Eleusis the rites were public and

private. The public rites at Eleusis consisted of sacrifices to the gods and a torch-light dance in honor of Iacchos. Fasting was observed by both the Indian and the Greek initiates, and both observe a kind of sacramental feast in honor of the Earth Mother. The Indians prepare the corn "in the manner of our fathers"; they pound dried corn in a wooden mortar and boil the coarse meal. The Greeks drank from the *kykeon*, the sacramental cup, and partook of cereal cakes, also from sacred vessels.

In the Eleusinian Mysteries it is supposed that the myth of the rape of Persephone was dramatically presented to the *mystae*, or initiates of the first degree. With this there is no parallel in the Hako, though curiously enough the Algonquian myth of Manabozho and Chibiabos offers a striking duplication of the main elements in the story of Demeter and Persephone,—as has been pointed out by Andrew Lang (who wrongly attributes the story to the Pawnees). This Algonquian myth, too, was made the subject of a mystery.

But there was yet another mystic drama at Eleusis, that which seems to have been reserved for the *epoptae*, or initiates of the second degree. This second degree was identical in meaning with the central mystery of the Hako: the Holy Marriage of Heaven and Earth and the Birth of a Sacred Child. At Eleusis it was Zeus and Demeter; among the Pawnees it was Tirawa-atius and H'Uraru: but the two pairs of terms carry an identical meaning, Father Sky and Mother Earth. The Child was in each case a symbolic child, typifying at once the fruitfulness of the Earth and the promise of continuing life.

A part of the ancient ritual of Eleusis is preserved. The initiates looked up to the Heaven and cried, "Rain!" They looked down to the Earth and cried, "Conceive!" And we know that the Corn was the Child that was brought forth, for the symbol that was displayed was an ear of corn fresh reaped. Said the Kurahus: "The life of man depends upon the Earth, the Mother. Tirawa-atius works through it. The kernel is planted within Mother Earth and she brings forth the ear of corn, even as children are begotten and born of women."

The union of Heaven and Earth is symbolized over and over again in the Pawnee ceremony. Each of the principal *sacra* typifies it: the feminine ear of corn is capped with the blue of the masculine sky, so, too, the feminine brown-plumed wand is painted blue, while the masculine white-plumed mate to it is painted the green of Mother Earth. Finally, in the Sixteenth Ritual, the Kurahus wraps the feathers of the two stems together, male with female, and

holds them with his two hands over the child, pointing the stem towards it, and this movement, he says, "means that the breath of life is turned toward the child." Surely here is a parallel to the union symbolized in the Greek mystery.

There are a number of minor parallelisms. The sacred child Triptolemos, in his winged chariot, bearing the cereal gift of the goddesses, Mother Earth and Daughter Corn, to bless and succor mankind, is a parallel to the Hako-child and perhaps also to the winged messenger who plays so great a rôle in the Indian ceremony. Another child whose rôle in the Eleusinian festival recalls that of the Hako child was the boy, or girl, who (as Farnell interprets) "comes to the mysteries from the city's hearth, the hearth in the Prytaneum," and "by proceeding thence was representing the future hope of the state of Athens, and by his initiation was supposed to specially guarantee the favor of the goddesses to the younger generation of the community." So, it will be recalled, the Hako child comes from the sacred hearth-altar of the ceremonial lodge adorned with the signs of the promises which Mother Corn and Kawa bring, signs, says the Kurahus, "not merely for that particular child but for its generation, that the children already born may live, grow in strength, and in their turn increase so that the family and the tribe may continue."

Of course the Pawnee Ceremony lacks the great and central aim of the Mysteries of Eleusis in their Classical development, viz., the promise of happiness in a future life. Possibly the Pawnee's faith in such future stood in less need of mystic revelation than the Greek's; and in all probability the Greek mystery in prehistoric days conveyed no more of this than does the Pawnee ceremony,—for it is the briefest step from the symbolism of Birth and the Perpetuation of Life to symbolism of Re-birth and Immortality. But it is worth noting that even without this great promise the ceremony brought to the Indian a joy wholly comparable to that rapture of the Eleusinian initiates which has proved so puzzling to moderns. "Happy those men living upon Earth who have seen the Mysteries," says the Homeric hymn,—words reechoed while Paganism endured. Miss Fletcher says of the Hako symbols: "I have seen manifested among the tribes not only reverence toward these sacred symbols, but an affection that was not displayed toward any other object. Few persons ever spoke to me of them without a brightening of the eyes. 'They make us happy,' was a common saying." And Tahirusawichi, in giving the ceremony, said to her: "Just before I came to Washington I performed this ceremony, and now as I sit here and

tell you about the meaning of this song, I can hear the happy shouts of the people as I heard them some weeks ago. Their voices seemed to come from everywhere! Their hearts were joyful. I am glad as I remember that day. We are always happy when we are with the Hako."

IV.

The Ceremony of the Hako is throughout symbolic, but the symbolism employed is so elemental that it must seem the very portrait of truth as truth appears to the mind untaught in science. Further, it is a symbolism that is not merely Pawnee, not merely American Indian, but in its main features it is world-wide. Hardly a hint is required to make it intelligible to any human being who has breathed the free air of the open country, who has looked up to the blue sky, to sun and moon and stars and moving clouds, who has looked about him at the green earth and growing fields. Indeed, we may fairly say that the Pawnee conception of the frame and governance of the world is nearer to the ordinary thinking of even educated men than is the conception which the science of astronomy presents. For however honestly we may believe astronomical doctrines they are still doctrines that must be intellectually mastered and held; they are not instinctive in human experience. Our senses tell us each day that the blue heavens are above and the green earth below and that the sun and stars in their daily courses journey through the arc of the skies. And our senses are powerfully fortified in their interpretation by language and literature—the props and says of our ideas—in which are embalmed the conceptions of sense as they have come to expression throughout the course of human history.

In the *Cratylus* Plato makes Socrates to say: "I suspect that the sun, moon, earth, stars, and heaven, which are still the gods of many barbarians, were the only gods known to the aboriginal Hellenes." When we reflect that primitive man's revelation of Divinity must be through nature, we can clearly see how every early pantheon must be headed by the Sun, the Moon and the Stars, under the leadership of Earth and the shining Sky. But it is not only to primitive men that this is so,—or, perhaps I should say, that even the most civilized and the best instructed of men, in all ordinary experience of the world, are primitive in their ways of thinking.

The simplicity and truth to sense of the Indian conception is beautifully shown in the words of the Kurahus:

"If you go on a high hill and look around, you will see the sky

touching the earth on every side, and within this circular enclosure the people dwell. So the circles we have made represent the circle Tirawa-atius has made for the dwelling place of all the people."

The conception of the Heavens as a roof, standing, as the Kurahus elsewhere says, "on the edge of the hills that, like the walls of a lodge, inclose the land where the people dwell," and of the Earth below as a floor, a fold,—this conception is as ancient as thought and as inevitable as sense. Caedmon expresses it in his dream hymn:

"He, the Eternal, established a world:
First for Earth's children reared as a roof
The high dome of Heaven—Holy Creator!
Made, then, the Mid-Earth—Warder of Men,
Lord Everlasting! Thereafter the land,
A fold for us fitted—Father Almighty!"

And centuries before Caedmon, in that literature which was his inspiration, Isaiah calls:

"Who hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand, and meted out heaven with the span, and comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighed the mountains in scales, and the hills in a balance? . . .

"He that sitteth upon the circle of the earth, and the inhabitants thereof are as grasshoppers; that stretcheth out the heavens as a curtain, and spreadeth them out as a tent to dwell in!"

The analogies between the Pawnee conception of the universe and the Hebrew are not limited to this general framework. Heaven is the abode of the Father. Men are His Children. But in each case there is intermediation through the winged beings that pass to and fro between the Upper and the Lower Worlds. Kawas and the visions that dwell in Katasha, the Lower Heaven, are surely analogous to the Angel and Vision Messengers of the Old Testament. When the Heavens were opened to Ezekiel, so that he saw "visions of God," among the four faces of the winged creatures one face was that of the eagle, while the author of Revelation, also gazing into Heaven, beheld among the four beasts before the throne one "like a flying eagle."

Nor is there want of resemblance between the Pawnee conception of Tirawa-atius and the Hebrew idea of the Lord of Heaven. "The white man," said the Kurahus, "speaks of a heavenly Father; we say Tirawa-atius, the Father above, but we do not think of Tirawa as a person. We think of Tirawa as in everything, as the Power which has arranged and thrown down from above every-

thing that man needs. What the Power above, Tirawa-atius, is like, no one knows; no one has been there."

When Kawas explains to the Kurahus the meaning of the signs in the East:

"She tells him that Tirawa-atius there moves upon Darkness, the Night, and causes her to bring forth Dawn. It is the breath of the new-born Dawn, the child of Night and Tirawa-atius, which is felt by all the powers and all things above and below and which gives them new life for the new day...."

Is not this a Genesis in the making?

"In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.

"And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.

"And God said, Let there be light: and there was light.

"And God saw the light, that it was good: and God divided the light from the darkness.

"And God called the light Day, and the darkness He called Night. And the evening and the morning were the first day."

The conception of the earth as the Great Mother to whom the Sky-Father or the Sun-Father is united for the bringing forth of Life is, of course, not prominent in a monotheistic religion like the Hebrew. Nevertheless, this idea, too, underlies many Old Testament passages, showing clearly enough that it was familiar to Israelite as to pagan. In the 65th Psalm we read:

"Thou makest the outgoings of the morning and evening to rejoice.

"Thou visitest the earth and waterest it: thou greatly enrichest it with the river of God, which is full of water: thou preparest them corn, when thou hast so provided for it.

"Thou waterest the ridges thereof abundantly: thou settlest the furrows thereof: thou makest it soft with showers: thou blessest the springing thereof.

"Thou crownest the year with thy goodness; and thy paths drop fatness."

Paths dropping fatness is a sign of plenty to the Indian as well as to the Psalmist. The bits of fat used in the Hako represent, says the Kurahus, "the droppings that mark the trail made by the hunters as they carry the meat home from the field. This trail is called the path dropping fatness, and means plenty."

Again in the 19th Psalm: "The heavens declare the glory of God.... In them hath he set a tabernacle for the sun, which is as a

bridegroom coming out of his chamber." Here we get the image of the nuptials of Earth and Sun which is the most ancient and universal figure of the generation of life, represented as perfectly as anywhere in the one prayer of the pagan Saxons which has been preserved to us: "Hail be thou, Earth, Mother of Men, wax fertile in the embrace of God, fulfilled with fruit for the use of man!" So the Eleusinian mystics called upon Heaven to rain, Earth to conceive. So Ezekiel makes the Lord to say: "I will cause the shower to come down in his season; . . . and the earth shall yield her increase." So the Zuni prays the Earth Mother to invoke the Sun Father's embrace to warm her children into being. And so the Pawnee gives thanks to Tirawa-atius who "causes Mother Earth to lie here and bring forth."

In passing, it may be noted that much of the Pawnee symbolism lends itself beautifully to a yet nobler meaning. For surely in the search for a Son, who is at once the Child of the Father of Heaven and the promise of Life unto Men, whose heralds are the Morning Star and the Winged Messenger of Heaven, whose coming is with gift of Peace and Joy and widening human Fellowship,—surely in all this we have a shining image, not of the Old, but of the Christian dispensation.

It is not to be understood that we credit the Pawnee with this spiritual meaning. We cannot even credit him with a pure and exalted religion, for certain of his rites were of the darkest of heathendom. But in this ceremony of the Hako, singularly pure and exalted, we do find so much that is common to the best in all religion that it cannot but bring the Indian closer to the White if once we permit it to command our sympathies.

V.

It is with a sense of the larger meaning underlying the symbols of the Indian rites, with a feeling that the Hako is not merely a Pawnee ceremony but a form of the universal Mystery of Life, that I have undertaken to give a poetical interpretation of it.¹ My purpose in doing so is twofold.

First, I wish to present thought common to Indian and white man in a form which may prove attractive apart from any merely anthropological interest, and in a form which will emphasize resemblances and sympathies of ideas of the two races. For this rea-

¹This poetical expression of the universal meaning of the Pawnee ceremony was published in *The Monist*, July, 1912, under the title "The Mystery of Life."

son, I have avoided the use of Indian names, such as Tirawa, H'Uraru, Kawas, choosing rather their English equivalents,—and I believe that the connotations of the English expressions, "Father of Heaven" and "Mother Earth," and the symbolism of the Eagle as the King of Birds, is not far removed from the truth of the Indian conceptions.

Second, there have been many efforts to stimulate an "American art" by use of aboriginal materials. To me it appears that the road to success in such endeavor lies in assimilation of what is elemental and common, rather than in adaptation of what is remote in Indian expression. In this ceremony of the Hako we have a superb example of a universal experience in a concrete and individual setting. That setting belongs to us who are born and reared in the land where the ceremony is native as truly as it belongs to the Indian; and if we can sufficiently abstract from Old World traditions to be true to our own experiences, we can certainly find here in America an imagery of expression at once genuine and original,—genuine without being strained, original without being bizarre. Of course, this does not mean that we can, or should wish to, cut away from the culture traditions of our race where these are still our living experience; but assuredly we ought to dispense with the unnatural atmosphere which Old World imagery gives to our expression.

I hasten to qualify that my present effort is not one of ambitious achievement but of fruitful indication. It is obvious that a work which is purely symbolic, no matter how natural the symbol, cannot stand beside the ideal portraiture which gives the final quality of greatness. But on the other hand, it is worth remembering that the greatest art of the Old World literatures sprang from just such symbolism as is presented in the *Hako*. There is a resemblance between the choir-song of Dionysus from which Greek tragedy and modern opera alike take their rise and the choir-songs of Indian ceremonials which is obvious to any investigator; and there is again likeness of the Hako mystery to the Medieval Mystery Plays which preceded Shakespearean drama.

The form of the interpretation here undertaken was dictated in part by these resemblances. A drama with choric songs performed upon a sward before a simple screen,—this goes back to the origins. The drama is designed for musical accompaniment: music which shall be a background of interpretative sound as the scene is a background of interpretative color and form. In this again we are true to the most primitive form of drama, the choral chant, as to the most advanced and complex, the opera. Nevertheless, effort has

not been spared to enable the "book" to stand by itself,—and, indeed, there is no more reason why a libretto should not be readable than that a drama should be known only through stage performances. We read drama and allow our visual imaginations to supply scene and action; we should be able to read libretti and allow the auditory imagination to supplement the visual with tonal background. If libretti have heretofore proved poor literature it is the fault of the authors rather than of the genre.

How near the interpretation is to the form of the Indian original must be judged by comparison of the structures of the two. The great problem, of course, is compression in time. The Indian ceremony occupies days; the dramatic performance is designed for some two hours. This necessarily means elision and rearrangement. It means also, for the sake of the spectacle, certain new elements, and again new elements to emphasize continuity. But conceding so much—and it must be remembered that I am offering an *interpretation*, not transposition or translation, of the *Hako*,—I believe that I have none the less given a picture true to Indian thinking except in the one matter of greater generality. The ideas presented are all, either fully or incipiently, presented in the Indian version.

In the matter of poetic expression there is little dependence upon the Indian songs. Those songs are far more primitive than the thought represented in the explanations of the Kurahus. For the greater part they consist of ejaculatory phrases unintelligible to the Indians themselves without the accompanying action and the teachings of the Kurahus.

But while in my work there is little direct dependence upon the Indians' song phrases, I have very freely made use of the fine rhythmic versions made by Miss Fletcher and presented in her *Report*. Miss Fletcher, in her rhythmic renderings of the Indian songs has carefully followed the metric forms of the original, incorporating the sense given by the explanations of the leader as well as the literal sense of the Indian texts. The result is a series of admirable translations, abounding in telling phrases, yet too close in form to the primitive originals and too limited in interpretation to have independent literary value.

THE BROTHERS AND SISTERS OF JESUS.

BY A. KAMPMEIER.

HAD I known that *all* the points of my "*pièce de résistance*," as Prof. W. B. Smith terms it in his article "The Humanity of Jesus?" (*Open Court*, July, 1912), are so little known, I would have written this article right away instead of writing my protest in *The Open Court* of May, 1912. Dr. Smith has hardly grazed the question of the brotherhood of James and the other brothers of Jesus. I would therefore submit *all* these points now clearly and distinctly.

1. In Matt. i. 25 Joseph is plainly said not to have had sexual intercourse with Mary until she had given birth to her *firstborn*¹ son Jesus, just as the same thing was said of Plato's father Ariston according to Diogenes Laertius (III. 22), that "he preserved his marriage with Perictione pure"² until she had given birth to Plato, the son of Apollo. According to all logic the word "first-born" means that if Jesus was the first-born son of Mary, he was not her only child. All the twistings of the churchfathers in the interest of the perpetual virginity of Mary, that *first-born* means the *first* and *only*³ cannot get around this fact. The acute critic Lucian, the satirist of paganism and Christianity alike, is right when he says of Agathocles (*Demonax* 29): "If first, not the only; if the only, not the first."⁴

2. According to Matt. xiii. 56 etc. Mary had four sons besides Jesus, and some daughters. The fellow townsmen of Jesus in Nazareth say: "Is this one not the son of the carpenter? Is not his mother called Mary and his brothers James and Joses and Simon and

¹ πρωτότοκον.

² ὅθεν καθαρὸν γάμον φυλάξει ἕως τῆς ἀποκινήσεως.

³ πρῶτος καὶ μόνος. Theophylact, Enthymius, Zigabenus etc.

⁴ εἰ μὲν πρῶτος, οὐ μόνος. εἰ δὲ μόνος, οὐ πρῶτος.

Judas? And his sisters are they not all with us? From whence has he all this?" (namely his wisdom and his power).

3. In Mark iii. 21 we read: "And when his own people (i. e., his blood relations⁵) heard about the work of Jesus in Capernaum, they went out to lay hold of him, for they said he has become frantic."⁶ That the mother and brothers of Jesus are meant is proved clearly by verse 31: "And then his brothers and his mother came, and standing outside they sent in to him calling him." Upon this Jesus says, "Who is my mother, or my brothers etc.," closing: "For who does the will of God, he is my brother, my sister and my mother." Jesus surely distinguishes here between his mother, brothers and sisters in the common sense and the spiritual relationship to him. Compare the parallel passages in Matt. xii. 46 etc. and Luke viii. 19 etc.

4. The Fourth Gospel, while taking the extremest liberty, in consequence of its speculative and idealizing tendency, with the historical facts of the life of Jesus, has nevertheless preserved the right view regarding the brothers of Jesus. In vii. 3 we are told that the brothers of Jesus urged Jesus to go up to Jerusalem to the feast of tabernacles in order that his disciples should see the works that he did, and then distinctly adds that *not even*⁷ his brothers believed in him. Compare this with Mark, where his brothers and mother try to persuade Jesus to stop his teaching. Evidently his nearest relatives, as in the case of many great reformers, were at first not in accord with his zeal and undertaking. That his brothers and not his followers are meant, is also evident from John ii. 11-12. In this passage a clear distinction is made between the *disciples*⁸ and the mother and brothers of Jesus. His disciples (verse 11) are said to have believed in him on account of the miracle at Cana. In verse 12 we then read: "After this he went to Capernaum, he and his mother and his brothers and his *disciples*."

5. The very old apocryphal gospels, that to the Hebrews and that of the Ebionites, likewise retain the primitive tradition of the mother and brothers of Jesus. In the fragments of the former we read: "Behold, the mother of the Lord and his brothers said to him: John the Baptist baptizes for forgiveness of sins; let us go and be baptized by him." In the fragments of the Ebionitic gospel we read:

⁵ οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ means only his blood relations according to Greek usage in Xen. Anab., VI, 6, 24. Cyrop. VI, 2, 1. Polyb. XXII, 1, 6. 1 Macc. IX, 44.

⁶ ἐξέστη.

⁷ οὐδὲ γὰρ, verse 5.

⁸ μαθηταί,

"It was told him: Behold, your mother and your brothers are standing outside. He said: Who are my mother and brothers? And he stretched out his hand over his disciples and said: These are my brothers and my mother and sisters, who do the commands of my father."

The evidence of these apocryphal gospels becomes the stronger when we remember that their readers, Jewish Christians, rejected the miraculous birth of Jesus and considered him the son of Joseph and Mary, assuming him to be the son of God only in consequence of his being filled with the Holy Spirit at the time of his baptism.

6. Eusebius in *Hist. Eccl.*, III, 20, cites the following from the Palestinian Hegesippus, born of Jewish parents and member of the Jerusalem church (died 180 A. D.). It does not matter whether the story of Hegesippus is strictly fact or not, but the story supports the tradition of the brothers of Jesus. I translate: "In those times there were yet some of the sons of Judas, a brother of the Lord according to the flesh, whom they had accused as being from the race of David. These Pribocatus brought before the Emperor Domitian, for he feared the coming of Christ just as Herod. And he asked them, whether they were from David, and they said so. Then he asked them, how much property and money they had. Then they both answered that they only had 9000 *denaria*, of which each had half. But that they did not have it in silver but only in the value of thirty-nine *plethra* of land, from which they paid tribute and lived by working it themselves. They thereupon showed their hands, their bodies bearing witness to their hard toil and their callous hands to continuous labor. Asked about Christ and his kingdom, of what kind it was and where and when it would appear, they answered that it was not a worldly or earthly one, but heavenly; that it would appear at the end of days, when Christ would come in glory to judge the living and dead and to give each according to his deserts."

All the foregoing seems to my unsophisticated mind to support the view that "the brothers of the Lord" in 1 Cor. ix. 5 and the "James, the brother of the Lord" in Gal. i. 19, on which Dr. Smith alone dwells in his article, were more than spiritual brothers of Jesus. Especially since Paul in both places distinctly distinguishes the brothers of the Lord and James from the *other* apostles and Kephass. Would there be any meaning in looking upon these brothers and James as being only in general followers of Jesus, there being so many of them besides the special twelve? Only the prominence which James shared as a *pillar* (Gal. ii. 9) besides John and Peter in the Jerusalem church, as did his other brothers as blood rela-

tions of Jesus, can account for this definite and clear distinction from the *other* apostles and Barnabas and Paul in 1 Cor. ix. 5-6. By the way it is not true, as Dr. Smith says, that "brother" or "brothers of the Lord" is *New Testament phraseology*. This is only the phraseology of Paul but not that of the Gospels, which speak of the *brothers of Jesus*. These "shreds" regarding the brothers of Jesus besides other shreds into which I will not enter here, are so convincing to me for the humanity of Jesus, that it will take a long time yet before I will give up my belief in the historical existence of Jesus although I have no personal interest in it whatever.

Still, my historical baggage may weigh too heavily on me yet, preventing me from venturing into the airy flights of pure idealism in this question. In my heavy historical mind I sometimes envy such men as Drews, who not only throw overboard John the Baptist, but even Kephas, with whom the brothers of Jesus are brought in connection. For Simon Peter is a purely mythical figure now, to whose existence Mithras, Proteus, Semo, Shem, Janus etc. have contributed. What will be next? Perhaps the evaporation of Paul himself. If John the Baptist, Peter, John, Paul, Barnabas are evaporated the question of the brothers of Jesus will be definitely settled, for there will be no longer any nucleus, about which these nebular elements can gather.

MISCELLANEOUS.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

PASSAGES FROM THE PHILOSOPHY OF HERBERT SPENCER. Chosen by *Clara Sherwood Stevens*. Portland, Me.: Mosher, 1910. Pp. 114. Price \$1.50.

Selections are always more or less unsatisfactory to the systematic thinker. No matter how judiciously they are chosen there is always the feeling that the continuity of thought is broken. Then too a reader accustomed to think for himself feels an involuntary resentment at having to accept the kernel which another has taken from its shell; he feels that the passage may be but incidental and not convey the writer's thought in its proper perspective. But granting the limitations of the selective method much can be said in its favor, and many indeed are the readers who will be grateful to this collector of nuggets from Herbert Spencer's eighteen volumes. After giving an outline of the chain of thought of his synthetic philosophy by placing in orderly succession the most forcible statements in the volume devoted to *First Principles* and then the fundamental principles of the several sciences, the author selects passages also from Spencer's miscellaneous writings on many general topics. Spencer admits that equal rights for men and women are in the natural course of social evolution and will be practicable whenever "society shall have become civilized enough to recognize the equality of rights between the sexes—when women shall have attained to a clear perception of what is due to them, and men to a nobility of feeling which shall make them concede to women the freedom which they themselves claim." Spencer urges the emphasis of physical science in education. He wonders at men being interested in "some contemptible controversy about the intrigues of Mary Queen of Scots," when "that which it really concerns us to know is the natural history of society." As to method, "Children should be led to make their own investigations, and to draw their own inferences. They should be *told* as little as possible, and induced to discover as much as possible."

p

THE QUALITIES OF MEN. By *Joseph Jastrow*. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1910. Pp. 1910. Price \$1.00.

This charming essay on manners is dedicated "To The Johns Hopkins University in recognition of its services in fostering the higher appreciation of the qualities of men in American universities." It served among other purposes as one of a course of lectures on character and temperament delivered at Columbia University. It defines the purpose of a college education as "by the inspiration of its environment to cultivate in the fittest, the most uplifting appraisal of the qualities of men," going on to say, "In that formative

period the susceptibility of just those influences that grow out of sensibility is at its ripest." Professor Jastrow thinks that much of our progress is due to the fact that men are not created equal. "The inequalities of men furnish the material for nature and civilization alike and jointly to work upon. Clay makes the earthen pot and the finer vessel; but the texture of the raw material and the potter's art transform the finished product." His theme throughout is that "sensibility makes the man," and the first chapter deals especially with sensibilities as the distinguishing feature between man and man, showing also to what extent they can be cultivated. "We cannot by taking thought, and only moderately by taking lessons in art, add many a cubit to the height of our esthetic structure. But we may observe how native endowments grow under favor of nurture, what influences of our making quicken the process, and how in the end achievement waits upon, as it reflects and embodies, innate quality."

Professor Jastrow treats also of the ethical value of sensibility and refinement: "Fastidiousness protects from vice as effectively as a colder ascetic conscience." He does not ignore the fact that this line of doctrine can be overdone. This Matthew Arnold of to-day would emphasize "all things in moderation," but he takes it for granted that this view in the practical everyday life of America will be understood without exposition. "That sensibilities may be overrefined, that the effeminate preclude the sterner qualities, needs no emphasis in a climate in which no one yet has died of a rose in aromatic pain. What more needs to be regarded is the overstrain of sensibilities that leads to sensationalism indicative of a spoiled appetite with insufficient ingredients of solid food. But the corrective is once more a truer quality of sensibility which is ever ready to affiliate with the higher phases of virtue." True refinement and culture are not to be confused with the superficial imitation: "Those who would assume the outer show of quality without honestly acquiring its warrant express a distorted appreciation thereof; and the plating and the glitter somehow manage to disclose to the discerning the fabric of their skeletons."

P

HISTORY OF THE SYRIAN NATION AND THE OLD EVANGELICAL-APOSTOLIC CHURCH OF THE EAST. By *Prof. George David Malech*. Minneapolis, 1910.

Prof. George David Malech, of Urmia, Persia, was an archdeacon of the Nestorian Christians, and started westward to have his work translated into English. This has been done by Miss Ingeborg Rasmussen of Chicago, and her translation was revised by the Rev. A. H. Gjevre, of Grand Meadow, Minn. The returns of the book are reserved for the purpose of translating and publishing a still larger work by the same author, which is to make the history of the kingdom of Persia accessible to the English speaking world. The author did not live to see his purpose accomplished for he died on his way through Europe, and lies now buried in the Lutheran cemetery of Tiflis, Russia.

The book is fully illustrated, first with some ancient Babylonian and Assyrian monuments, and then with views of a few Oriental cities, portraits of Persian kings and pictures of the Nestorian monument. The first page of the Chinese text is reproduced from the pamphlet on *The Nestorian Monument*, published by the Open Court Publishing Company. Unfortunately the text is inserted upside down.

Further pictures are reproductions of the Archdeacon's certificate and other testimonials in their original language, photographed groups of Nestorian Christians, and portraits of modern leaders. The appendix contains some history of the Persians and the Parsees in India, a picture of Zoroaster and modern Persians.

It goes without saying that the author stands on a theological and pre-critical standpoint which appears in the statement with which he begins his book that the Old Testament is the most authentic source of historical information. K

THE TEACHINGS OF ISLAM. By *Mirza Ghulam Ahmad*. London: Luzac, 1910.

Pp. 195. Price 1s. 6d. net.

One of the modern Mahdis, a Mohammedan Messiah, is the late Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian, India, whose doctrines were prominently preached for the first time at the religious conference held at Lahore in the Punjab in 1896. One of his ardent admirers, Muhammad Ali, has now published in book form the address he delivered at the Lahore conference which contains a solution of the five fundamental religious problems from the Moslem point of view. There are five subjects selected for discussion by the conveners of the conference, related to (1) the physical, moral and spiritual conditions of man, (2) the state of man in the after-life, (3) the real object of the existence of man and the means of its attainment, (4) the effect of actions in the present life and the life to come, and (5) the sources of Divine knowledge.

The explanation of the Mohammedan view here set forth by Muhammad Ali have been endorsed by prominent Mohammedans such as Mohammed Alex. Russel Webb (New Jersey, U. S. A.), Maulvi Sher Ali, B. A. (Qadian) and Mr. Ghulam Muhammad B. A. (Sialkot).

LA MAGIE ET LA SORCELLERIE EN FRANCE. Par *Th. de Caumont*. Vols. II and III. Paris: Dorbon-Ainé. Pp. 518, 547. Price 5 fr. per vol.

The second volume of this four-volumed work contains first a rapid survey over Jewish magic which is indispensable for a general discussion of the subject since it was because they relied upon the text of scripture that the sorcerers were later persecuted; and then too in the Middle Ages the most famous physicians and even the leading alchemists and astrologers were almost all Jews, whose science consisted in the perfect knowledge of the ancient conjuring books, especially those attributed to Solomon. The author also gives a summary of Greek and Roman legislation in its relation to magic art, then studies sorcery in France from the time of the Gauls to 1431, thus following the development of the belief in the Devil, the persecution of sorcerers, the institution of the Inquisition, the opinions of the popes on sorcery, the demoniacal epidemics of the fifteenth century chiefly in Dauphiny and its neighboring provinces, as well as in Normandy and the northeast of France, the trial of the celebrated Gilles de Rais, the prototype of Bluebeard, and the volume closes with the trial of Joan of Arc.

Volume III reads like a romance, being dramatic and comic in turn. One of its most interesting chapters is that relating to freemasonry, its various ceremonies and its influence on the destinies of the world. The last 100 pages

deal with somnambulism and animal magnetism. First there was the Irishman Valentine Greatrakes who healed by laying on of hands, and the Swiss Gassner whose method was by exorcism; the "doctor of the moon" Weisleder who reduced fractures by means of prayer and by subjecting the patients to the rays of the moon; F. Hell the Venetian professor of astronomy who healed by the aid of the bars of the magnet and finally Mesmer who with his famous tub was the first real magnetist. Later we read of the extraordinary adventurer Joseph Balsamo, known under the name of Cagliostro, in turn alchemist, magnetist, founder of a great masonic lodge of which he made himself head under the name of Grand Copt, receptacle of ancient secrets of Egyptian wisdom, who came to a wretched end in the prisons of the Roman Inquisition. Then follow the real scientific creators of magnetism, and the volume closes with a short study of somnambulism and artificial sleep which will serve to lead up to the fourth volume to be devoted to hypnotism and the wonders of to-day.

P

THE EQUINOX. The Official Organ of the A.'.A.'. The Review of Scientific Illuminism. London: Simpkin, Marshall. Price 5s.

A very mysterious volume with some mystical illustrations and elegantly made up, made its appearance at our office some time ago. It announces itself as a review published by the brothers of the A.'.A.'. and they declare their principle in a motto on the title page as well as in the editorial introduction to be "The Method of Science—the Aim of Religion." The book contains an account of the A.'.A.'. by the Councillor of Eckartshausen, and we learn that the A.'.A.'. is "the society whose members form the republic of genius, the regent mother of the whole world." Among other contributions to this review we notice a poem entitled "The Magician" which has been translated from Eliphas Levi's "well-known hymn." The largest contribution is entitled "The Temple of Solomon the King" and is headed by a quotation from Prof. William James. It is surpassed in length only by "John St. John the Record of the Magical Retirement of G. H. Frater O.'.M.'." Other smaller contributions of poetry, short essays and tales form the remaining third of the volume. Most assuredly the whole bears a very curious aspect.

The Occult Review, which is more familiar with the subject and literature of "scientific illuminism" than we, writes as follows of this remarkable periodical: "The genius of this book, Mr. Aleister Crowley, seems at the first blush to be the Panurge of mysticism, and to those who have regarded with delight the amazing adventures of the brilliant Rabelaisian figure, such a modern prototype would appear in anything but an unamiable light. At all events, Mr. Crowley is at once a mystic, a sardonic mocker, an utterer of many languages, a writer of magnificent prose interspersed with passages of coarse persiflage, and also a philosopher of not a little penetration and power of analysis. The expert alone will be able to judge of the scope and meaning of the mystical doctrines and practices contained in this volume, but to the uninformed lay reader the main thesis would appear to be the necessary passage of the soul through all experience, including the depths of iniquity, in order to rise to the serene heights of balanced wisdom and superior life."

This reviewer speaks with enthusiasm of the literary style of the volume: "Though the imaginative portion is not all on the same level, it may be said

that there is no one now writing in the English language who can command a greater splendor of style."

We agree with the reviewer in *The Occult Review* that this unusual publication "may be recommended to any one who has a spark of intellectual curiosity." κ

With reference to the review of his book *Alchemy Ancient and Modern*, published in the May issue, Mr. H. Stanley Redgrove sends a protest in which he says that the reviewer attributes to him views which he "deliberately repudiated in the book in question." It is true that the views attributed in that review to Mr. Redgrove represent instead a transcendental theory of alchemy according to which the author says "that alchemy was not a physical art or science at all, that in no sense was its object the manufacture of material gold and that its processes were not carried out on the physical plane"; whereas according to Mr. Redgrove's own view as expressed on page 8, and to which he refers us, "alchemy had its origin in the attempt to apply, in a certain manner, the principles of mysticism to the things of the physical plane, and was, therefore, of a dual nature, on the one hand spiritual and religious, on the other, physical and material." Since this point is naturally of great importance in the eyes of Mr. Redgrove we take pleasure in publishing this correction.

Mr. Redgrove says: "With regard to your critic's assertion that 'the hope that Sir William Ramsay had actually succeeded in changing one element into another has proved an error,' may I point out that no experiments have ever been carried out disproving his claim to have converted silicon, thorium, titanium and zirconium into carbon; and that the supposed refutation of the conversion of niton into neon in the presence of water is not altogether convincing." There is a difference of opinion on this point.

Mr. Redgrove, who is assistant lecturer in mathematics at the Polytechnic in London, has published a more recent book, *A Mathematical Theory of Spirit* (London, William Rider & Company, 1912), in which he explains his conception of the nature of matter and spirit by the analogy with negative and imaginary quantities.

As there is at the same time a correspondence and a "discreteness" between the two series of real and imaginary quantities so, says Mr. Redgrove, "the two worlds of matter and spirit are perfectly distinct or 'discrete' from one another. Nowhere do they touch, nowhere do they merge one into the other. It follows also, therefore, that spirit must not be regarded (as seems commonly to be the case) as a sort of attenuated form of matter—matter deprived of its substance—nor must matter be thought of as a gross form of spirit."

Correction: In Dr. W. B. Smith's article, "The Humanity of Jesus?" in the July *Open Court*, page 421, line 28, the name "Max Friedländer" should read "Moritz Friedländer."



THE FAUN OF PRAXITELES.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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TAMMUZ, PAN AND CHRIST.

NOTES ON A TYPICAL CASE OF MYTH-TRANSFERENCE AND
DEVELOPMENT.

BY WILFRED H. SCHOFF.

SOME four millennia before the Christian era, there lived on the alluvial plain brought down by the Euphrates and Tigris rivers, and bordering the Persian Gulf, a Turanian people, who had attained to a considerable degree of civilization, who tilled and irrigated the soil, undertook large public works, and ventured long distances by sea for the exchange of goods. They worshiped a sea-god Ea, and included in their mythology was another god, Dumuzi, or *dumu-zi-abzu*, "true son of the deep water." Concerning his attributes it is not necessary to elaborate; the reader may find them fully discussed by competent authorities.¹ This same god was adopted into the pantheon of the Semitic peoples who associated with, absorbed or expelled (according to various assertions) these Turanian plain-dwellers and sea-farers; and in Semitic Babylonia the Turanian Dumuzi became Tammuz, the god of youthful joy and beauty, personifying the annual death and revival of natural life according to the sequence of winter and summer. His attributes, also, have been thoroughly studied, so that for reference one need only cite J. G. Frazer's *Golden Bough*, of which the third edition contains two volumes, *Adonis*, *Attis and Osiris*, and *The Dying God*, wherein all this literature is marshalled. Frazer's summary follows:

¹ L. W. King, *Babylonian Religion and Mythology*, London, 1899; P. Jensen, *Assyrisch-babylonische Mythen und Epen*, Berlin, 1900; M. Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*; M. J. Lagrange, *Etudes sur les religions semitiques*, Paris, 1905.

"We first meet with Tammuz in the religious literature of Babylon. He there appears as the youthful spouse or lover of Ishtar, the great mother-goddess, the embodiment of the reproductive energies of nature. . . . Every year Tammuz was believed to die, passing away from the cheerful earth to the gloomy subterranean world, and every year his divine mistress journeyed in quest of him 'to the land from which there is no returning, to the house of darkness, where dust lies on door and bolt.' During her absence the passion of love ceased to operate; men and beasts alike forgot to reproduce their kinds; all life was threatened with extinction. So intimately bound up with the goddess were the sexual functions of the whole animal kingdom that without her presence they could not be discharged. A messenger of the great god Ea was accordingly despatched to rescue the goddess on whom so much depended. The stern queen of the infernal regions, Allatu or Eresh-kigal by name, reluctantly allowed Ishtar to be sprinkled with the Water of Life and to depart, in company probably with her lover Tammuz, that the two might return together to the upper world, and that with their return all nature might revive. Laments for the departed Tammuz are contained in several Babylonian hymns, which liken him to plants that quickly fade. His death appears to have been annually mourned, to the shrill music of flutes, by men and women about midsummer in the month named after him, the month of Tammuz. The dirges were seemingly chanted over an effigy of the dead god, which was washed with pure water, anointed with oil, and clad in a red robe, while the fumes of incense rose into the air, as if to stir his dormant senses by their pungent fragrance and wake him from the sleep of death."

These ceremonies are described in the Babylonian account of the "Descent of Ishtar into Hades,"² wherein the worshiper of Ishtar seeking to know whether the dead may return is warned how to obtain their release from Allatu:

"If she does not give to thee her release, then turn thyself to her.
Unto Tammuz, the husband of her youth.
Pour out pure water, with goodly oil anoint him,
In fine raiment clothe him, a flute of lapis lazuli let him play,
May the goddess Belili destroy her ornaments.

.....
The lament of her brother she heard, and Belili destroyed her ornaments.
.....

O my only brother, do not let me perish!

² R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature*, pp. 408-413. Note also the poetical version of Ishtar's descent given by Edward Gilchrist in "The Weird of Love and Death" in *The Monist*, April, 1912.

On the day of Tammuz play for me the flute of lapis lazuli,
 The samdu flute also play for me:
 At that time play for me, O male mourners and female mourners.
 On instruments let them play, let them inhale the incense."

This annual mourning of Tammuz was spread among all Semitic peoples and continued for many centuries. That it was carried by sea wherever the Phenician traders ventured is undoubted, and where they introduced the custom it was continued under various modifications by the natives themselves. The prophet Ezekiel is sufficient witness to its prevalence in monotheistic Palestine (viii. 14):

"Then he brought me to the door of the gate of the Lord's house which was toward the north; and behold there sat the women weeping for Tammuz. Then said he unto me, Hast thou seen this, O son of man? thou shalt again see yet greater abominations than these."

Similar rites were observed in Asia Minor for a god named Attis, and in Egypt for Osiris; with these the present inquiry is not concerned. They are fully described by Frazer in the volumes above cited.

The Babylonian Tammuz, carried to the Syrian coast and there specially localized, in the worship of the Phenicians and Syrians, was translated to Greece, given various different names, and adopted bodily into the Greek religion. His own name was soon forgotten; but around the name Adonis (Hellenized from *adoni*, lord, an appellation of Tammuz) some of the loveliest of Greek myths were gathered; while by another way, equally accidental, came a god named Linus, annually mourned to the formula *ai Auos*, a mere pun on the Semitic phrase *ai lanu*, "woe is me," appearing in the mourning for Tammuz!

"At the festivals of Adonis," says Frazer,³ which were held in Western Asia and in Greek lands, the death of the god was annually mourned, with a bitter wailing, chiefly by women; images of him dressed to resemble corpses, were carried out as to be buried and then thrown into the sea or into springs; and in some places his revival was celebrated on the following day."

And again,⁴

"In Attica, certainly, the festival fell at the height of summer. For the fleet which Athens fitted out against Syracuse, and by the destruction of which her power was permanently crippled, sailed at midsummer, and by an ominous coincidence the sombre rites of

³ *Golden Bough*, IV, 183.

⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, 185.

Adonis were being celebrated at the very time. As the troops marched down to the harbor to embark, the streets through which they passed were lined with coffins and corpselike effigies, and the air was rent with the noise of women wailing for the dead Adonis. The circumstances cast a gloom over the sailing of the most splendid armament that Athens ever sent to sea. Many ages afterwards, when the Emperor Julian made his first entry into Antioch, he found in like manner the gay, the luxurious capital of the East plunged in mimic grief for the annual death of Adonis; and if he had any presentiment of coming evil, the voices of lamentation which struck upon his ear must have seemed to sound his knell."

In Greek mythology the relations of Tammuz to Ishtar and Allatu became those of Adonis to Aphrodite and Persephone. This was a matter of general knowledge among men of inquiring minds; it was explicitly stated by St. Jerome in his commentary on Ezekiel, also in his Epistles (No. 58, 3). The development of the Adonis story in Greece it is unnecessary to follow. An interesting continuance of the Babylonian story is provided by Shakespeare's poem of *Venus and Adonis*,⁵ wherein the unresponsive nature of the god is more fully outlined than was usual with the Greeks.

"'I know not love,' quoth he, 'nor will not know it,
Unless it be a boar, and then I chase it;
'Tis much to borrow, and I will not owe it;
My love to love is love but to disgrace it;
For I have heard it is a life in death,
That laughs and weeps, and all but with a breath.'"

So in the Gilgamesh epic,⁶ where the fickle Ishtar woos that hero and is repulsed by him because of the fate that overtook Tammuz and her other lovers:

"Where is thy husband Tammuz, who was to be forever?
What, indeed, has become of the allallu-bird?
I will tell thee plainly the dire result of thy coquetries,
To Tammuz, the husband of thy youth,
Thou didst cause weeping and didst bring grief before him every year.
The allallu-bird, so bright of colors thou didst love;
But its wing thou didst break and crush,
So that now it sits in the woods crying, 'O my wing.'"

The Greek Adonis thus appears composite of two Babylonian heroes, Tammuz and Gilgamesh!

⁵ Lines 409-414.

⁶ Harper, *op. cit.*, p. 338.

The story shifts now to a god of another sort entirely; to Pan, the shepherd-god of Arcadia. Pan, Πάν (the pasturer) was said to be the son of Hermes and one of the daughters of the oak-man Dryops; or, by another legend, of Zeus and the nymph Callisto. He was described as having the horns, beard, feet and tail of a goat, and his body was covered with hair. His abode was in the woods, caves or mountain-tops; he was a shepherd, hunter and fisher, and spent his idle hours sporting and dancing with the mountain nymphs. When one of these named Syrinx fled from his embraces, she was changed into a reed, from which, so Ovid tells us,⁷ Pan devised the shepherd's pipe:

"And, when they list, their lean and flashy songs
Grate on their scrannel pipes of wretched straw."⁸

This Pan was an inconsiderate deity, prone to appear at unexpected times to the confusion of his devotees, whence the word "panic," fear.⁹ He was said to possess the power of inspiration and prophecy, in which he instructed Apollo; to whom the great Oracle at Delphi was consecrated. This, it will appear, is Pan's closest real connection with our present inquiry.

The original home of this jolly, if ribald, god was Arcadia. His cult found its way to Athens during the Persian War. Herodotus tells us¹⁰ that just before the battle of Marathon, certain Athenian envoys on their way to Sparta were stopped by this god and commanded to set up an altar to him, in return for which his support would be given them against the invaders. This was done, a cave being built on the Acropolis, where there were annual sacrifices and torch-races in his honor.

Later, by referring his name to a Greek word in more familiar use, or possibly by identification with the ram-headed Egyptian god Chnum, creator of the world, he was conceived as the universal god of nature, τὸ πᾶν (the α long instead of short), the pantheistic divinity.

In Christian legend, it will be well to recall, this horned and tailed deity supplied some of the distinctive features of the popular conception of Satan.

So much for Tammuz, Adonis and Pan. We come now to the circumstances under which they were supposed to have been destroyed—or as some would have it, absorbed—by Christ. The sole

⁷ *Metamorph.*, l. 691 *et seqq.*

⁸ Milton, *Lycidas*, 123-4.

⁹ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th ed., XX, 662-3.

¹⁰ VI, 105.

authority is a passage in Plutarch's dialogue *De Defectu Oraculorum*; and as it has been taken bodily from its proper context, it may be well to recall the general course of that dialogue, and the character of its author.

Plutarch is known to have lived about A. D. 46-120. He was born at Chæronea in Bœotia, trained in philosophy at Athens, and spent his active days in Rome, where he lectured on philosophy and taught the youthful Hadrian. He achieved political honors, being made consul by Trajan and procurator of Greece by Hadrian. In his old age he retired to his native town of Chæronea, where he was archon and priest of the Pythian Apollo. There he compiled the great series of "Parallel Lives" which are still a universal authority for the life and activities of the ancient world, and, there, too, he composed a series of philosophical essays, remarkable for their skilful interpretation of ancient ideas rather than for original thought; which remain a necessary stepping-stone between the system of Plato and that of the Neo-Platonists. Assuredly, then, Plutarch was not the man to whom any one might correctly ascribe an admission that the gods of Greece were dead.

Now for the dialogue *De Defectu Oraculorum*. It begins by noting the decline of belief in oracles in Greece. "There is no reason to inquire about this matter," says Plutarch in § V, "or to discuss the decay of the oracle, but rather, as we see the extinction of them all in general, except one or two, to consider this subject—for what reason they have so decayed:" and the decay is said to have dated from the Peloponnesian War.

(This will later prove to be of importance. Plutarch notes that the decay was not of his own time, but had already progressed for nearly five centuries.)

One of the speakers in the dialogue, Didymus the Cynic, flatly charges that the oracles are silent because the gods will no longer deign to converse with corrupt mankind: "It were a wonder, when so much wickedness is spread abroad, if not merely Modesty and Shame (as Hesiod said of old) should have abandoned mankind, but if the divine Providence should not have packed up its oracles out of every quarter, and taken its departure!"

The dialogue proceeds by considering whether the oracle were the direct communication of the god, or whether it proceeded indirectly by means of lesser spirits, or "dæmons." It leans to the latter view, and suggests that these dæmons may not be immortal; citing several instances, of which the much quoted passage is one. Its conclusion (§ LI) is, that the power of the exhalation, or oracle,

"is in reality due to a god, and to a *dæmon*, yet it is not exempt from cessation, imperishable, undecaying, or capable of lasting to all eternity of time—by which all things between Earth and Moon are worn out, according to our theory. Some there be who hold that everything *above* that sphere do not hold out to all eternity and infinity, but are subject to violent revolutions and renewals." And, far from reaching any final explanation, the dialogue leaves the question unanswered (§LII): "These subjects I exhort both you and myself to examine frequently; inasmuch as they present many holds for objections, and grounds for the opposite opinion; which time does not allow us to enumerate at length. So they must lie over, as also the question Philip raised about the sun and Apollo."

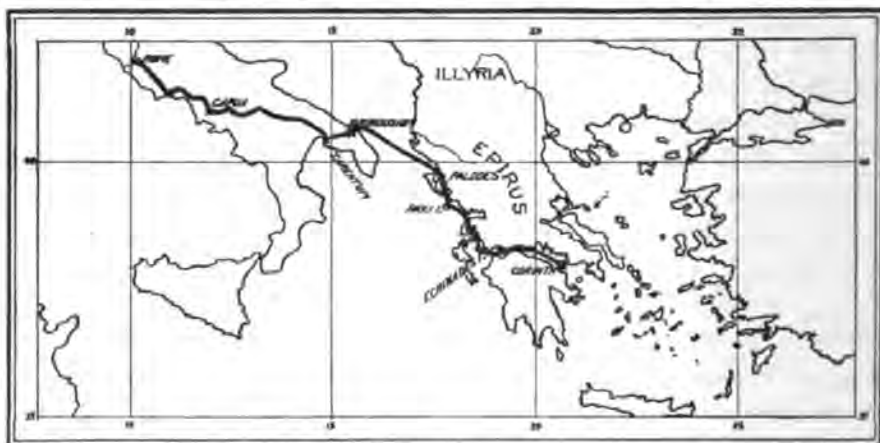
We come now to the single passage of this dialogue (§XVII) on which the whole of the ensuing discussion depends; and which is, nevertheless, a remarkable instance of misconception in news-reporting, and of impossible reasoning based on the erroneous report. The passage in question is as follows:

"With respect to the mortality of beings of the kind [*dæmons*] I have heard a tale from a man who is neither a fool nor an idle talker—from that Aemilian the rhetorician, whom some of you know well; Epitherses was his father, a townsman of mine, and a teacher of grammar. This man (the latter) said, that once upon a time he made a voyage to Italy and embarked on board a ship conveying merchandise and several passengers. When it was now evening, off the Echinad Islands, the wind dropped, and the ship, carried by the current was come near Paxi; most of the passengers were awake, and many were still drinking, after having had supper. All of a sudden, a voice was heard from the Isle of Paxi, of some one calling '*Thamus*' with so loud a cry as to fill them with amazement. This *Thamus* was an Egyptian pilot, known by name to many of those on board. Called twice, he kept silence; but on the third summons he replied to the caller, and the latter, raising yet higher his voice, said, 'When thou comest over against Palodes, announce that the great Pan is dead.' All, upon hearing this, said Epitherses, were filled with consternation, and debated with themselves whether it were better to do as ordered, or not to make themselves too busy, and to let it alone. So *Thamus* decided that if there should be a wind he would sail past and hold his tongue; but should there fall a calm and smooth sea off the island, he would proclaim what he had heard. When, therefore, they were come over against Palodes, there being neither wind nor swell of sea, *Thamus*, looking out from the stern, called out to the land what he had heard, namely, 'That

the great Pan is dead'; and hardly had he finished speaking than there was a mighty cry, not of one, but of many voices mingled together in wondrous manner. And inasmuch as many persons were then present, the story got spread about Rome, and Thamus was sent for by Tiberius Cæsar; and Tiberius gave so much credence to the tale that he made inquiry and research concerning this Pan; and that the learned men about him, who were numerous, conjectured he was the one who was born from Hermes and Penelope."

This story, torn from its context, served for eighteen centuries as ground for the belief that at the crucifixion—or the birth—or by the life—of Christ, the gods of the ancient world, real and living divinities, came to their end, and a new order was instituted.

The sailing course described is the direct course from Greece to Italy, more especially from Corinth to Brundisium, the southern



port of Rome. The Echinades Islands are at the entrance to the Gulf of Corinth; Paxi is just south of Corcyra, and Palodes (Pelodes Portus, the harbor of Buthrotum in Epirus) is at the northern end of the channel of Corcyra. From Echinades to Paxi is about 65 miles and from Paxi to Palodes about 30 more. Thence north of Corcyra and across to Brundisium in Italy, about 100 miles.

The passengers aboard this vessel were probably Romans, returning from sightseeing in Greece; if Greeks they were probably from Corinth or Athens; the poverty and depopulation of Greece being such that country-folk traveled but little. They were, therefore, unlikely in that age to be familiar with the folklore or ancient local beliefs of Greece. The pilot, an Egyptian, was equally a stranger to them.

What actually happened at Paxi and a few hours later at Palodes, is sufficiently evident from the text itself, and is abundantly

proved by M. Salomon Reinach. (*Bulletin des correspondances helléniques*, 1907, Vol. XXXI, pp. 5-19; also *Cultes, Mythes et Religions*, III, 1-15.) It was the annual mourning of Tammuz. The effigy was cast into the sea, and the assembled throng chanted some brief ritual, including the line:

Θαμους Θαμους Θαμους πανμεγας τεθνηκε
 "Tammuz, Tammuz, Tammuz, the very great, is dead."

The pilot, an Egyptian, named Thamus or Tammuz, took the first half of the line as a call to himself. Why he did not know of the god for whom he was named, we need not inquire. Not every Jew of Munich or Vienna who bears the name Isidor could pass an examination in the mysteries of Isis. The name Tammuz being excluded from consideration, there remained only the phrase, reported inaccurately by Epitherses,

Πάν ὁ μέγας τέθνηκε,
 "Pan the great is dead."

Πανμεγας is merely a superlative of *μεγας*, like, for instance, our "almighty"; but this the Roman passengers were not sufficient Hellenists to know. Gravely pondering the meaning of the announcement, they decided that the particle *παν* must refer, not to the adjective *μεγας*, but to the god Pan; they adopted Epitherses's article *ὁ* to the half line of the Greek ritual, and following the directions of those at Paxi, the pilot Thamus announced on arriving off Palodes, again altering the diction of the misunderstood half line, that

ὁ μέγας Πάν τέθνηκεν,
 "The great Pan is dead,"

supposing that they were bearers of news of terrible import, news of the death of a god; whereas to their hearers on shore, they were but announcing that the mourning was completed at Paxi, whereupon an answering cry, as of recognition of fellow worshipers, was set up by those at Palodes.

As M. Reinach puts it, this was "a nocturnal misunderstanding, due to a double confusion of a divine name with a human name, and of a superlative epithet with a divine name."

The sequel was remarkable. Imagine the grave councils at the behest of the brutal materialist Tiberius, to determine whether anything so terrifying as the death of a god had actually occurred, and the conclusion that Pan being only a demigod, hero or *dæmon*, son of a god and a mortal, no danger could accrue to mankind from his demise!

One might wonder that among the whole shipload of passengers was none to associate that mourning cry on a midsummer night,

πανμεγας τεθνηκε,

with the worship of Adonis, still prevalent in Greece, particularly in the country districts of the Peloponnesus, so near the spot where the cry was heard. Pausanias notes the practice in Argos, which possessed "a building where the Argive women bewail Adonis."¹¹

At Amathus in Cyprus he describes an ancient sanctuary of Adonis and Aphrodite where the worship was still maintained,¹² and in Elis, so familiar was the story even in his day, that he refers to it specifically in describing "a sanctuary of the Graces; their images are of wood, their drapery being gilded, but the faces, hands and feet are of white marble. One of them holds a rose, the middle one a die, and the third a sprig of myrtle. The reason why they hold these things may be conjectured to be this: as the rose and the myrtle are sacred to Aphrodite, and associated with the story of Adonis, so of all deities the Graces are most akin to Aphrodite; and the die is a plaything of youths and maidens whom age has not yet robbed of youthful grace."¹³

Pausanias was an antiquarian, full of the ancient faiths of his native land, and our shipload of tourists were evidently not of his sort. Yet even they must have known their Ovid! An indifferent and yet credulous lot they must have been. It was indeed an age when the ancient gods were dead to the minds of men. Greece, for two centuries a province of Rome, impoverished and depopulated, a pleasure ground for the Roman vacationist, had adopted the fashions and the faith—or the lack thereof—of her conquerors.

Finlay sufficiently describes the indifference of the time:¹⁴

"Though ancient superstitions were still practiced, old religious feelings were extinct. The oracles, which had once formed the most remarkable of the sacred institutions of the Greeks, had fallen into decay."¹⁵ It is, however, incorrect to suppose that the Pythoness ceased to deliver her responses from the time of our Saviour's birth, for she was consulted by the Emperor long after. Many oracles continued to be in considerable repute, even after the introduction of Christianity into Greece. Pausanias mentions the oracle of Mal-

¹¹ II, 20, 6.

¹² IX, 41, 2.

¹³ VI, 24, 7.

¹⁴ *Greece under the Romans*, Sect. XII.

¹⁵ Plutarch, *De Orac. Defect.*, VII, 709.

los, in Cilicia, as the most veracious in his time.¹⁶ Claros and Didymi were famous, and much consulted in the time of Lucian; and even new oracles were commenced as a profitable speculation.¹⁷ The oracles continued to give their responses to fervent votaries, long after they had fallen into general neglect. Julian endeavored to revive their influence, and he consulted those of Delphi, Delos and Dodona, concerning the result of his Persian expedition.¹⁸ He vainly attempted to restore Delphi and Daphne, near Antioch, to their ancient splendor.¹⁹ Even so late as the reign of Theodosius the Great, those at Delphi, Didymi and Jupiter Ammon were in existence, but from that period they became utterly silent.²⁰ The reverence which had formerly been paid to them was transferred to astrologers, who were consulted by all ranks and on all occasions. Tiberius, Otho, Hadrian, and Severus, are all mentioned as votaries of this mode of searching into the secrets of futurity.²¹ Yet hidden divination, to which astrology belonged, had been prohibited by the laws of the twelve tables, and was condemned both by express law and by the spirit of the Roman state religion. It was regarded even by the Greeks, as an illicit and disgraceful practice."²²

In explaining the cry to Tammuz rather than Adonis, which would have been more natural in Greece, M. Reinach supposes the existence of Syrian colonies, and cites Bréhier as to the wide dispersion of such. But the Syrians were apt to settle where trade was attractive, and this was assuredly not the case on an islet off the rock-bound coast of Epirus. It seems likely that a hint may be borrowed from Pausanias. Illyria, he says, was settled by Phenicians in the ancient days; Cadmus after settling his kin in Bœotia and founding Thebes, "had gone away to dwell among the Illyrian tribe of the Encheleans," where "his son Polydorus succeeded to the throne."²³

Now the Illyrians were never close to the Hellenes, and the Greek culture was not widespread among them. Here the ancient Semitic ceremony might have been handed down without the corrup-

¹⁶ *Attica*, XXXIV, 2.

¹⁷ Lucian's *Alexander and Peregrinus*.

¹⁸ Theodoretus, *Hist. Eccles.*, III, 16.

¹⁹ Cedrenus, *Hist. Comp.*, p. 304; Ammianus Marcellinus, XXII, 12.

²⁰ Van Limburg Brouwer, *Histoire de la civilisation morale et religieuse des Grecs*, VI, 32; Symmachus *Epist.*, IV, 35.

²¹ Tacitus, *Ann.*, VI, 20; *Hist.*, I, 22; Spartianus, *Hadrian* 2; Severus, p. 65, ed. Paris, 1620.

²² *Cod. Just.*, 9, 8, 2.

²³ IX, 5, 3.

tion of name from Tammuz into Adonis, for which the Greeks were responsible. And later, Pausanias tells us, the Illyrians moved southward and conquered Epirus: "When the kingly government came to an end in Epirus," (that is, after the fall of Pyrrhus) "the common people grew saucy and set all authority at naught. Hence the Illyrians, who inhabit the coast of the Ionian Sea north of Epirus, overran and subdued them."²⁴

If this leads us in the right direction, we may suppose that the dwellers on Paxi were a colony, perhaps of fishermen, from the district of Buthrotum in Epirus; by race and tradition Illyrian, and versed in the ancient worship of Tammuz as taught their forefathers by the Phenician traders in the Adriatic. This gives the more probability to their request that the pilot of a passing vessel should acquaint those on the mainland with the completion of their annual ceremony. They were sending word home, and those left at home were interested in their doings. Here seems at least to be a more probable state of affairs than a chain of Syrian settlements on a rock-bound and primitive shore.

With the decision of the council of Tiberius this event might have been left to oblivion in the imperial archives but for the chance reference in a dialogue of Plutarch, whose writings were valued and preserved among those by whom they were neither appreciated, understood, nor, it would appear, even read. For upon this tale were made to rest the dealings of Christ with the shepherd-god Pan.

In the struggle of Christianity for recognition among those holding the tradition, even if no longer actively observing the worship, of the gods of Olympus, the time was not yet come to conceive that the ancient pantheon had been of man's imagining. The gods were thought to have lived, but to have been in reality evil spirits, formerly permitted to mislead mankind, but now powerless after the sacrifice of the Cross. In the philosophical statement of the case, so little was at issue between the latter-day Platonists and the teachers of the Fourth Gospel, that assent to their doctrine of dæmons might have brought the Greeks into the Christian fold. But the concession involved too much, and the dæmons of the Platonists, the beneficent influences uplifting mankind, were translated into the demons of the Christian church, the imps and devils that lay in wait for the capture of souls. And in support of this course, as well as of the new religion as a whole, the Christian Fathers drew, with more diligence and ingenuity than fairness, upon the literature

²⁴ IV, 35, 5.

of those whom they would convert. Out of their own mouths should they be convinced. One fears that they may not always have been above writing history to their own ends, as when Tertullian gravely asserts²⁵ that "Tiberius, in whose days the Christian name made its entry into the world, having himself received intelligence from Palestine of events which had clearly shown the truth of Christ's divinity, brought the matter before the Senate with his own decision in favor of Christ. The Senate, because it had not given the approval itself, rejected this proposal."

But Christianity grew apace, and it was to a world more interested in new philosophical reasons for the faith, than in new historical proofs, that Eusebius of Cæsarea directed his ministry. Reared and trained in the well-stocked library of Pamphilus, the literature of Greece and Rome was at his disposal, and was, one might almost say, shredded to supply meat for his daily discourses. At that distance of time and place and with a mind so little appreciative of the thought of the earlier literature, it was not to be supposed that an entire work would be digested; a chapter or text snatched at random would suffice. We have already followed the plan of Plutarch's dialogue *De Defectu Oraculorum*, his statement that the oracles had been in decline since the Peloponnesian War, and his failure to arrive at any final conclusion concerning them. Incidentally we have noted Pausanias's interest in the oracles almost in Eusebius's own time. But behold, now, the new meaning, the Christian meaning, asserted by Eusebius for this modest and inconclusive exercise of Plutarch, the priest of Apollo. In his *Præparatio Evangelica*, Book V, he refers to the whole subject of oracles. In § 14 he quotes Porphyry on the philosophy to be derived from oracles. In § 15 he concludes that the gods "were found to be demons haunting the earth and enslaved to passions; wherefore it seems to me that I have followed sound reason in turning away from them." In § 16 he refers to Plutarch's dialogue, and in § 17 quotes the story of Epitherses entire, ending with the following:

"So far Plutarch. But it is important to observe the time at which he says that the death of the dæmon took place. For it was at the time of Tiberius, in which our Saviour, making his sojourn among men, is recorded to have been ridding human life from dæmons of every kind; so that there were some of them now kneeling before Him and beseeching Him not to deliver them over to the Tartarus that awaited them.

"You have therefore the date of the overthrow of the dæmons,

²⁵ *Apol.*, V.

of which there was no record at any other time; just as you had the abolition of human sacrifice among the Gentiles as not having occurred until after the preaching of the doctrine of the Gospel had reached all mankind. Let these refutations from recent history suffice."

One may almost infer from this statement of the case that Eusebius was not altogether convinced by his own argument, but that he put it forth believing that it might fortify some of his hearers and more of his readers at a later day. Plato himself, whose ideas were thus distorted beyond recognition, might almost reply out of his *Republic*,²⁰ "Can you suggest any device by which we can make them believe this fiction? None at all by which we could persuade the men with whom we begin, . . . but their sons, and the next generation, and all subsequent generations, might be taught to believe it."

The heathen gods *were* dead to men's minds; the Gospel of Christ *had* annihilated them; conceived as a struggle of ideas, the Christian claim was true. But to visualize the claim and fix it in minds used to dealing with material things, the lapse of an idea must be presented under the guise of the death of an earthly being; therefore these fisher-folk on the isle of Paxi, in conscious fiction weeping Tammuz, misunderstood and misreported by Plutarch as in actual fact weeping Pan, became the material witnesses for the medieval church, of the physical struggle of Christ with Antichrist, of the downfall of the demons and the liberation of man. Surely an idea so spiritually comprehensive needed no little tawdry piece of materialism such as this to bring it down to earth!

During the Middle Ages there was much grave discussion about the death of "Pan" and as to his nature. The main conclusions are stated by Abbé Anselme, cited by Reinach, as "whether the god Pan was, as some have thought, Jesus Christ himself, as if the divine Saviour had needed to borrow the name of one of his enemies; or whether the devil was forced himself to confess his total defeat by the Cross."

Another medieval explanation, quoted by Rabelais, is gravely criticized by Reinach. A reading of the whole passage will rather indicate that Rabelais was making game of it, with a great laugh thrown in. Plutarch's story is put without change into the mouth of the absurd Pantagruel, who tells of the decision of Tiberius's council, that the supposed "Pan" was the son of Mercury and Penel-

²⁰ III, 415.

ope, and who then offers the medieval explanation as his own:²⁷ "For my part, I understand it of that great Saviour of the faithful, who was shamefully put to death at Jerusalem, by the envy and wickedness of the doctors, priests and monks of the Mosaic law [Surely M. Reinach need not take umbrage at the monks!] and methinks, my interpretation is not improper; for he may lawfully be said in the Greek tongue to be *Pan* since he is our *all*. For all that we are, all that we live, all that we have, all that we hope, is him, by him, from him, and in him. He is the good Pan, the great shepherd, who, as the loving shepherd Corydon affirms, hath not only a tender love and affection for his sheep, but also for their shepherds. At his death, complaints, sighs, fears, and lamentations were spread through the whole fabric of the universe, whether heavens, land, sea, or hell. The time also concurs with this interpretation of mine; for this most good, most mighty Pan, our only Saviour, died near Jerusalem, during the reign of Tiberius Cæsar."

A noble piece of reasoning, truly, based on a cheap pun (on the Greek words *Pân* and *Pān*) identifying the crucified Saviour with the laughing shepherd-god, seducer of Syrinx; worthy of M. Reinach's contempt. But is it the reasoning of Rabelais? Observe, on the contrary, how Pantagruel's medievalism is kicked into the dust-hole: "Pantagruel, having ended this discourse, remained silent, and full of contemplation. A little while after, we saw the tears flow out of his eyes as big as ostrich's eggs. God take me presently, if I tell you one single syllable of a lie in the matter."

What Rabelais thus ridiculed, Milton carried bodily into his noble verse, but in such manner as to keep the imagery on the ideal plane rather than the material. The general idea of a struggle between Christ and the elder gods is expressed in *Paradise Lost*:²⁸

"So spake this Oracle, then verified,
When Jesus, son of Mary, second Eve,
Saw Satan fall like lightning down from Heaven,
Prince of the air; then, rising from his grave,
Spoiled Principalities and Powers, triumphed
In open show, and, with ascension bright,
Captivity led captive through the air."

In this passage the allusion is rather to the Apocalypse, but in the splendid "Hymn on the Morning of Christ's Nativity" the Plutarch-Pan story bears its full share.

²⁷ Pantagruel IV. xxviii.

²⁸ X, 182 *et seqq.*

"The Shepherds on the lawn,
 Or ere the point of dawn,
 Sat simply chatting in a rustic row;
 Full little thought they then,
 That the mighty Pan
 Was kindly come to live with them below;
 Perhaps their loves, or else their sheep,
 Was all that did their silly thoughts so busy keep."

Here we have Pantagruel's identification of Pan with Christ in all seriousness! And the hymn proceeds to Plutarch *via* Eusebius:

"The oracles are dumb,
 No voice or hideous hum
 Runs through the archèd roof in words deceiving,
 Apollo from his shrine
 Can no more divine,
 With hollow shriek the steep of Delphos leaving.
 No nightly trance, or breathèd spell,
 Inspires the pale-eyed priest from the prophetic cell.

"The lonely mountains o'er
 And the resounding shore,
 A voice of weeping heard and loud lament:
 From haunted spring and dale,
 Edgèd with poplar pale,
 The parting Genius is with sighing sent;
 With flower-inwoven tresses torn
 The nymphs in twilight shade of tangled thickets mourn.

"In consecrated earth,
 And on the holy hearth,
 The Lars and Lemures moan with midnight plaint:
 In urns and altars round,
 A drear and dying sound
 Affrights the Flamens at their service quaint;
 And the chill marble seems to sweat,
 While each peculiar Power foregoes his wonted seat."

The cold perspiration of the altar-stone is a touch not found in Eusebius; while in the next stanza, had he but known it, Milton carries Plutarch's story back to its true original:

"Peor and Baalim
 Forsake their temples dim,
 With that twice-battered god of Palestine
 And moonèd Ashtaroth,
 Heaven's queen and mother both,
 Now sits not girt with taper's holy shrine;
 The Lybic Hammon shrinks his horn,
 In vain the Tyrian maids their wounded Thammuz mourn."

With Milton's "solemn music" this ancient story might have rested, had not Schiller composed a poem, *Die Götter Griechenlands*, in which he mourned the general loss of the love of beauty which followed the destruction of classic mythology by the Christian world, and called for its revival. A few representative stanzas follow in Lord Lytton's translation:

"More glorious than the meeds
To Labor choosing Virtue's path sublime,
The grand archives of renowned deeds
Up to the seats of Gods themselves could climb.
Before the dauntless Rescuer of the dead,
Bowed down the silent and Immortal Host;
And the twin Stars their guiding luster shed,
On the bark tempest-tossed!

"Art thou, fair world, no more?
Return, thou virgin-bloom, on Nature's face;
Ah, only on the Minstrel's magic shore,
Can we the footstep of sweet Fable trace!
The meadows mourn for the old hallowing life;
Vainly we search the earth of gods bereft;
And where the image with such warmth was rife,
A shade alone is left!

"Cold, from the North, has gone
Over the flowers the blast that killed their May;
And to enrich the worship of the ONE,
A Universe of Gods must pass away.
Mourning, I search on yonder starry steeps,
But thee no more, Selene, there I see!
And through the woods I call, and o'er the deeps.
No voice replies to me."

Schiller's longing for the joy and art and beauty of the Greek civilization was hardly more than had already found such abundant expression in the European Renaissance. It was the natural reaction against the arid formalism of the Middle Ages; but it troubled the devout soul of Mrs. Browning, and she replied with the poem of "The Dead Pan," in which Plutarch's story, with Eusebius's additions, was reduced to verse, with improvements of her own, as proof that the ancient gods had lived, but that they died at the hour of Calvary.²⁹ The stanzas essential to the story are the following:

²⁹ What she might have said in reply to Swinburne's homage to one of the classic pantheon we can better leave to the imagination:

"Alas, Lord, surely thou art great and fair.
But lo, her wonderfully woven hair!
And thou didst heal us with thy piteous kiss;
But see now, Lord; her mouth is lovelier."
—*Laus Veneris*, V.

"Calm, of old, the bark went onward,
 When a cry more loud than wind,
 Rose up, deepened, and swept sunward,
 From the piled Dark behind;
 And the sun shrank, and grew pale,
 Breathed against by the great wail—
 'Pan, Pan, is dead.'

"And the rowers from the benches
 Fell, each shuddering, on his face,
 While departing Influences
 Struck a cold back through the place;
 And the shadow of the ship
 Reeled along the passive deep—
 'Pan, Pan, is dead.'

"And that dismal cry rose slowly
 And sank slowly through the air,
 Full of spirits' melancholy
 And eternity's despair!
 And they heard the words it said—
 '*Pan is dead—Great Pan is dead—*
Pan, Pan, is dead.'

"'Twas the hour when One in Zion
 Hung for love's sake on the cross;
 When his brow was chill with dying,
 And his soul was faint with loss;
 When his priestly blood dropped downward—
 And his kingly eyes looked throneward—
 Then Pan was dead.

"By the love he stood alone in,
 His sole Godhead rose complete,
 And the false gods fell down moaning,
 Each from off his golden seat;
 All the false gods with a cry
 Rendered up their deity—
 Pan, Pan, was dead.

"Wailing wide across the islands,
 They rent, vest-like, their Divine;
 And a darkness and a silence
 Quenched the light of every shrine;
 And Dodona's oak swang lonely,
 Henceforth to the tempest only,
 Pan, Pan, was dead."

Out of these stanzas the first impression is that Mrs. Browning's thought is as free and careless as her rhymes. See now her conclusion:

"Earth outgrows the mythic fancies
 Sung beside her in her youth,
 And those debonair romances
 Sound but dull beside the truth.
 Phœbus' chariot-course is run;
 Look up, poets, to the sun!
 Pan, Pan, is dead.

"Christ hath sent us down the angels,
 And the whole earth and the skies
 Are illumed by altar-candles
 Lit for blessed mysteries,
 And a priest's hand through creation
 Waveth calm and consecration—
 Pan, Pan, is dead."

Here are some notable additions to the legend, arising from the fervor of Mrs. Browning. The sun "shrank and grew pale," at the fearsome hour of sunset; the rowers fell shuddering on their faces; the annual cry of mourning (followed next day by an orgy of celebration) voiced "eternity's despair"! When the head of the crucified Christ fell on the Cross, "then Pan was dead"; and all the false gods yielded up their deity;³⁰ they rent their divinity as a garment; "as a vesture shalt thou change them, and they shall be changed," and from that moment disappeared the light from every shrine. Even Eusebius would have difficulty in recognizing his explanation under this restatement!

But the particular contribution of this poem lies, if one may so say, not in its stanzas but in its introduction. Here Mrs. Browning reproves Schiller for his paganism, reminding him that heathendom was no more, and citing against him "a well-known tradition mentioned in a treatise of Plutarch (*De Oraculorum Defectu*) according to which at the hour of the Saviour's agony, a cry of 'Great Pan is dead!' swept across the waves in the hearing of certain mariners, and the oracles ceased."

Did Mrs. Browning ever read Plutarch at all? Or was her knowledge of the story derived from some 18th century commentary on Milton?³¹ A more complete misquotation it would be hard

³⁰ (If false, how acquired they it?)

³¹ Followers of Swedenborg are fond of claiming Mrs. Browning as one of themselves. While the concordance to his works contains no reference to this particular legend, there are numerous passages in which he states that the demigods, demons and heroes of the pagan world were evil spirits, who were able to command human allegiance before the Advent of Christ, but were thereupon returned to the hells from which they came. It is not impossible that Mrs. Browning had in mind some passage from *Heaven and Hell*, or even the following from *Arcana Cœlestia*:

"6373. The Divine which transflowed through the Celestial kingdom

to imagine. Plutarch nowhere said that the oracles ceased; he noted their decline through a period of 500 years; he nowhere mentioned the Saviour's agony,—how could he have done so, being priest of the Pythian Apollo for his native town, and as procurator of Greece under the Emperor Hadrian responsible for the enforcement of the laws of the Empire against Christian assemblies whenever complaint arose? His position was exactly that of the younger Pliny,³² whom as proprætor of Pontica the Emperor Trajan instructed "in investigating the charges against the Christians who are brought before you, it is not possible to lay down any general rule. Do not go out of your way to look for them. If indeed they should be brought before you and the crime is proved, they must be punished."

And yet in spite of the laws of the Empire, which he was sworn to execute, and of his sincere Hellenism, which he was initiated to uphold, Plutarch was made the authority for one of the most absurd of all the theological misconceptions of medieval Christianity.

So the myth runs its course. Dumu-zi-abzu, demigod of the Accadians, perhaps helping their fisheries in the Persian Gulf, became Tammuz of the Babylonians, typifying the decay and revival of vegetation. Tammuz, because an Egyptian pilot happened to bear his name and a Roman grammarian misunderstood his title, was translated by Plutarch into Pan, the merry protector of the Arcadian shepherds; and the death of Tammuz, wrongly ascribed to Pan, was laid by Eusebius to the ministration of Jesus Christ. Pan himself became Christ, or Antichrist, or was killed by Christ, according to the imagination of the Christians. Ridiculed by Rabelais, used imaginatively by Milton, the story was nailed down to earth by Mrs. Browning. And had the myth been formulated by a papal council instead of an English poetess, the western world might to-day be expected to uphold it as an article of faith.

could not be pure...and therefore at that time infernal and diabolical spirits issued from the Hells, and exercised dominion over the Souls who came from the world....

"6858. Before the Advent of the Lord into the world, evil Genii and Spirits occupied all that region of Heaven to which the spiritual were afterwards elevated....But after the Lord's Advent, they were all thrust down into their Hells....

"6914.It has been given to know what was the nature of the state of the evil Genii and Spirits, who, before the Lord's Advent, occupied the lower region of Heaven...."

³² *Epist.*, XCVIII.

PAN THE RUSTIC.

BY THE EDITOR.

PAN is one of the strangest figures among the Greek gods. He is a mixture of man and goat and does not seem to justify the Greek taste for beauty. Nevertheless if archeologists are agreed on



STATUE OF PAN
Athens, 4th century.



HEAD OF PAN
Terra cotta from Tralles.



STATUE OF PAN.
Athens, 4th century.

anything concerning this strange deity, it is on the fact that he is an originally Greek god, his home being the rustic haunts of Arcadia.

The origin of his name is quite doubtful. Welcker (in his *Griechische Götterlegenden*, 451 ff.) derives the name from $\phi\acute{\alpha}\sigma$, "light," and believes that the original spelling was $\phi\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu$. He regards



PAN AND DAPHNIS.

Pliny (*Hist. nat.*, 36, 29) calls this group "Pan and Olympus" and compares it to the group of Chiron instructing Achilles, mentioning that both had been put up in the *Saepta Julia*; but since there is no legend in which Pan is mentioned in connection with Olympus the name may be a mistake of Pliny for Daphnis.

it as significant that according to Herodotus (VI, 105) and Pausanias (VIII, 37, 8) torch races constituted a prominent feature in his worship. Another derivation from $\pi\acute{\alpha}\omega$ (the Latin *pasco*) would characterize Pan as the herdsman, yet it is possible that the more

general meaning of Pan developed into a god of flocks in Arcadia where the inhabitants were naturally obliged to make their living by the raising of sheep and goats.

Pan was never regarded as one of the main deities. In fact it is doubtful whether we should call him a god at all; he is more of a good-natured and tricky goblin after the style of Puck (except that he is destitute of beauty), displaying a mischievous nature, a veritable demigod of pranks.



PAN AND DAPHNIS.
Marble in Uffizi Gallery, Florence.



PAN AND A MAENAD.
From Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, II, 1149.

Though Pan is one of the minor deities, he is highly respected as a prophet, and he is even reported to have been a teacher of Apollo before the great god of light and revelation established his oracle at Delphi. Though Pan's musical instrument is most modest, he is also believed to rank high as a musician.

A famous marble group, worthy of Scopas and therefore sometimes attributed to him, shows Pan instructing the beautiful young

Daphnis in the art of blowing the syrinx, a sculpture which is mainly remarkable for the contrast between the virginlike boy and the rough, rustic and coarse features of his good-natured teacher.

We are informed by Pausanias (2, 10, 2) that in the temple of Asklepios at Corinth the statues of Pan and Selene were standing together in commemoration of Pan's devotion to the goddess of the moon, and this combination is also mentioned by Nikandros, Virgil and others. This seems to corroborate the derivation of Pan from



PAN OVERCOME BY BACCHUS.

φάος as originally the god of light or the sun-god, but the legend has never gained many adherents and has certainly not affected the general conception of Selene.

Pan also excels in the art of dancing though his motions are not Terpsichorean but are marked by comic awkwardness. He is the patron of frolic, fun and grotesque capering. He leads the dances of the nymphs and the maenads, the beautiful companions of Bacchus-Dionysos.

A rustic deity of Italy called Faunus was very similar to Pan and is often identified with him.

Pan became popular after the battle of Marathon, on which occasion he is supposed to have helped the Athenians by spreading a panic among the Persians. Herodotus tells the story as follows (VI, 105):

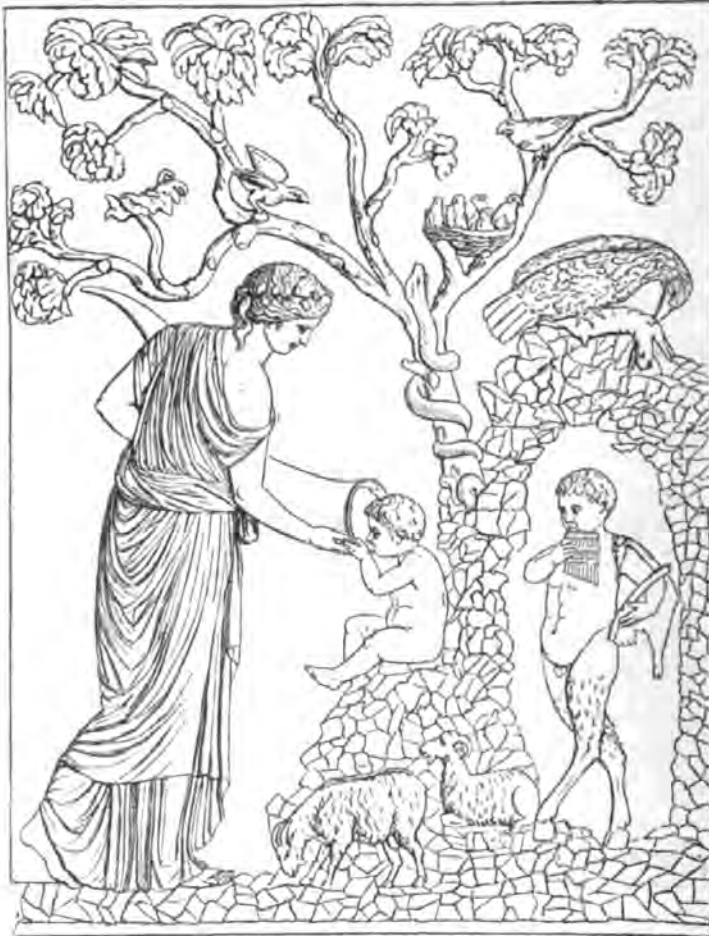


A VOTIVE RELIEF.

From the Acropolis at Athens, representing a devotee before three nymphs guided by Pan.

"And in the first place while they were still in the city, the commanders sent Pheidippides as a messenger to Sparta. He was an Athenian and it was his business to carry messages. Now as he himself related and reported to the Athenians, Pheidippides met Pan in the neighborhood of Mount Parthenion above Tegea, and he told how Pan had called him by name and said to him that he should ask the Athenians why they had altogether neglected him, since he

was well disposed toward the Athenians and had already done them much good and would continue to do so in the future. The Athenians believed that this was true and when they were again in a state of peace and quiet they built a temple to Pan under the citadel and every year they propitiate him with sacrifices and torch races."



THE AMALTHEIA RELIEF.*

Greek mythology states that Pan enjoyed terrifying the lonely wanderer in woodland solitudes, and the word "panic" is derived from the belief in these practical jokes of Pan. The Athenians honored Pan by devoting to him a grotto on the northwestern slope of the Acropolis above the spring Clepsydra, within that portion of

* This well-known marble is sometimes interpreted to represent the childhood of Zeus who is secretly raised in a cave by the nymph Amaltheia where a youthful Pan serves as the god's playfellow. Some archeologists explain the scene as representing Pan and his twin brother Arkos brought up by their mother (possibly Mara or Oinoe).

the rock that is called the Bastion of Odysseus, situated close to the left of the ascent through the Propylaea.

The parentage of Pan is related differently in different legends. He is said to be the son of Hermes and Penelope, or again of Penelope and all the suitors. This statement is made to explain the wrong etymology of his name which in defiance of the quantity of the vowels is here assumed to mean "all" (*πᾶν*). Again he is said to be the son of Hermes and Dryope, the nymph of the oak tree (*δρῦς, δρυός*).

Ovid tells of Pan's love for Syrinx, a nymph of the reeds, and describes how the virgin is changed into a reed at the the moment of being captured by the enamoured demigod. The lover makes a



PAN AND SYRINX.
A coin of Thelpousa.



A PAN MASK.
From Baumeister, II, 1150.

pipe of the reed and expresses his disappointment in the plaintive strains of this musical instrument so frequently found in the hands of shepherds.

Another legend describes the love of Pan for Echo who leads him by her voice but never allows her clumsy suitor to find her. While Pan is ugly and mischievous he is always represented as good-natured and is claimed to be a favorite with gods and mortals. The most comprehensive description of his history and character is preserved in one of the Homeric Hymns which we here quote in full in Chapman's classical translation:

"Sing Muse, this chief of Hermes' love-got joys
Goat-footed, two-horned, amorous of noise,

That through the fair greens, all adorned with trees,
 Together goes with Nymphs, whose nimble knees
 Can every dance foot, that affect to scale
 The most inaccessible tops of all
 Uprightest rocks, and ever use to call
 On Pan, the bright-haired God of pastoral;
 Who yet is lean and loveless, and doth owe



PAN ON A LAMP.

Between the branches is seen the face of a woman sometimes interpreted as Echo and sometimes as Selene.

By lot all loftiest mountains crowned with snow;
 All tops of hills, and cliffy highnesses,
 All sylvan copses, and the fortresses
 Of thorniest queaches, here and there doth rove,
 And sometimes, by allurements of his love,
 Will wade the watery softnesses. Sometimes
 (In quite opposed *capriccios*) he climbs

The hardest rocks, and highest, every way
 Running their ridges. Often will convey
 Himself up to a watch-tower's top, where sheep
 Have their observance. Oft through hills as steep
 His goats he runs upon, and never rests.
 Then turns he head, and flies on savage beasts,
 Mad of their slaughters; so most sharp an eye
 Setting upon them, as his beams let fly
 Through all their thickest tapestries. And then
 (When Hesperus calls to fold the flocks of men)
 From the green closets of his loftiest reeds
 He rushes forth, and joy with song he feeds.
 When, under shadow of their motions set,
 He plays a verse forth so profoundly sweet,
 As not a bird that in the flowery spring,



PAN OFFERING A SACRIFICE TO DIONYSOS.

Behind Pan may be seen Eros holding a large bunch of grapes in his hand. He is seated on a goat that is butting a satyr who raises an arm in defence.

Amidst the leaves set, makes the thickets ring
 Of her sour sorrows, sweetened with her song,
 Runs her divisions varied so and strong.
 And then the sweet-voiced nymphs that crown his mountains
 (Flocked round about the deep-black-watered fountains)
 Fall in with their contention of song.
 To which the echoes all the hills along
 Their repercussions add. Then here and there
 (Placed in the midst) the god the guide doth bear
 Of all their dances, winding in and out,
 A lynce's hide, besprinkled round about
 With blood, cast on his shoulders. And thus he,
 With wellmade songs, maintains th' alacrity
 Of his free mind, in silken meadows crowned
 With hyacinths and saffrons, that abound

In sweet-breathed odors, that th'unnumbered grass
 (Besides their scents) give as through all they pass.
 And these, in all their pleasures, ever raise
 The blessed gods' and long Olympus' praise:
 Like zealous Hermes, who of all I said
 Most profits up to all the gods conveyed.
 Who likewise, came into th'Arcadian state,
 (That's rich in fountains, and all celebrate
 For nurse of flocks,) where he had vowed a grove
 (Surnamed Cyllenius) to his godhead's love.
 Yet even himself (although a god he were)
 Clad in a squalid sheepskin, governed there
 A mortal's sheep. For soft love entering him



A SATYR REMOVING A THORN FROM PAN'S FOOT.

Conformed his state to his conceited trim,
 And made him long, in an extreme degree,
 T'enjoy the fair-haired virgin Dryope.
 Which ere he could, she made him consummate
 The flourishing rite of Hymen's honored state;
 And brought him such a piece of progeny
 As showed, at first sight, monstrous to the eye,
 Goat-footed, two-horned, full of noise even then,
 And (opposite quite to other children)
 Told, in sweet laughter, he owed death no tear.
 Yet straight his mother start, and fled, in fear,
 The sight of so unsatisfying a thing,
 In whose face put forth such a bristled spring.

Yet the most useful Mercury embraced,
 And took into his arms, his homely-faced,
 Beyond all measure joyful with his sight;
 And up to heaven with him made instant flight,
 Wrapped in the warm skin of a mountain hare,
 Set him by Jove, and made most merry fare
 To all the deities else with his son's sight;
 Which most of all filled Bacchus with delight;
 And Pan they called him, since he brought to all
 Of mirth so rare and full a festival.

"And thus all honor to the shepherds' kin,
 For sacrifice to thee my muse shall sing!"

We will supplement the Homeric hymn dedicated to Pan by Goethe's humorous verse. Herein the poet shows his breadth of mind, including in his benevolent interest creatures of all kinds—even the goat-footed tribe of Pan:

"In the wilderness a holy man
 To his surprise met a servant of Pan,
 A goat-footed faun, who spoke with grace:
 'Lord pray for me and for my race,
 That we in heaven find a place:
 We thirst for God's eternal bliss.'
 The holy man made answer to this:
 'How can I grant thy bold petition,
 For thou canst hardly gain admission
 For lo! thou hast a cloven foot!'
 Undaunted the wild man made the plea:
 'Why should my foot offensive be?
 I've seen great numbers that went straight
 With asses' heads through heaven's gate.'"—Tr. by P. C.

In conclusion we ought to add that some features of Pan (as stated on another page by Mr. Wilfred H. Schoff) have entered Christian demonology in the shape of goat-footed imps, and even the highly cultured Mephistopheles is frequently represented in poetry and art with some features of the good-natured and mischievous god of Greek antiquity.

The identification of Pan the goat-footed deity with Pan the All, which latter is originally a purely philosophical conception, is due solely to the similarity in sound and has led to some curious combinations which need not be discussed here. It has in some respects lent dignity to the goblin of the herdsman and in other respects has made the lower features of nature rather too prominent in the dignified conception of the All. Consequently this combination is mostly ignored by the philosophers.

A strange incident narrated by Plutarch of an exclamation, "Great Pan is dead!" created a stir first at the Court of Tiberius and



PAN IN THE ZODIAC.

Here we have a combination of Pan the goatherds' god and Pan as the cosmic All.



A PAN MASK.

From Baumeister's *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, II, 1150.

then echoed through the Christian world from the days of Eusebius down to the present time. Its approximate coincidence in time with the death of Christ was understood as a divine revelation of extra-



PAN MASKS.

ordinary significance. Mr. Wilfred H. Schoff, the translator of *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* who is particularly familiar

with the interrelations of East and West at about the beginning of the Christian era, in his article "Tammuz, Pan and Christ" in the present number treats this subject in detail, and we learn from his expositions that it is one of the most curious verbal misinterpretations that has ever occurred in the history of human thought. The connections between Pan and Christ are purely accidental and yet in these different names there is a similarity which bewilders us and renders their combination mystifying.

The ancient Tammuz is one of the most important prototypes of Christ. He is a god-man, an incarnation of the deity who is born as a human being, dies in the course of time and wakes to life again. The celebration of a Tammuz Good Friday was marked by the lamentation, "Tammuz, the All-great is dead," and this lamentation, a custom still common at the time of the crucifixion of Christ, was taken up by mariners and carried to Rome where its strange sound mystified the imperial house and caused consternation among religious people. Being distorted from "the all-great" into "Pan the great" its repetition among Christians caused it to be interpreted as Pan either as the representative of a pagan pantheism or as Christ, the incarnation of God himself, who is all in all to his people.

Mr. Schoff has sketched with admirable clearness this phase in the history of the ideas, Christ, Tammuz and Pan, where accident and their intrinsic kinship have produced a most surprising and profoundly significant combination.

THE SECRET OF CHRISTIANITY.¹

BY WILHELM VON SCHNEHEN.

CRITICAL theology long ago recognized a strong symbolic element, not only in the accounts of miracles but also in other parts of the Gospels, without however observing that in each particular case the assumption of a symbolic intent unavoidably implied the surrender of the historic content. Moreover, before all else it lacked any fixed principle for distinguishing the symbolic from the supposedly historic. At all times its judgment as to what should count as "historic" has been determined only by subjective whim, caprice, or prejudice. Whatever chanced to correspond with the "Jesus-idea" (*Jesusbild*) of the critic in question or of his school or theological party, was without further ado stamped as "certain" or at least probable. Any justification of this "Idea" was not only not given, it was not even attempted, and the "Idea" was left floating in the air as an unproved presupposition of the whole scheme. Hence we cannot find fault with the learned and brilliant (*geistvollen*) American, William Benjamin Smith, author of "The Pre-Christian Jesus," when in his new work *Ecce Deus*² he parts company with this queer theological-historical "science," and in the explanation of the Gospels themselves strikes into entirely different paths.

The starting point of his investigation is found in the well-known words of Mark (iv. 33 f.): "And with many such parables he spake unto them the Word, as they were able to hear it. And without a parable spake he not unto them" (Compare Matt. xiii. 34 f.). Here, says Smith with justice, we have the sure unambigu-

¹ This extract is translated from a remarkably clear and able article entitled as above, written by the distinguished critic and man of letters, Wilhelm von Schnehen, and published in the *Volkserzieher* of Berlin, a fortnightly journal of education, June 9, 1912.

² Eugen Diederichs, Jena, 1911, pp. xvi, 315. English version (enlarged) Open Court Pub. Co., Chicago, 1912.

ous proof that the primitive form of the Christian preaching was exclusively symbolic. But why was this so? The reason is laid bare in Mark iv. 11; Matt. xiii. 34; Luke viii. 9. The doctrine was expressed in parables especially to this end, that it might not be understood by strangers, by "those without"; only to the "disciples," to the initiated was it "given to know the mystery of the kingdom of God"; for to them "all was explained privately" (Mark iv. 34). Any other interpretation of these clear unmistakable words is impossible. Consequently historical theology is at a loss what to do with them, but stands here before the dilemma openly avowed by Juelicher: "Either Jesus—or the Evangelists," and must reject the combined testimony of the three Synoptic Gospels, in order to save its conception of Jesus. For any such intentional secrecy of the teaching of the kingdom of God, any such systematic concealment of meaning from the uninitiated body of the people, is consistent neither with the orthodox nor with the liberal conception of Jesus. But this conception of Jesus loses all historical basis as soon as we throw aside the testimony of the Gospels, and is then seen to be precisely what it really is, namely, a mere creature of theologic fancy, an "Idea" either arbitrarily fashioned in direct contradiction of the Gospels or else foisted upon them by violence. And Smith proceeds with perfect logic when he dismisses this "Jesus-Idea," whether orthodox or liberal, and planting himself on the clear, unequivocal, and consistent testimony of the three first Gospels, maintains that in the case of the original evangelic teaching, with its parables and accounts of miracles, we have to deal with a mystery-religion, with the dialect of a religious society, which was intentionally kept unintelligible to the uninitiated outsiders.

But what was then the inner essence, the peculiar content or leading thought of this secret primitive Christian proclamation? It was, answers Smith, simply a protest against pagan idolatry, and therefore a campaign for monotheism. And accordingly also the call to repentance, with which in the Gospels everywhere the glad tidings of the approaching kingdom of God begin, is, exactly as with the prophets of the Old Testament (Jer. xxv. 5 f.; xxxv. 15; Ezek. xiv. 6; Zech. i. 3 f., and a hundred similar passages), not to be understood ethically but religiously, as a call to conversion from the many false gods to the one true God, the Father of all men. See Rev. xiv. 6, 7; Acts xx. 21. But such a crusade against the officially recognized gods of heathendom, including the emperor himself, could not at first be conducted otherwise than in secret unless its champions wished to collide instantly and everywhere with the

Roman authorities. And by this necessary secrecy of the primitive Christian proclamation are explained at once the symbolic dialect and the preponderance of parables in the didactic portions of the Gospels. So too the previously cited and otherwise wholly unintelligible verses (Mark iv. 11, 33 etc.) are explained easily and naturally. The expulsion of demons, which plays such an important rôle in the Gospels, and which appears as the first task of the preacher of God's kingdom (Mark iii. 14 f.; Matt. x. 1; Luke x. 14), is, like all the other wonders, only a part of this symbolic mode of speech. The sin of idolatry, as already was the case in the Old Testament, was represented as a disease, as possession by Demons, and the One God, who heals this malady, was worshiped as the Healer or Saviour, conceived personally, named symbolically with the appropriate name Jesus, and in accord with universal custom represented as a Man. Hence the appearance of Jesus in the flesh was originally meant only figuratively. But afterwards the figure was further elaborated and misunderstood as historic fact. Hereto was added the idea of a divine Sufferer or of a God offering up himself for mankind, an idea suggested by Isaiah, Plato, and the heathen mysteries. So the Christian drama of redemption arose.

In this way does Smith essay to reveal to us the secret of primitive Christianity, and to make its true nature intelligible. And I am certain that every one who takes his work in hand will be as much amazed at the acumen with which the author establishes his conception in detail as at the multitude of new insights that he affords us. In fact his *Ecce Deus*, no less and in truth still more than his "Pre-Christian Jesus," casts a totally new and surprisingly clear light on the New Testament and the whole history of early Christianity. We understand now the seemingly sudden and almost simultaneous appearance of the new cult in numerous different and often widely separated regions. We comprehend the swift triumphal march of the young religion through the whole world of Greek-Roman civilization. No longer do we wonder that Paul in Acts so often finds "brethren" at places he visits for the first time. We are no longer astonished that according to the same authority the learned Alexandrian, Apollos, proclaims zealously "the doctrine of the Jesus," "though knowing only the baptism of John," and therefore manifestly knowing naught of any history of Jesus. We comprehend why, aside from four or five doubtful passages in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, all the Epistles of the New Testament along with the Revelation of John, as well as all the apologists of the first centuries, make no mention of the life or the teaching of any

man Jesus. And above all we now understand correctly and for the first time the deeper sense of the Gospels themselves and many otherwise wholly unintelligible details of their narratives. In particular we no longer take offence at the miracles of Jesus, since they are only symbolically meant, are only figurative representations of purely spiritual events. We understand why the Saviour meets with demons and those possessed of demons only in half-pagan Galilee but not in Judea. We see, for instance, that the demoniac of Gerasa, with his whole "legion of unclean spirits" is nothing else than heathen humanity, which through belief in countless false gods has been robbed of sound reason and now wins it again through the cult of Jesus. We recognize that the man with the withered hand is only Jewish humanity, lamed by tradition and healed by the new teaching. We perceive it as self-evident that the rich man also, who had kept the commandments from his youth up, but is unwilling to divide his possessions with the poor, is again nothing else than the people Israel, which refuses to renounce its spiritual prerogatives and enter on like terms with the Gentiles into the kingdom of God. And we find also the same symbolic representation of the relations between Jew and Gentile in the story of the Prodigal Son, in the parable of the beggar Lazarus, in the account of Lazarus and his two sisters, and finally in the treason of Judas Iscariot.

But enough of particulars. He who seeks for deeper insight must betake himself to the works of Smith. And whoever does so will then without question agree with me in the judgment that the American may confidently match himself in learning with every theologian of our day, and that in genius (*Geist*) he overtops them—well, pretty much all. This appears especially clearly also in the Appendix to his work, where he repels with equal skill and high-bred gentility the odious attacks of Weinel upon his earlier work, "The Pre-Christian Jesus," and visits upon the hostile specialist an overthrow that is really annihilation.

THE EVEN BALANCE.

BY JOHN NEWTON LYLE.

HOW is the balance kept even? By taking as much out of one scale pan as out of the other, or by putting as much in one pan as in the other.

These two principles are so glaringly self-evident that few consider them worthy of a second thought. They are given a place, however, among the axioms of a very remarkable scientific work published at Alexandria in Egypt several centuries before the Christian Era. They were called "common notions" by their clear-headed, common sense Greek author and were stated in the following intelligible language: "If equals be taken from equals, the remainders are equal; if equals be added to equals the wholes are equal."

Has the truth of these two axioms ever been called in question? Yes, by an entire school of mathematical aeronauts who for two centuries past have been attempting aviation above the atmosphere in which alone it is possible.

This school demands "that we can take indifferently the one for the other two quantities which differ from each other only by an infinitely small quantity or (which is the same thing) that a quantity which is increased or diminished only by another quantity infinitely less than itself can be considered as remaining the same."

The demand is represented as being used to increase or diminish one member of an equation, the other member remaining untouched, while at the same time the resulting equation is said to be absolutely accurate.

Of course this procedure is in conflict with the two Euclidean axioms quoted above.

The apology offered for this discourtesy to Euclid is that the phrase "infinitely small" is used.

With deep regret the apology is herein declined for the reason

that the "infinitely small" quantities of the hypothesis are retained in the first member of the equation as dividend and divisor whilst absolutely rejected from the second member. Are the properties of quantity different in one member of an equation from what they are in the other?

Remember that we are dealing now with mathematical symbols, not with fortune telling charms; with self-evident truths, not with statements neither self-evident nor true.

Has the phrase "infinitely small" as applied to mathematical quantity magical virtue?

Remember we are mathematicians and not magicians.

Is the modern calculus a species of occultism or is it a demonstrable science? Are its professors conjurers or scientific geometers?

The two Euclidean axioms to which reference has been made are either true all of the time or false all of the time. They can not be true a part of the time and a part of the time false.

A question of far-reaching importance in mathematics and philosophy here arises.

Can the first differential coefficient be obtained by the use of finite increments only, and without antagonizing the Euclidean axioms? This question was answered in the affirmative in the volume of the *American Mathematical Monthly* for the year 1894.

The subject was discussed in two articles, the one entitled "Are Differentials Finite Quantities?" the other, "The First Differential Coefficient of the Circle."

There is unity in mathematical science. The modern should not discredit the ancient but harmonize therewith.

The hypotheses introduced by both the German and the English mathematicians to explain the processes of the modern calculus were criticised relentlessly by Bishop Berkeley, who was himself a mathematician.

The English mathematicians lost their tempers on account of Berkeley's criticisms and stormed around in genuine John Bull fashion. The phlegmatic school of Leibnitz, however, ignored what Berkeley had to say respecting their transcendental, anti-Euclidean hypotheses, and instead of meeting Berkeley's objections candidly, honestly and bravely they did not meet them at all, but contented themselves with disparaging his idealistic philosophy and tar-water remedies which had nothing on earth to do with the modern calculus. This surely is a phenomenon. A land dominated by the idealism of Kant, Fichte, Schelling and Hegel refuses to consider the objec-

tions to the demands of De L'Hopital because of the idealistic philosophy of the objector!

What Berkeley really did in a speculative way was to carry the assumptions of the current philosophy of his day to their logical conclusion. This conclusion was absurd from the viewpoint of common sense and proves the falsity of the premises from which he argued. Berkeley, however, accepted both the false assumptions and their logical corollaries and gave to the world his idealistic philosophy. Whatever induced him to give to mankind his tar-water healing system remains an unsolved mystery. He alleges in quaint language that a patient once took an overdose—a quart of the potent stuff—and “was wrought all manner of ways.” The same objection that lies against Berkeley’s idealism applies to that of later writers. From the viewpoint of common sense, Borden P. Bowne’s conclusions are as absurd as those of Berkeley. Consequently, his premises, which are of Kantian origin, are equally in need of revision.

Abundant industry and conscientiousness must be accorded to both Berkeley and Bowne. They undoubtedly stuck to their job and laboriously evolved what was wrapped up in their initial hypotheses.

Their service to mankind was that of labor-saving machines. The duty left to their successors is that of rectifying their premises.

Lobatchevsky, also, set out from false premises, reached absurd conclusions, but whilst on the journey his premises underwent a process of evolution so that at the end of the trip they could not be recognized as the ones from which he started. The trouble with the transcendental non-Euclidean is that he does not understand the principles of even balance.

EDITORIAL COMMENT.

John Newton Lyle, of Bentonville, Arkansas, protests in the name of common sense against non-Euclidean geometry, and quotes literally some of the paradoxical statements of the advocates of this theory. The problem is too complicated to discuss here, and there is no need of entering into it, because a statement of it has been made in the editor’s little book *Foundation of Mathematics*, and the gist of it has been recapitulated in his summary of the philosophy of science, entitled *Philosophy of Form*. The significance of meta-geometry does not lie in the refutation of Euclid. Euclid remains as reliable as ever before. It merely proves that Euclid is not the only possible system of geometry, and that other systems can be constructed which do not rest on the principle that parallel lines will never meet except in infinity. One of the difficulties of mathematics

is the conception of zero, and also in modern mathematics the conception of the infinitely small, which latter has been not justly identified with naught, because for practical purposes the infinitely small is a negligible factor. Our correspondent, Mr. Lyle, is quite right that no amount of reasoning or suppression of reasoning can identify the infinitely small with zero, but many paradoxes are based upon this identification.

Our correspondent is the author of a brief manual entitled "The Euclidean or Common Sense Theory of Space," and presumably because he found it hard to have a hearing, being, as he himself states, "76 years young," dares *The Open Court* by assuming that it is a shut court to him, but we gladly give him space for his article because we believe that his views are typical of large numbers of thinkers who stand up for common sense even in the face of the learned authority of such original geniuses as Lobatchevsky, Bolyai, and their host of followers.

THE FOURTH DIMENSION.

BY PAUL ROBERTS SHIPMAN.

IN the New York *Sun's* weekly column of "Questions and Answers," widely recognized as a center of curious or forgotten lore and certainly supplied by one having not only a well-trained intellect but that flavor of culture which consists in knowing where to look for what one seeks to find, I note the following question and answer.

"Kindly inform me what the fourth dimension really is. MARY C. QUINN.

"It is a property of space quite beyond the sense perception of men, an abstraction derived from the results obtained by well comprehended processes in the higher mathematics. Certain things happen in these computations which are in no way susceptible of explanation in a space restricted to the three tea chest dimensions of length, breadth and thickness. From a sufficiently considerable number of such phenomena the theory has been evolved that space has a fourth dimension. In the common progress of mathematical study the need of such transcendental dimension first arises in the specific case of that plane section of the cone designated the hyperbola. At an infinite as well as in all intermediate distances of that curve from the point of origin the line is continuous in a given direction; if now to infinity a single unit be added the curve comes into view in the diametrically opposite direction. In this elementary demonstration the fourth spatial dimension appears to suggest sphericity; but this is only the beginning. It is still under careful examination by mathematicians. Sciologists at one time seized upon the idea in explanation of thought transference, psychic phenomena and the whole hoodoo range in general."

It is perhaps allowable to accept this as the up-to-date answer to the question. It is at any rate safe to say, I think, that no answer

more intelligent or more intelligible is likely to be given by the experts who are said to have the subject under further examination. If so, the true answer would seem to be that the fourth dimension is an absolute fiction. A thing the need of which arises from adding a unit to infinity is by that fact itself impossible, since any addition to infinity presupposes a contradiction, the first of impossibilities. An impossibility no doubt can be assumed to exist and from the assumption necessary inferences be drawn, but each of these will be as impossible as the original. The process is merely a play of reasoning, ending where it begins. The stream can not rise above its source.

A property of space or anything else which is "in no way susceptible of explanation" in three-dimensional space is either an ultimate fact, calling for no explanation and admitting of none, or no fact at all. If the fourth dimension "is still under careful examination by mathematicians," plain people may be pardoned for thinking that it has not yet passed out of the hands of the "sciolists." Many of the foremost thinkers of the world have been of the opinion that in the sphere of contingent matter, comprising admittedly the most important employments of the human mind, mathematicians in general are "sciolists," and visionaries besides. "In the course of my own experience, I have never met with a mere mathematician," says Dugald Stewart, himself in the opening of his career a distinguished professor of mathematics, "who was not credulous to a fault." The question of a fourth dimension, I will venture to add, does not properly belong to mathematics anyway, but to philosophy which alone determines the scope of our faculties and inquires into the origin and nature of things within it.

PROFESSOR WILHELM WUNDT.

BY DR. J. BLUWSTEIN.

[On August 16 Prof. Wilhelm Wundt celebrated his eightieth birthday. The official oration on that occasion was delivered by Dr. Bluwstein, and we here translate it from advance proofs sent us by the author with the kind permission of Dr. Ludwig Stein, the editor of *Nord und Süd*, in the August number of which appeared Dr. Bluwstein's address.—Ed.]

IN this day of most extreme specialization—which only too often means self-imposed limitation—in this day of specialists and special departments of science, there lives a great man to whom we give only the recognition he merits when we place him in the same category with Aristotle and Leibnitz. Like them he is master of the immeasurable knowledge of his own age and at the same time has opened up new realms to the inquiring mind.

We often think of great men only in their externalities. . . . For Wundt his eightieth birthday signifies no conclusion and no cessation from his labors; for him it is only an incident of the calendar. . . . A day in which so many others would long since have survived their best efforts, in which they would have lost all comprehension of their own better selves, closes one of his most fruitful years. *Kleine Schriften, Elemente der Völkerpsychologie*, the sixth revised and enlarged edition of his *Grundzüge der physiologischen Psychologie*, likewise revised and enlarged new editions of his *Ethik* and *Völkerpsychologie*, including with all these his tireless activity as an instructor—truly an unprecedented record!

Wundt never repeats his works. He continues his labor on them all the time and points out beyond them—this is his life. His biography is easily told because his works have provided all its important events. Born August 16, 1832, he became a physician at the age of twenty-three and afterwards instructor of physiology. He had already written a number of strictly scientific works in the domain of physics and physiological investigation of sense-impres-

sions when he set himself the task of restoring philosophy as a science. At that time he was only thirty years old. Since then half a century has passed in which he has been carrying out his program. *Grundzüge der physiologischen Psychologie, Völkerpsychologie, Logik, Ethik, System der Philosophie*—these are his five chief works which open up as many new luminous paths of science. We have room here for only a few fleeting glimpses at them.

At the time when Wundt was entering upon his work, German philosophy had come to a period of ferment and transition. The great old systems of the philosopher-poets had lost their power over minds grown weary of speculation. There no longer existed any realization of the beauty which lies in trying to create an all-embracing artistically complete system. It is easy enough to understand the supreme calm of Hegel's alleged retort to the remark that his theory of the planets did not agree with the facts—"Then all the worse for the facts!"

As a thinker Wundt combines the universalism of the classic German philosophers with the undivided desire for certainty, for the aim of all modern inquiry. He transferred the spirit of natural science, which had its climax in the irrefragable establishment of facts, to the boundless realm of the soul. Thus he made the first attempt at a scientific philosophy. Reality betrayed its inmost secrets to the naturalist who approached it in a scientific manner by observation and experiment.

Now the magic of the unexplorable, incalculable, inaccessible phenomena of the soul, behind which preconceived opinions had so long carried on their desolate game, was henceforward to yield to the philosopher's sense of reality. Thus arose a psychology which endeavors to appropriate all conceivable modes of procedure known to scientific research. The first psychological institute was called into being by Wundt at Leipsic, and to-day it has counterparts all over the world. It afforded an unusual spectacle. Alternating current machines and all sorts of difficult mechanical apparatus were employed in the investigation of the soul. In place of that too often arbitrary self-contemplation indulged in by the early psychologists who were so fond of dwelling upon the highest and most complicated revelations of psychic life, a group of scholars established laws based on an overwhelming mass of facts in the realm where formerly the imagination had had full scope. Soul becomes nature; thought is grasped in its temporal course, in its physiological limitation. Naturally the most elementary processes of the inner life are dealt with:

first—sense-impressions and reflex judgments—but more than all have we to do here with the directing of new investigation and not with the distance already covered.

The soul is not humiliated by the fact that it is comprehended in its natural relation to law, for this it does itself as the inquiring spirit. Never yet has self-knowledge injured the pride of man. Overzealous scholars may belittle the great leading thoughts of the master and may solemnly brand the means of the experiments as their only end. Wundt has more than once expressly warned against overestimating the power of psychological explanation possessed by experiments. Yet he has untiringly emphasized in his works the originally creative nature of consciousness, which cannot be reached by the current simplifying explanations of the materialistic sort.

Nature with its eternal laws must be fathomed in the realm of mental creations, and not until then will the way to their full comprehension be opened up. Thus after the experimental psychology of the individual the psychology of nations must be constructed on the basis of analogy. From those wonderful creations of society—language, art, religion, customs—Wundt seeks to derive the most original nature of the soul. A titanic work lies before us which cannot be worthily presented in such a sketch. The conceptual life of humanity has been disclosed by the comparative observation of all known languages in depths to which the psychology of the individual might never aspire. Art and religion have led to the laboratories of the ever creative imagination, of the emotion which thirsts for deliverance; customs, social organizations of every kind reveal the common will and draw us nearer to the hidden mainsprings of history. The conclusion of the whole work is still to emerge from the silent study of the indefatigable scholar.

Psychology to Wundt is the central science of the mind. The peculiarly human element appeals intelligibly only to the one who possesses the ability sympathetically to place himself within the complete reality of the experience of others. Mental life in its progress is a unique whole. In the spirit of this view, for which our whole modern age distinctly speaks, our philosopher has constructed those other mental sciences, logic and ethics.

To Wundt there is no purely abstract formal truth, no scholastic, unfeeling and mind-benumbing logic. The consciousness of truth gradually frees itself from accompanying ideas and feelings. Where then is truth? First of all it is where it has overwhelmingly shown the perfection of its power in the proud history of human inquiry, in the marvelous attainments of the modern knowledge of nature.

So Wundt's *Logik* leads us into the laboratory of the specialist where we become acquainted with the method of procedure used in seeking and groping for truths. To experience with a chemist or an economist his special results, to allow oneself to be seized by his peculiar joy in the solution of the problem—this is what is taught by the methodology of the sciences which comprises the greatest part of that work.

In order to have grown to such a task a man would have to master all the sciences which have advanced beyond the stage of mere hypotheses. Wundt was particularly fitted to perform this difficult and complicated task. After he had traveled the paths of all the several sciences and had brought their results into a magnificent artistically arranged whole he devoted himself to a cosmogony of modern philosophy. What he calls his "system of philosophy" is not a continuous system. His craving after certainty, his uprightness of purpose, forbade him to fill up the gaps by falsehoods. Every separate science arrives at hypotheses which lead to the boundaries of what is known at the time. If such hypothetical concept-formations are combined with the positive elements of science from which they logically follow to the prophetic mind, the result may not perhaps be an "exact" philosophy, but probably one which harmonizes with the scientific consciousness of the times.

But there is another realm which an almost universal judgment declares can not be purified by contact with sober science but is degraded by it—and this is the moral life. How in our eagerness for universal formulas can we become acquainted with the primeval consciousness of duty? What business has science whose ideals are mathematics and mechanics with the liberty of the free moral agent? Wundt replies to this in his *Ethik* by showing how the wonderfully beautiful flower of morality draws its vitality from roots remaining hidden in the soil of actuality, how the consciousness of duty must spring from the necessarily limited consideration of man for his fellows in social life. Too often do we hear sermons telling how men ought to live; too seldom is account taken of how they really live. "Love your enemies," was the command; war between civilized states the fact. Only after the purely natural psychical and social origin of morality has been convincingly demonstrated does the inquirer point to heights radiating with hope and the joy of struggle when the command shall have become fact,—to an actualized humanity. Human nature must prepare the way for humanity and it will do so according to all scientific anticipation. From the family, the race, the state, must be developed by historical

necessity the great unity of mankind. Wundt distinguishes most clearly his own views expressed in the *Ethik* from the guaranteed facts of his science. He himself whose thoughts are never stationary, who is constantly readjusting himself, calls forth the freedom of contradiction when he speaks to us as man to man. The thought often points beyond its originator.

The scientific consciousness of our age finds its purest expression in Wundt's unprecedented production. Certainly the desire for truth has not yet exhausted the entire man. The psychical assumption of an investigator who is sure of his results is a prudence and caution which must appear to the impatient specialist, recklessly bent upon severing Gordian knots, as feeble indecision and incompleteness. Charges have also been brought that Wundt's thought leaves unappreciated in the uniform daylight of certainty the tragedy of the deeper reality which is comparatively intelligible to the emotional artist. It is hardly necessary to remark further that such accusations lack serious import when they require of one man riches of a psychical sort which can only be revealed by the fellowship of many men.

Perhaps a remark in the preface to the second edition of his *Physiologische Psychologie* best characterizes Wundt's labors. He remarks that "unawares" to himself one volume of the first edition had become two volumes because he had kept pace with the progress of the young science he had created. "Unawares!" Thus does nature create; thus a great spirit creates in his unpretentious eminence. Fortunately for mankind nature sometimes shows that she is proud of her most worthy creation, the mind. Nature keeps the indefatigable scholar in his eightieth year in her protection far from the consequences of her inflexible laws. So may she continue to preserve him for a long series of years for his work and for humanity!

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE AS IF.

BY THE EDITOR.

A WORK bearing the above title has recently appeared in Germany.¹ It was originally prepared in the years 1875-1878, but the author considers that the present is a much more appropriate time for its appearance, and thinks the world is more ready to receive it than would have been the case a generation ago. As causes which have prepared the way for its appreciation the preface enumerates the voluntarism of Wundt, the biological epistemology of Mach and Avenarius, the philosophy of Nietzsche, and pragmatism, especially the original pragmatism of Peirce. Strangely enough the author's name is not mentioned, but the work has been carefully edited and prepared by Dr. H. Vaihinger, of Halle, the editor of *Kantstudien*, a philosophical periodical dedicated to Kant and Kantian literature. Here is set forth a species of pragmatism which is a decided improvement on the current pragmatism with its new though very hazy conception of truth, and the proposition that certain statements of truth are not exact but are to be understood allegorically is mainly true of religion. It is the more interesting to find this development of modern thought because its publication has been anticipated by the editor of *The Monist*, who used the very same term "as if" in discussions of the soul, of God, and of things, and of concrete units in mathematics as well as in the real world. The passages on this subject may be found in an article on "The Soul in Science and Religion" with special reference to Fechner. See *The Monist*, April, 1906, page 252, where Fechner's soul-conception is given thus: "His view though untenable in its literal meaning, is *as if true*; it incorporates a truth that is significant and that should not be denied." (The italics are in the original text.)

In the same way numbers are not real things. They are fic-

¹ *Die Philosophie des Als Ob*. Berlin, Reuther & Reichard, 1911.

titious units and in applying them to real life we can use them and they serve their purpose *as if* they were true units. The idea of a unit is a fiction. Units act as if they were real.² The same is true of God. God is not an individual being, a ruler of the world, but when the prophets speak of him in this humanized conception the idea of God as a human personality is *as if* it were true, an idea fully brought out in the writer's book, *God, an Inquiry and a Solution*.³

The same is true of Kant's idea of things-in-themselves. All things are fleeting combinations not to be separated from their surroundings of which they form parts, but when treating things as if they were things-in-themselves this idea is for certain purposes as if it were true. The author of the present work has made of this idea of the *as if* a whole system of philosophy, and places on the title page a motto by F. A. Lange, who says "I am convinced that the point urged here shall become a corner-stone of philosophical epistemology," but in this contention we fear our author goes too far. We grant, as urged in the book *The Surd of Metaphysics* (An Inquiry into the Nature of Things-in-Themselves) that even science has its mythology, or in other words that certain events in nature are first comprehended by analogies which are only imperfectly correct. We speak of electric *currents* as if electricity were a fluid which runs along like a river, whereas in truth it is the transmission of waves while the particles moved remain in place; and there are many other analogies in science which are not quite so, but they are *as if* they were so, and for the time being the allegory is sufficient to form ideas which in a limited way are correct and can serve as guides for certain practical purposes. For that reason, however, we must always bear in mind that all comprehension through analogy by statements representing half-known processes under the fiction *as if* they were like other processes better known to us, is not an ultimate, and science must not halt before the philosophy of the "as if." Important though the idea is, it should not be regarded as the corner-stone of cognition.

The book before us is anonymous; it is edited by Professor Vaihinger; but we may be pardoned when we state that the editor appears to be the author himself. Having written the book years ago, it has become to him the work of another, of his former self, and having changed his modes of thought, he felt that either he

² See Carus, *The Foundations of Mathematics*, p. 79.

³ Chicago, Open Court Publishing Company, 1908.

had to let the book stand as written or he should rewrite it all. He preferred the former course and acted as the editor of the lucubrations of his younger years.

Dr. Vaihinger's book contains many interesting chapters, and considering its enormous bulk it may be desirable to publish an outline of the main ideas.

The first chapter is a general introduction and conceives thought as being viewed from the view-point of a teleological organic function. It is an art, and thus the author considers logic as the doctrine of an art, which however should not be confused with artifices. Here he sees the foundation of the nature of fictions of thought. The first part is the foundation of the author's principle. He distinguishes between abstract or negative fictions, schematic, paradigmatic, utopic and typic fictions, symbolic fictions (fictions by analogy) juridical fictions, personific fictions, summatory fictions, heuristic fictions, practical and ethical fictions, mathematical fictions, methods of abstract generalization, the concepts of the infinite, matter and the world of sense, the atom as a fiction, fictions of mechanics and mathematical fictions, and the Absolute.

After these preparations he propounds his logical theory of scientific fictions (pages 123 to 230). He points out the difference between fiction and hypothesis, and analyses his idea of the "as if."

In Chapter XXIII our author collects a number of synonyms for the word "fiction" which characterize the "as if." On page 169 he speaks of *Erdichtungen*, *Einbildungen*, *Hirngespinnste*, *Phantasien*, *phantastische Begriffe*, *Imagination*, *imaginäre Begriffe*. He discusses the characteristics of fictions and proposes a general theory of fictitious conceptions. Further he enters into the methods of correcting arbitrary differences by making opposite mistakes. In Chapter XXVII he formulates a law of transition of ideas and their development from hypothesis to dogma, from dogma to fiction, and other transformations in the process of thinking. In discussing the history of fictions he devotes a chapter to fictions in the scientific practice of ancient Greece and Rome, which leads him to the significance of the terminology of the Middle Ages and the application of fiction in modern times. In referring to epistemological conclusions he devotes a chapter to the epistemological problems by saying that thought falsifies reality through deductions and additions. The problem originates that while we deal with thought in a falsified reality, thought after all agrees with reality. Dogmatism which identifies the falsified nature of thought with existence itself is

logical optimism. Skepticism however is logical pessimism. The solution of the difficulty lies in the establishment of a logical criticism. The categories are fictions but there is a good purpose in these categorical fictions.

The second part (pages 328 to 612) points out that the use of natural classification is not always sufficient and must be supplanted by artificial classification. The author finds examples in Adam Smith's and Bentham's methods of national economy and also in the methods of physics and psychics. Steinthal's idea of a speechless man (*homo alalus*) is used as an instance of how the fiction develops into an hypothesis. Other instances are the fictions of energy; the fictions of matter and materialism and all other abstract conceptions; the fiction of atomism and of mathematical physics; the fiction of absolute space, of the notions of the plane, the line, the point, of the infinitesimal; the fictitious judgment, and fiction in contrast to hypothesis.

The third part is devoted to historical investigations, in which Kant takes the lead and is followed by an appreciation of the views of Forberg, F. A. Lange and Nietzsche.

THE PHILOSOPHIC STUDY OF RELIGION.

BY. GEORGE A. BARROW.

THE age of the opposition of religion to philosophy has gone by ; not, however, as has been sometimes said, to give place to an era of good feeling, which is virtually a triumph for the philosopher, but to be succeeded by a period of *indifference to philosophy*. The religious leader of to-day does not oppose, he disregards, philosophy. Academic circles have not recognized this to any extent, but to an outsider nothing is more marked than the weariness of even educated laymen with any form of philosophical discussion. They care less for it than they do for the old dogmatic sermons of our fathers. The movement of our religious and church life to-day is more practical, we say, and rightly. I do not, however, believe that this is due to any depreciation of philosophy on the part of the religious man, but only to the feeling that the philosopher has not considered him. The study I have undertaken in this paper is to find and set forth the explanation of this disregard.

In the modern philosophical study of religion there are three directions of advance. The interest that undoubtedly does exist on the part of the student of philosophy towards religion takes the form either of a study of theism, of the science of religion, or of the philosophy of religion. Theism exists either as the philosophic form of orthodox theology, or as the philosophic construction of monism or absolutism. In the first case we have the same attitude to religion whether we are dealing with an advocate of the idea of a divine revelation above reason, or with a man who draws his arguments for that revelation from current philosophy. In each case we are dealing with the support of an already formed system, and all that can be done is to improve the arguments for that system. Reconstructions there have been, but advance does not seem to result. This form of theism is forever on the defensive. There is, next, constructive philosophical monism or absolutism in its many forms. Progress here is continuous, so continuous that we wonder

at times if any two ages will have the same idea of God. For these men, of whom Royce may be taken as one of the best representatives, God is believed in in order to explain the universe, or at least the constitution of the universe. He is a theoretical construction of a higher order, but used much as atoms are used in science.

Different in scope and aim is the science of religion. I use this term because it is convenient, waiving the question as to how far that science may be descriptive and how far normative. The interest here is either on the individual or on the religious forms. In the first case we have men like James, Pratt,—and the Worcester school generally,—and in the second the study of comparative religions. So far as this study is purely historical and descriptive, we can not call it philosophic, but there is in each case the method of analysis and of valuation of the elements found. This valuation, however, is on the basis of effectiveness, not of belief. For instance mysticism is studied and valued for its effect on emotions, morals, etc., not for the correctness of its theological belief. As James points out, these beliefs may be exactly opposed. In the comparison of religions the question, which is the more correct, is not raised.

There remains finally the third method of what I have called the philosophy of religion. This studies the religious experience, the religious beliefs, and the religious demands and attempts to value them according to their truth. It takes mysticism, for instance, and considers it not only as a phenomenon of human life, but asks whether its method of reaching God is valid, and whether God is such a being that He can be reached in that way. I am not claiming that it is the crown of the sciences or even of philosophy. As one's metaphysics varies, so will one's philosophy of religion, and a variation in the valuation of religious truth must have its effect on one's metaphysics.

One thing is of importance, the philosophy of religion studies the religious assertions and demands as well as the religious emotions and religious forms. There have been attempts, of course, to limit the philosophy of religion either to an additional argument for theism, or to a critical account of religious phenomena. Any philosophic criticism, however, must go further than bolstering up received views, or describing and explaining phenomena. Religion as a phenomenon is the subject not of philosophy but of science. The subjective side, the tests of truth and the demand for a valuation in terms of truth are the legitimate field for a philosophic critique.

The religious consciousness always asserts that it feels or knows

the presence of a power other than itself. It is not sufficient to argue at once as theism does that this is God, then proceed to argue for God's existence, nor does it cover the whole field to study that consciousness or its expression in ritual and history. We must carefully analyze the elements in that consciousness, and ask their truth, and validity. To this task few have set themselves, and little has been done. It may be said that the way is not yet prepared, but we do not need to wait for a perfect science before constructing our philosophy. So some advance has been made in this direction, but awakens very little interest from the technical philosopher.

Of the three main lines of the study of religion which we have outlined, theism would seem to satisfy easily the religious man. It is built up on the foundation of his beliefs, and uses its energies in arguing for those beliefs. It needs, however, but little study of the history of theology to convince us that these beliefs are not deductions from the experience itself. They have been evolved in response to religious demands, but mixed in is much of ancient science and more of ancient philosophy.

The great Calvinistic system is plainly indebted to the current legal conceptions for its conception of the atonement, and the doctrine of the Trinity owes its present form mainly to the ideas and terms brought over from Greek philosophy. All this is looked at from the point of view of the religious need, but it interprets about as truly his legal or scientific need as it does the demands of his religious nature.

The theories of God as creator are a good example of this. The underlying religious demand is for a power in which the man may put absolute trust, therefore he seeks omnipotence in his God. When we study the ideas of God's omnipotence, however, we find that it involves about as much argument concerning a first cause, which is scientific, or an all knower, which is epistemological, or arguments from analogy. In no case, so far as I know, is there an inquiry into the sense in which the religious need for a firm foundation requires an omnipotent God, and then less still is there an interest on the part of theism to establish this foundation by a conclusive proof. Instead we have the effort to establish ideas of God which we have inherited from Jew and Greek. It is because orthodox theism does not study religion that men are turning away from it.

With philosophic theism the case is still plainer. One has only to glance through the current discussions in philosophical circles as to the nature of the Absolute, or as to his existence, to realize that religion is not in even the fringe of consciousness. The absolutist

and monistic systems need some one principle or idea to complete and bind together their system, and because historically that one principle has been called God, they call their One or Absolute by the religious name. It is neither based on an analysis of the religious experience or demand, nor does it aim to establish a foundation for that experience. Of course such a foundation may be laid in agreement with an absolutist system but the current discussions are not attempting to lay this foundation. The man who feels within himself something that is called the influence of God, and seeks to find whether God, the God of philosophical theism, can become known to him in such an experience, finds no answer. Such a problem is not even considered by current philosophy. It is no wonder, then, that here also, the religious man feels little concern with philosophy.

The science of religion, the second line of approach which I outlined, comes closer to the religious man. It takes account of the religious experience, and studies it. Yet, of the two, the religious consciousness is more interested in theism than in the descriptive studies which are now being made. The religious leaders may feel a certain interest in the average age of conversion, but it is more curiosity than concern. I have had certain theories as to the proper age for confirmation, but in practice that theory has been broken as often as it has been kept under pressure of other factors. This is almost, I might say, quite, universal.

The religious leader is not concerned with the average but with what is best for the individual. The study of the experience follows, but does not help, the course of that experience. We cannot go by the analogy of the natural sciences and say that the study of phenomena must react on the use of phenomena. The science of religion which is analogous to physics or chemistry is found in the experience and methods of the churches, not in the work of James or Pratt. These latter are not seeking to construct a working science, but to explain the phenomena of religion. This study may and will advance, and have some effect on the work of the religious leader, but the man who has the experience, and is concerned with it only in himself, not in inducing it in others, does not turn to the science of religion for help. He does not need a description, he knows it far better than any description can express it, nor does he care for its expression in others. What he is concerned with is, can he trust this experience? Will it lead him to right action? will it free him from the weaknesses of his character? Such work as has been done has a place, but since it does not try to answer these questions, the seeker after the truth of religion passes it by.

The study of the types or history of religion comes closer to the religious need, not as philosophy, but as history. A partial answer to the truth or the expression and forms of religion is given in history, and by the study of what other men have done and felt. This however is not philosophy. The study of other religions awakens far more interest to-day than does the philosophy of our own. This was the one thing that impressed me most at the recent missionary exposition in Boston. Doctrine, the city as a whole cared little for, but account of the ways and thoughts of men of other religions awakened a ready interest. This was not entirely, by any means, the curiosity for anything new, but was very largely a discriminating interest in other expressions of religion. Yet this could have but one result, to awaken the question which the history of religions can not solve, which is the true belief and the true expression, or is there any one truth in religion? These questions belong to philosophy, and their answer must come from philosophy.

The truth of this indifference of philosophy to the claims of religion may be admitted, and yet the whole matter be regarded as only another case of the followers of a special line of study claiming for themselves the center of the field. If we claimed, as some have done, that theology was the queen of the sciences or the crown of philosophy, this would have some truth in it. Such is not in the least my contention. In the first place I am not arguing for what should be, but only explaining what is, the indifference of the educated religious man to the philosophical study of his religious experience.

If philosophy took the stand that it was not interested in the special fields of practical human activity, but remained always abstract, then none could complain of its attitude toward religion. But it is interested in religion, as the activity put into theism and into the psychology of religion proves. Nor can it be said that the students of philosophy are pursuing the more important line of inquiry for religion. The most important, to the one professing to be religious, of the aspects of religion is its connection with morality, and to this both psychology and ethics contribute nothing. Modern ethics does consider the claims and need of the moral life, but nowhere is that which is for so many the dynamic power of morality, religion, given adequate consideration. This has not been true in the past, for the Kantian movement as a whole has taken religion into account, but the modern rush after the practical has passed by what is for many, probably without question for a majority of the world

to-day, one of the most practical concerns of life, the effort to escape from sin and its consequences.

The modern pragmatists and humanists must relearn the old lesson, that we cannot solve problems by ignoring them, and the problem that religion raises must be solved. In its outline I have already stated it: does that emotion, or feeling, or experience, which we call religion, have its roots in the world of reality; can there be an assurance of escape from what we feel and call sin; is the moral life something based on the nature of the universe, and has it the backing of the powers of the universe, or is it something passing, and not obligatory on man.

These are the practical questions which the religious man asks of philosophy, and they are not being answered, nor is an answer sought, by the bulk of the students of the philosophy or science of religion.

Finally, I wish again to make clear the relation of such a study as I have indicated, to the other work of the student of philosophy. It falls midway between ethics and metaphysics. The questions concerned with the nature of the moral life lap over into the field of ethics, but with a different purpose than to establish the nature of any particular ethical system. The question is general, as to the meaning of any ethical life. Then we have the problem of how far other forces than those of reason reinforce the impulses toward morality. Reason really plays little part in conduct, therefore if the forces that affect action are not fundamental to life, morality has little lasting power, no matter how reasonable it may be. This is not, however, a biological study of the evolution of morality. Such a study reveals no more whether morality be a permanent element in life than it does whether the instincts of the bee are the passing or permanent expression of the forces which evolved bees. The most a natural science can do is to describe and correlate. What the study of religion needs is analysis of the moral and religious life, and then the consideration of whether the principles of existence require morality and are aided by religion. When this neglected field is covered, the present indifference of religion to philosophy will disappear, and philosophy regain once more her true place in the esteem of the religious man.

EDITORIAL COMMENT.

The Rev. George A. Barrow, of Chelsea, Mass., stands in the midst of practical church life, and is in direct touch with religious people. He must know what he states when he says: "The religious

leader of to-day does not oppose, he disregards, philosophy," and this sounds like a reproach to the philosopher who is blamed for not entering into the deep significance of religious sentiment. To some extent his strictures seem to us unfair for philosophers are giving more thought to religious experience and the importance of religious life than ever before; but we must recognize that most of these investigations are of a scientific nature and are disregarded by faithful believers who are neither willing nor able to investigate their own state of mind. Mr. Barrow informs us that the question of the faithful is not answered directly by psychological and philological inquiries into religious experience. The religious man wants to know: "Does that emotion, or feeling, or experience, which we call religion, have its roots in the world of reality; can there be an assurance of escape from what we feel and call sin; is the moral life something based on the nature of the universe, and has it the backing of the powers of the universe, or is it something passing and not obligatory on man?"

We would answer these questions in brief: (1) Religious experience has its roots in reality; (2) it helps man to overcome what in a religious term is called sin; (3) it is indeed backed by the cosmic constitution of the world, and (4) it refers not to anything accidental or indifferent, but conveys directions which are obligatory on man. In other words man as an individual feels the insufficiency of his nature, and as the gravity in every material principle indicates its interrelation with the totality of existence, so in the domain of sentiency every being is animated by the feeling which seeks the solution of its life problem outside of itself. This general feeling which grows from universal interrelations of everything that exists, we have characterized as a panpathy or all-feeling. From this religion grows all emotion, appearing first in those instincts which are characterized as conscious, imposing certain duties upon man's life. The development of religion accordingly depends upon the world-conception, and it naturally rises from dim and uncultured views of the powers that sway us to a pure and scientific conception of the universe.

Primitive religion is naturally mythical. It changes into a symbolical dogmatism and will finally reach the stage of a purely scientific world-conception, but we must insist that in attaining its highest phase it does not disown its prior preparatory phases, for the truths contained in myths do not become untrue by reaching a state of clearness, and before we can see truth face to face we will naturally see it as through a glass darkly.

MISCELLANEOUS.

BERGSON.

BY PHILIP BECKER GOETZ.

I have embarked on an enchanted sea
Under a midnight sky of beckoning stars;
The voice of great adventure sings to me
Above the drift and glint of warning spars.

Upon this magic deep where I descry
Of many a master soul the sunken dream,
I marvel how they tempted mystery,
How songs of triumph died in lightning's gleam.

But he has come, whose wand compels the morn,
Who scorns the chart men worshiped in their need;
Chants as the empty sail is deckward borne,
And lights in pilot reason a new creed.

He stands, the captain of the strength of youth
When fear of wreck with winging song is shod,
The ship we board, it is the soul of truth,
The endless billows are the pulse of God.

PROFESSOR HENRI BERGSON.

On the philosophical horizon there has arisen a new star, Henri Bergson, professor of modern philosophy at the College of France at Paris. He has written a number of books which have been translated into English, and he has gained many adherents who recruit themselves mainly from the same circles as the pragmatists—enthusiasts and dilettanti. He appears not only as a rival of the late Prof. William James, but is at the same time one of his personal friends. Professor Bergson has been lecturing in England, and is now on a tour through the United States. He lectures in French, and his diction is greatly admired by all his hearers; many people go to enjoy his beautiful French. He speaks not like a philosopher, but like an inspired prophet; he appeals to the heart and stirs the emotions; he uses striking and poetic similes, and may be regarded more as a leader of a certain religious-philosophical movement than as a thinker; he is an orator and a poet.

The world-conception for which Professor Bergson stands is a kind of dualism, and may without any misgivings be characterized as a decided reac-

tion against scientific progress. His method of procedure is to extol the non-scientific phase in man's life and glory in the instinctive yearnings which he regards as superior to clear and rational thought.



HENRI BERGSON.

Bergson has been severely criticized by men who demand of a philosopher scientific precision and soundness of argument; witness for instance the scathing and most humorous description of his philosophy by Mr. Ber-

trand Russell, of Cambridge, England, published in the July number of *The Monist*, under the title of "The Philosophy of Bergson." Other articles on Professor Bergson in the same number of *The Monist* are: "Bergson and Religion" by the Rev. Dr. James G. Townsend, and "Kant and Bergson" by Dr. Bruno Jordan, of Bremen, Germany, while an article by Dr. Günther Jacoby, of Königsberg, will appear in the October number of *The Monist* and in this the author traces the influence of Schopenhauer upon Bergson.

In contrast particularly to such criticism of Professor Bergson as that of Mr. Russell, there are people who praise him with unstinted enthusiasm and an almost religious zeal, often expressed in language which betrays that there is danger lest the calm judgment of his admirers be carried away by sentiment. We take pleasure in publishing in this number of *The Open Court* a poem which we have recently received.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

DIE URGESCHICHTE UND DIE PATRIARCHEN. Von Hermann Gunkel. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1911.

This exposition of Genesis appears as the first publication of a series of new translations of "The Writings of the Old Testament" (*Die Schriften des Alten Testaments*) prepared by six prominent German theologians. The same publishers formerly issued a similar treatment of the writings of the New Testament edited by Johannes Weiss with the assistance of ten theologians. Professor Gunkel's name is the only one that is found on both lists. The first division of the present series takes up the legends of the Old Testament of which the present work of Professor Gunkel is the first volume. It contains a German translation and exposition including an introduction to the Pentateuch. The book is terse and serves as a good book of reference for this most important portion of the Old Testament, as written by one of the boldest higher critics of the Bible.

The arrangement of the translation and notes, together with the reference of sources, challenges comparison with the Polychrome Bible, and makes it almost appear that this German edition is even more practical as it is less expensive.

K

A RESTORATION OF THE DRAMA OF CANTICLES. By William Dearness. Cincinnati: Ebbert & Richardson, 1911.

The result of Mr. Dearness's labor is not so much a drama as it is a series of songs, the dramatic significance of which is expressed in notes of a series of days. The Canticles themselves are translated in rhythmical verse, and the booklet is supplemented by an article on "The Calf Cult of Northern Israel." The Canticles, popularly known as "The Song of Songs" and listed in King James' version as "The Song of Solomon," is a collection of impassioned love songs, as has been set forth by Budde, by Cornill and others (see Cornill's solution of the problem of the Song of Songs in *The Open Court*, XII, 371). Nevertheless it is quite justifiable to use this string of erotic poetry into a drama, the poetic value of which would naturally depend upon the poet and not upon the nature of the exegetic collections of his interpretation of this biblical book, which has been incorporated into the canon more on account of its poetry than its religious significance.

Rev. T. A. Goodwin has made an attempt to reconstruct the story of the

Song of Songs in an article published in *The Open Court* (IX, 467t etc.) which was published in book form in 1895.

Paul Haupt with a full scholarly knowledge of the original has translated most of them in the form of modern verse, both in English and in German. The English appeared in *The Open Court*, and the German was published soon afterwards in a book with critical notes and many exegetical comments.

As a sample of the version of Mr. Dearnness we will quote his translation of the most beautiful and best known passage of the Song of Songs. It runs thus:

"As on the arm the bracelet shines,
Its gems undimmed, unwearing,
My counsel love with truth combines,
The wearer's worth declaring.

"For wilful love might lead to death,
And jealous men are cruel,
When hot as Sheol's burning breath,
Distrust provides the fuel.

"But love that's true is like a flame,
Lit by Jehovah's spirit,
Nor floods can quench or drown that same,
Nor waters' waste can wear it."

K

SOCIALISM AND SUCCESS. By *W. J. Ghent*. New York: John Lane, 1910. Pp. 252. Price \$1.00 net.

Mr. Ghent addresses these six "uninvited messages" in turn to "the seekers of success," "the reformers," "the retainers," "some socialists," Mr. John Smith, Workingman," "the skeptics and doubters." His reformers are those who would bring about the cure for existing evils without the aid of socialism. The author's zeal in the interest of socialism is representatively illustrated in the first chapter where he very cleverly, but sometimes without sufficient warrant, reduces the individualism of the present New Thought tendency *ad absurdum*. He then sums up his position as follows: "The pursuit of material success solves nothing in this world worth solving. It is a cult which demoralizes and ruins, which blinds men to their actual situation in life and which evades or ignores the real solution of poverty. Instead of fostering cooperation, the natural tendency of social man, it foment's strife. It dooms the multitudes to stumble about in privation and ignorance, led by a false light and a vain hope. By joining hands for a common purpose, you might achieve a material success in which all would share—one which would be the enduring basis of a higher success, a success of the social instincts and feelings, a success of moral and intellectual endeavor. By striving for individual material gain, you but wreck your own and others' opportunities." P

KÖNNEN WIR NOCH CHRISTEN SEIN.? Von *Rudolf Eucken*. Leipsic: Veit & Company, 1911. Pp. 236.

Professor Eucken answers the question, "Can we still be Christians?" in the affirmative. In the first 79 pages he justifies the question by discussing the nature of Christianity, what it is and what it stands for; further by pointing out what in Christianity the modern conception of life contradicts. In

answer to the counter-question why we should oppose negation of Christianity he bases his reply on the spiritual significance of Christianity. It is a religion of spirit, insisting on the spiritual and mental significance of life. In conclusion he points out that a new Christianity will be indispensable. κ

SOME FUNDAMENTAL VERITIES IN EDUCATION. By *Maximilian P. E. Groszmann*. Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1911. Pp. 118. Price, \$1.00.

Dr. Maximilian P. E. Groszmann, the principal of "Watchung Crest," Plainfield, N. J., intends this volume as a companion book to a former publication, *The Career of the Child*. Dr. Groszmann is recognized as a leading authority in matters of education, and has made a specialty of the abnormal, or as he calls it the atypical, child. The trend of the book before us may be described from the following quotations: "When will parents learn that a whole ton of knowledge gained at the expense of a single ounce of health is far too dearly paid for?... Too much brain work and too little body work is the evil of our schools."..... "The motor element must be recognized throughout the school course. The present standard of education is altogether false. We must learn to recognize fully the new principle of learning by doing, which is based upon an appreciation of the natural instincts, not only of childhood, but of the human race." κ

ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF BEER AND BREWING. By *John P. Arnold*. Chicago: Alumni Ass'n of the Wahl-Henius Institute of Fermentology. 1911. Pp. 411.

This is an unusual subject to serve as a theme for a critical essay, but there is no reason why it should not be studied "from prehistoric times to the beginning of brewing science and technology," since science now follows every concept back to its origin. The subject is divided geographically and chronologically, treating first Asia and Africa, then prehistoric and ancient Europe, followed by Medieval and Modern Europe, and United States. It is noteworthy that in the first introductory chapter entitled "Man, Religion and Intoxicants," Mr. Arnold says that the original use of intoxicants in primitive civilization was to induce the emotions of religious ecstasy, and that their use in convivial and social practices followed as a later development. ρ

Dr. J. J. M. DeGroot, of Leyden, one of the foremost scholars of Chinese lore, has been called to Berlin as professor of sinology. He is the author of a six volumed treatise on *The Religious System of China*, an important work in its line discussing first the disposal of the dead, funeral rites, ideas of resurrection, the construction of graves, etc. The second book deals with the nature of the soul considered philosophically as well as in the popular view, and ancestral worship including demonology and sorcery. The other four books have apparently not yet appeared. They will deal with Taoism, Chinese mythology, the sacred rites of Chinese lore, and state religion with its rights and ceremonies.

Another book of especial interest is De Groot's *Sectarianism* which explains the reasons for Chinese intolerance towards Christians. It calls attention to the fact that Christianity flourished in China some time ago, but in later years it began to represent politically in the Chinese mind the views of the despised "foreign devils." κ



THE WOMAN TAKEN IN ADULTERY.

After a painting by Pollienov.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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HAMMURABI AND THE SALIC LAW.

BY THE EDITOR.

IN spite of all the differences between the civilization of ancient Babylon and that of the Teutons at the beginning of the Middle Ages there are remarkable similarities in their legal codes, and Prof. Hans Fehr of Jena has discussed the subject in a treatise on "Hammurabi and the Salic Law."¹ He calls attention to the agreement in form of expression which he calls the technique of the law. Both codes formulate the several regulations thus: If somebody acts in such and such a way he shall be punished in this manner. Both codes are officially declared to be established for the purpose of preserving peace, of preventing individuals from taking the law in their own hands, and of protecting the weak against the powerful; and finally both codes claim to be divinely instituted. Hammurabi speaks of himself as the one to whom Shamash, the sun-god and god of justice, has revealed the law. In the Salic law the people are represented as the power that constitutes the law through four selected men, but even here it is expressly stated that in declaring the law they are inspired by God (*inspirante deo*). These similarities are perhaps natural, but in addition there are others among which we may mention the ordeal, proving that the same kind of religious notions prevailed in both. We let Professor Fehr speak in his own words. He sums up the similarities as follows:

* * *

1. Both the Code of Hammurabi and the Salic Law are similarly elaborated in important points as far as legal technicalities are concerned; and consist of peace regulations founded upon the authority

¹ *Hammurabi und das salische Recht. Eine Rechtsvergleichung.* Bonn, Marcus & Weber, 1910. Price 2.80 marks.

of the community. They contain rules which in the conception of the people, man himself is not capable of giving. Law is of divine origin and is under divine protection. Deity inspires the law-giver and by means of direct or indirect intervention helps to separate law from mere pretense of law. It urges the actualization among men of the law which has been given them.

2. The individual, the separate member of the nation, is held by a double bond, that of the family and of the community. He is bound to the family by blood and to the community by the idea of fellowship. From this close union, both human and legal, arises the idea of mutual protection and mutual responsibility. Family and community seem to be bonds which guarantee legal peace, and from this guarantee results the responsibility of the whole community for each individual. But the structure of the community is stronger than that of the family. The idea of the state cast in the background the idea of the family not only in the kingdom of the Babylonians but also in the less compact commonwealth of the Franks. Therefore certain misdemeanors led to the banishment of the criminal from the family circle. The crime severed the blood tie and destroyed connection with the kindred, who were forbidden henceforth to protect the exile.

3. In both systems the sensuous factor in the law is strongly developed. The abstractly defined idea of law is in many respects foreign to the highly cultured Babylonians as well as to the simple Salians. Many legal proceedings and situations demand an external expression comprehensible to the people. Here we have the principle of publicity. Thus bargaining before witnesses takes place; thus symbols change from the hand of one party in a contract to that of the other; thus marks assign the proprietorship of a thing to a certain person or a certain household. So are law and its consequences connected with sense-perceptible transactions.

This is true in another respect. When an injury has been committed, the law does not always look for the inner reason, the guilt, but fastens on the outer shell, the perceptible result. The one who brought about the result must atone for the wrong, not the one who was guilty of the deed. Both nations contend for the spirit in preference to the letter of the law, in that they grant full scope to the principle of obligation as against adhering to the consequences; and here the Babylonians stand on a much higher plane than the Franks. But a dualistic conception of the apportionment for injury and the responsibility for misdemeanors controlled the thought of the people in both countries.

4. The idea of property is clearly defined; in civil law it forms the basis of every regulation. The most conspicuous objects of law, the things which could be said to be owned, are distinguished by Babylonians and Salians alike as movable and immovable property. The law is dependent upon the form and character of the things and originated the statement, among others, that real estate is acquired by a solemn procedure but chattels without ceremony. The actual impossibility of delivering over a piece of ground like a movable object aroused the demand for a ceremonious process of law founded upon the symbols of tradition, and the same symbol, the staff, though equipped with different functions was employed in both countries.

Self-defence was systematically forbidden. The firm and growing power of the state would not admit such an interference with the peace guaranteed by its law. In the same way arbitrary or personal seizure without the intervention of a judge was impossible. Yes, even the same consequence was affixed to illegal seizure: The creditor lost his debt and was compelled to return the seized goods.

5. Missing chattels were recovered by lawsuit. The Babylonian legal process and the Frankish procedure betray a surprisingly similar stamp in their fundamental features as well as in a number of details. Both may be divided into a judicial and extra-judicial part in which the latter intends to bring about the establishment of a judicial court. The illegal possessor of goods is to be compelled to answer for himself before the judge. The grievance is one of a mixed character. Criminal and civil elements are combined in it. It is partly directed to the discovery and punishment of the one who defrauded the rightful owner and who is treated like a thief; and partly devoted to the restitution of the article. Accusation and the system of evidence are built upon the idea of publicity wherein the German treatment still excels the Babylonian in concreteness. However the sense element is usually more strongly developed in the lower grades of civilization.

6. The family has a patriarchal organization. There are no positive traces of a former matriarchy.

Whereas the Babylonian and Salic regulations for the family, as far as we can know to-day, are widely divergent, still three important legal institutions are shown to correspond. The deprivation of family rights (*Entsippung*) on account of misbehavior, the common responsibility of the family (*Gesamthaftung*) with reference to property and personal rights, and communism (*Gemeinderschaft*). The last-named institution originated in the idea that the family wealth represented an economic and juridical unit in the possession

of the head of the family. And this idea of unity is so strongly developed that in many instances heirs do not proceed to a division of the property when the head of the family dies, but remain together with undivided common interests as a so-called community. This communism restricts the individual's ability to dispose of his property so that no member can freely dispose of his own share. Only gradually with the weakening of the solid structure of the family in both nations does the idea of division creep in. The interest of the individual rises triumphantly above the interest of the family. The welfare of the individual pushes the welfare of the family in the background.

7. Marriage is monogamous. Neither people know anything of a group marriage; genuine polygamy is seldom found among the Franks and probably rarely also among the Babylonians. On the other hand the Babylonians show evidence of a virtual polygamy in a union with a secondary wife, an arrangement entirely unknown to the Salians, which approached polygamy if not juridically yet from an ethical and industrial point of view. Here and there concubinage is recognized. The legal status of the children of concubines was however an unfavorable one in so far as the offspring of a bondwoman retained the position of the mother and hence were also slaves.

An actual marriage of full value was accomplished by purchase. The woman, or at least the power over her, was the object of the contract of sale. Marriage by violence, perhaps never carried on among the Babylonians, did not lead in the case of the Franks to a complete marriage. Peaceful neighborly relations led to a peaceful marriage agreement. With both peoples this was divided into two parts, into the legal act of betrothal and the nuptial ceremony. At the latter took place the actual transference of the bride to her husband. As wife she came under his control. If in these relations the woman was looked upon rather as the victim of an outside power than as a self-acting personality, the position of the widow who wished to remarry (and this was allowed both by Babylonians and Salians) was far better; she could engage herself according to her own inclination.

Although in both countries the husband's power was developed very differently yet in neither could it ever rise to the the power of life and death. The guardian rights (*Munt*) of the husband met an impassable barrier when it came to the life of the woman.

Marriage between bond and free was a recognized relation, and thus slaves received a limited legal consideration.

8. Marriage did not unite the property of the two parties into one possession. It exercised absolutely no influence on the relations of the property of man and wife. The property remained separate, and the husband only took charge of the property of his wife for the purpose of management and investment. From this arrangement arose the system which to-day we call "tenancy in common" (*Verwaltungsgemeinschaft*). Both codes consider the purchase price and the dowry as a present from the bride's father to the bride, or a special gift of the husband to his wife, appearing in the Frankish customs as the morning gift. Considered in the light of the history of civilization, the function of the purchase price with both the Babylonians and the Salians is the same. From an actual purchase sum which the bridegroom paid the bride's father it became a gift from the husband to the wife, a gift which was to serve as a provision for her in the case of widowhood. In this respect the Franks were far in advance of Hammurabi's period in civilization, for it was not until a hundred years after Hammurabi's reign that the Babylonians attained this higher conception.

The close connection between the woman's property and the children resulting from a marriage is expressed in the law of implication (*Verfangenschaftsrecht*). Making the property of the woman independent goes back to the thought of preserving this property for the children. Thus when the marriage was broken by death of either husband or wife the woman's property remained, to be sure, in the hands of the survivor but was placed in trust for the children and was therefore withdrawn from the disposition of the husband. A widow had the right of approval (*Beisitz*).

9. Although the penal systems exhibit wide divergencies in fundamental matters, yet even here we find agreements of an important kind.

Both peoples were dominated by a dualistic conception. In Hammurabi the thought of public punishment was uppermost while with the Salians it was that of private reparation. But with the Babylonians we find indications which point also to a private reckoning for misdeeds while with the Franks we see the beginnings of a public penal system.

The idea of retaliation, the fundamental principle of the Babylonians, may also be seen among the Salians in special cases, although probably introduced there by foreign influences. The possibility of commuting by money the most severe sentence, even that of death, was widespread among the Franks and not entirely foreign to the Babylonians. Neither in Mesopotamia nor in the Salic realm did the

people form a united community. On the contrary it was broken up into castes, and in the penal code caste distinctions became distinctly noticeable. In general it was true that the crime must be atoned for in the highest castes by a more severe punishment.

10. In the treatment of special misdemeanors a distinction was made between larceny and petty larceny. The agreement extends so far that the particular objects (hogs, cattle, sheep or ships) which constituted an offense of petty larceny under the Salian law were likewise counted as petty larceny in Babylonian law when the victim was the temple, the court or a high official. Forcible entrance into a building was punished as burglary whether robbery was actually committed or not.

Little can be said about the legal protection of the body against injury. It is specially mentioned again in this connection that the one who commits the injury must pay the cost of remedies in certain cases.

Adultery could be committed only by the woman. In the husband it was no crime. Accordingly both Babylonians and Franks placed only the wife under obligation to preserve her marriage vows. Her violation counted as a crime against the husband to whom belonged respectively the pardon (Babylonian) or punishment (Salic) of the guilty woman.

With both peoples honor was a legal matter requiring the protection of law. Injury to the honor by word or by deed demanded speedy reparation. A series of rules had for its special object the integrity of woman, yet the honor of the woman in many relations suffers injury more quickly and is more difficult to reinstate than that of the man.

Finally, false accusation, whether rendered innocently or against the accuser's better knowledge, received its punishment if a serious crime was charged.

11. Both Babylonian and Salic legal process is founded on the principle that questions of fact are revealed by formal proofs.

Definite measures of legal evidence were prescribed. If these succeeded the proof was successful, otherwise not. Such a system of evidence is most closely connected with the idea that deity demands the actualization of law among men, and therefore takes part in the trial.

Thus we find employed as evidence ordeals or the judgment of God, the oath (sometimes with relation to the parties in a trial and sometimes to witnesses), and documents. The judgment of God rendered an irreversible decision, but this is not the case with the

oath. Counter-evidence is admitted against the oath. The familiar statement in modern law that the defendant receives the benefit of the doubt, was true neither in Babylon nor among the Franks. On the contrary a release from the charge was demanded of the defendant either by oath or by judgment of God, or sometimes the plaintiff was permitted to bring evidence by witnesses. A dualistic principle lay beneath both processes. Reparation was forbidden to the offender caught in the act. Here again the idea of publicity plays its part. It made the criminal act irrefutable. Hence the offender so caught was considered convicted.

THE DECAY OF ABORIGINAL RACES.

BY OSCAR LOVELL TRIGGS.

IN all the countries of the Pacific area settled and dominated by Europeans, the native populations for a considerable period have been decreasing in numbers. Conditions of decay exist not only in those countries where the whites and blacks met at sword and spear point, but also in those lands where the blacks are the white man's ward and where every effort is made to preserve racial integrity and to check decline. The aboriginal races are everywhere threatened with extinction and in all probability in fifty or a hundred years the lands once thickly inhabited by colored peoples will have seen the last of their kind.

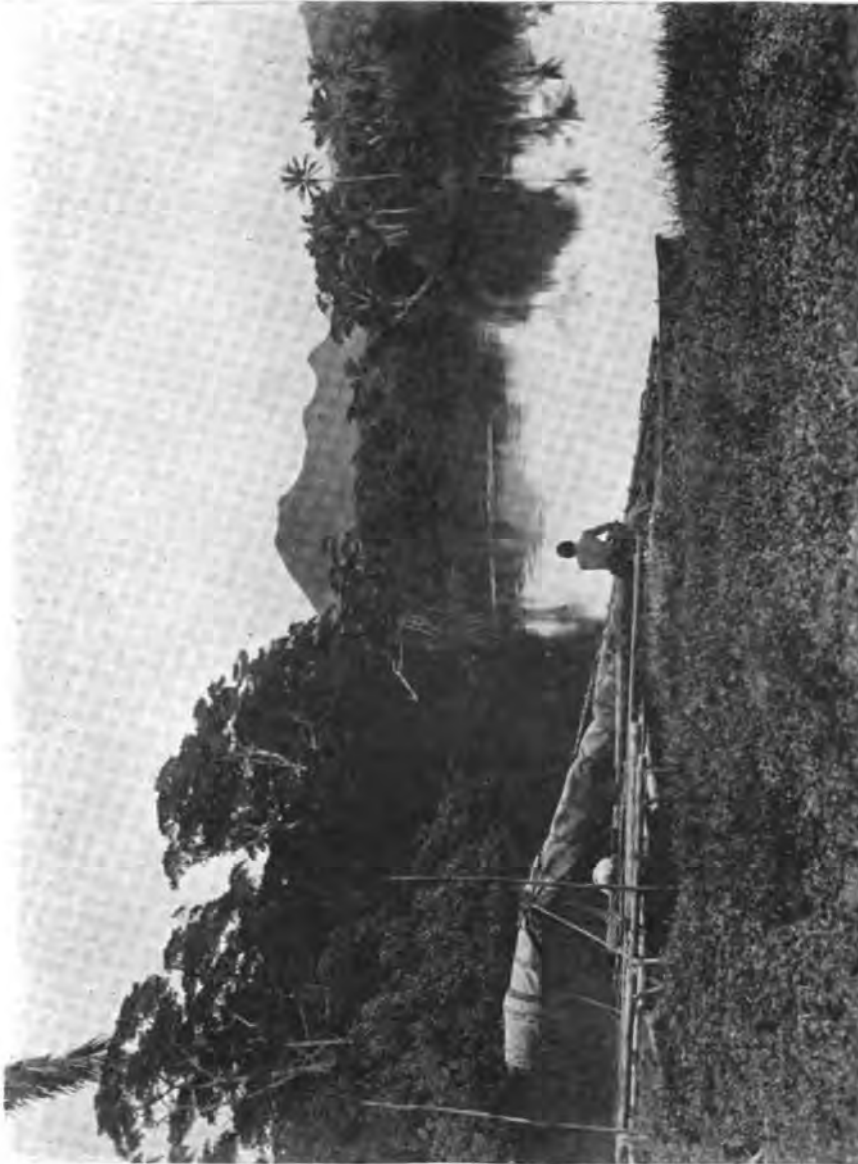
No very satisfactory explanation has been given as to the causes of this decline. There is a most extraordinary diversity of opinion concerning it. From missionary to planter a hundred answers will be given to the enquiry: Why is the native population in your district decreasing in numbers?

The death of a race is not a matter we can view with complacency, especially when we are so largely responsible for it. What is our race that it should blight whatever it touches? Are there malign influences surrounding the white man—vices and diseases that even against his will destroy those upon whom he lays his terrible hand? Where are the social physicians who will cure the black man's malady and prevent his death?

Or is his death inevitable? Is he his own worst enemy? Is his death decreed by that Mother Nature whose children we all are? Has this species of the genus *homo* been tried and found wanting? Does the earth belong to the peoples who use it to the best advantage? In the economy of nature must it be that a race which does not serve the ends of progress shall fall out of the running?

Such questions and many more—moral, economic and scientific—rise in the mind at the mention of the subject.

Few indeed are the countries without a "colored problem." Africa is the black man's continent, but even there the colored races are not safe. In Mexico and all South American countries settled by the Latin races—who have, as compared with the English, little



A SCENE IN FIJI.

pride of blood—the racial situation is complicated by miscegenation. The United States has the problem in a double form, in the Indian, the nation's ward, rapidly becoming extinct like the buffalo he hunted in the happy days of his independence, and in the negro, who flour-

ished marvelously under slavery, but who is now treading the apparently inevitable road to decline.

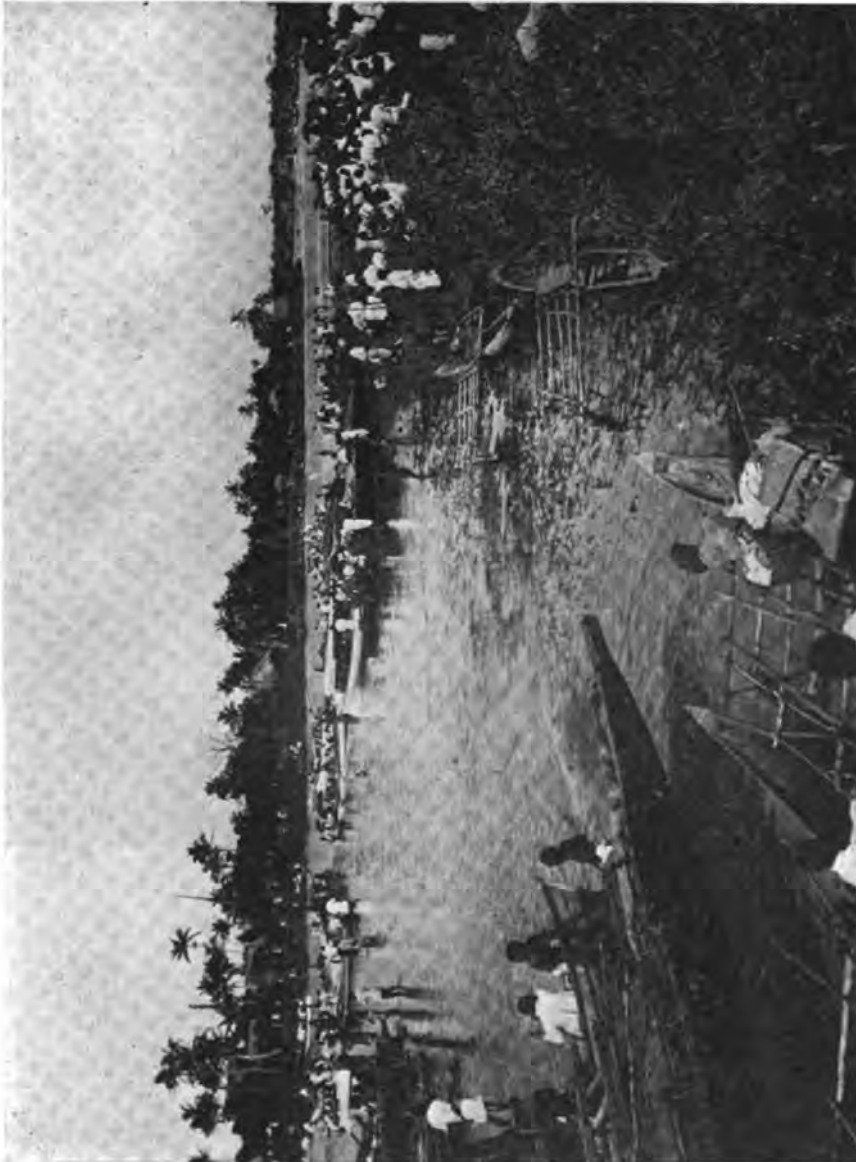
In Australia, New Zealand and the islands of the Pacific the



A FIJIAN HOUSE AND GARDEN IN THE BUSH.

problem is relatively simple. The facts are obvious, the main data have been gathered by governmental commissions, and the different colonies are alive to the situation.

For convenience and the sake of simplicity a single area in the Pacific field has been selected for study—that of Fiji, where the problem exists in its simplest form, as the natives are nominally



ASSEMBLY OF NATIVES ON THE REWA RIVER.

Christian and the government has definitely set itself the task of preserving the race committed to its care.

In Fiji there are evidences of an early existence so far civilized that it was at least possible for the native race to increase. It is believed that the decline of the race in stamina set in some time be-

fore the advent of Europeans early in the nineteenth century. It is certain that the racial decline was accelerated from the time the first European trader touched the island-group. On the surface every condition seems to have been and to be favorable for the continuation of the race. Christianity was introduced by 1835. Fiji became a colony of the English crown at the invitation of the chiefs in 1875. Missionary and governor have been friendly. No warfare has been waged against the native. His lands have not been confiscated. The blessings of Christianity, the *Pax Britannica*, and European civilization have been given him. He is to-day protected against the



MORNING MUSTER ON THE PLANTATION.

The overseers are whites, the laborers Hindus and natives.

ravages of disease and is being instructed in matters of sanitation and diet. And yet the race is disappearing—a charming, handsome, splendidly formed race is disappearing—apparently submerged beneath the very civilization that would uplift it.

What are the facts of the decline of population in Fiji? Records of population have been made there only since 1875, the date of cession to the English crown. On that date the native population was officially estimated at 150,000. Guesses as to population made by travelers and missionaries previous to that date range from 150,000 to 300,000. In 1875 an epidemic of measles swept away 40,000 of the people, the census of 1879 showing a native population

of 111,924. There was a slight increase by 1881 (as is common after a great loss of life by wars or epidemics), but by 1891 the



GATHERING BREAD FRUIT.

population had declined to 105,800, and by 1901 to 94,397. It is now estimated at about 85,000 in which males exceed females in the proportion of 8 to 7.

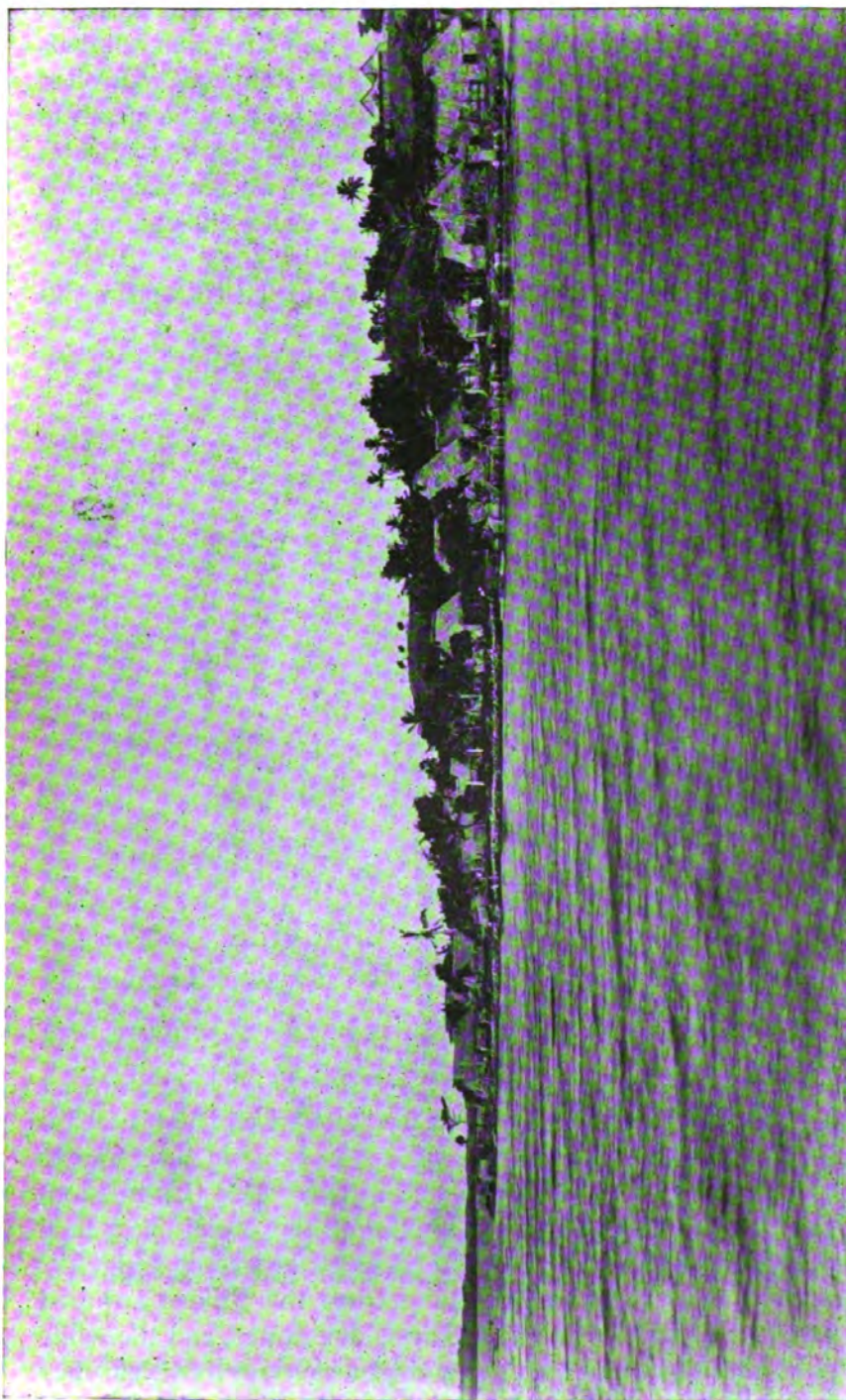
Following up the statistics of birth and death, the fact is disclosed that the loss in population is not due to a falling birth rate, but to mortality, chiefly of infants under one year of age. The mean annual birth rate for eleven years from 1881 to 1891 was 38.48, which is larger than that of England by 3.18 and of France by 12.58. But this remarkable fecundity is met by an enormous death rate varying from 35.15 to 59.03, or a mean of 42.76 for the eleven years noted above. Of the deaths more than one-half are deaths of children under ten years of age, and more than two-fifths are of children under one year. The race is declining not from inability to procreate, but from loss of power to resist disease and compromise with death.

Excessive deaths in certain years have been due to epidemics: measles in 1875 resulting in 40,000 deaths; whooping-cough (now very common) in 1884, resulting in 3000 deaths; dysentery (the prevailing disease probably brought in by the first white men who reached the islands) in 1885, resulting in 1000 deaths; influenza in 1891, resulting in 1500 deaths. These are to the Fijians new diseases, to which, therefore, the race has not yet been physically habituated, and against which the people must now struggle with constantly diminishing vitality.

In assigning causes for the race's loss of vitality, we must not overlook the probability that the Fijian race has passed its prime, and that decline is inevitable. Races may sicken and fall into decline like individuals, and for that matter like any species of plants or animals in nature. The earth is full of records of life-forms worn out and discarded. Life is by adaptation. Vital races prove their fitness for existence by their powers of adaptability. First they endure change of circumstances and then use circumstances to their advantage. Other races have faced changes and been harried by disease and have lived. As a race, the Fijian has probably passed its crisis and lost its capacity to adapt itself to its environment.

Nevertheless, much blame, if not all, attaches to the European, who accelerated—if he did not introduce—the decay of the native race, first by his vices and diseases, and next by his mistaken policy of civilizing the savage. To consider this class of causes we may now turn.

When the European first met the Fijian the latter was living under a more or less highly elaborated, social, economic and political system of his own devising. He had reached the stone age in evolution and was using primitive weapons and implements. In his tropical country food grew to his hand and the rivers and seas



NATIVE VILLAGE AT BAU.
Former seat of Fijian empire.

swarmed with fish. His life was communal and tribal, under hereditary chiefs, and tribes were constantly at war with one another. Cannibalism was practised to some extent. The Fijian was religious according to his light. The chief constituted the state, and controlled the people by "club-law." As with all primitive peoples the members of the tribe were controlled also by the iron rule of custom and ceremonial usage. The family was polygamous and women occupied a servile position. The system, such as it was, was complete, and to it the native's life was adjusted.

Now to this race in the age of stone comes the European, im-



A FIJIAN SCHOOL WITH ENGLISH AND NATIVE TEACHERS.

measurably superior both in point of age and attainments. A wise forethought might have prevented what took place, but perhaps this was too much to expect. The white man came in three guises and in three periods: first as trader and settler; second as missionary, representing not only the religion but the social ideas and standards of the superior race; and then as governor and judge.

From the first white traders and settlers the Fijians acquired nothing that was good for them: fire-arms, fire-water, and the white man's vices and diseases. These they might have survived had they been left to themselves, but they were now confronted by forces they could not resist, and which, doubtless, they will not survive—

forces springing from the ideas, sentiments, standards and civilization of a race alien and superior, a race whose very superiority spells death to the inferior.



A HINDU FAMILY AND CABIN.

The plantation work is done mainly by nearly 26,000 Hindus indentured by the government for this purpose. The cabin in the illustration is built of strips of corrugated iron.

With the best intentions in the world, the missionaries—and they are here considered not as sectarians but as the social agents of civilization—engaged in the work of reclaiming the savages of the Southern Seas from their savagery. By them the native system was broken up and the European substituted. They set themselves particularly to change the native order in five respects: to stop warfare, to clear the mind from superstition, to change the communal state, to abolish polygamy, and to emancipate women. Looked at from the sociological point of view, it is within the truth to say that everything done to these ends by the missionary for the benefit of his charges was done in reality to their racial disadvantage. The very goodwill of the teachers became the weapon by which the health of the native race was destroyed. In changing the native system the reformers were unwittingly robbing the race of its chance to perpetuate itself.

For a period of fifty years the European missionary worked his will upon the natives. The manner in which the superior code of Christianity operated to devitalize the race may be considered under the five heads noted above.

The European found the native engaged in intertribal warfare. So ages ago the European fought and passed on to higher combats. Just as now the European engages in competitive commerce, so then the savage lived by warfare. War was his occupation, his recreation, his school—the means by which his intelligence was developed and kept at strain. Waged with weapons too primitive to be very destructive of life, war energized the warrior, furnished the basis for those distinctions between men, without which growth is impossible, and cultivated the social feeling by upholding before the individual the interests of the clan.

When war stopped the natives stopped. By the division of labor incident to primitive life, woman was the worker, and now the warrior, except for certain communal services, had nothing to do. To him thereafter life was intolerably dull, and he became what he is to-day, indolent, improvident and apathetic. The very tools of husbandry which the European put into his hands have been used to increase his all too ample leisure. Civilization made the Fijian a sickly idler.

It is never wise to disrupt violently a nation's superstitions. Doubtless the Fijians did many things which a higher intelligence would pronounce absurd. Superstitions, however, are forms of social control, and in some instances the superstitions of the Fijians were connected directly with their welfare as a race. Thus symp-

toms of disease were regarded as manifestations of occult agencies. Fear of witches led the natives to sweep their houses and villages, the presence of offal and dirt being an invitation to an enemy to work his spell. When this superstition vanished the villages went unswept, and there was no authority to compel sanitation, for by the same change the power of the chief was lessened. When ancestor worship was destroyed the last prop of the chief was taken from him, and the state, except for immemorial custom, ceased to be.

The Fijians still remain communists, but the system is badly



THE CATHOLIC CATHEDRAL AT SUVA.

The stone was brought from Sydney.

mutilated. The spectacle is presented of a race moving on the stumps of a former system, with certain props of an alien and artificial character to sustain its progress. The European lives and rules as an individualist, his home being in truth his castle. The Fijian lives communally, and has no conception of home or privacy. In the conflict between the two systems, the Fijian held his own, but not without much mutilation of it.

In the communal system the chief was important in a number of ways. He ruled by his birthright (which was communal in a sense, in that the chief represented the blood of the common ances-

try in its purest form), and he represented the common good. He exercised the authority of the community, and at his command the



A NATIVE VILLAGE COMMUNE.

members of the tribe performed communal service, such as making roads, building houses and boats, planting gardens and weeding the village "square." To compel obedience, the chief was permitted to



KING CAKABAU, THE MOST POWERFUL CHIEF OF FIJI.
He was king of Fiji at the time of session to the English crown. His tribal dialect became the modern written and spoken language of Fiji.

inflict physical punishment and to condemn offenders to death. The chief's club provided the stimulus of fear necessary to give the Fijian incentive to move at all.



PRINCESS ADI, GRANDDAUGHTER OF CAKABAU.

She resides at Suva and is a woman of strong character and marked intelligence.

The Europeans interpreted the chief to be a petty tyrant, and to give his abused subjects the benefits of individual liberty as con-

ceived by them, they curtailed the power of the chief. Thereafter the communal rites were performed heedlessly. The people planted less food, they neglected their villages, and instead of liberty indulged in license. At the same time the exactions of the chief, being disconnected with service and responsibility, became actually tyrannical. So a double evil was incurred. At the present time the Fijian is neither an individualist nor a communist—he is without a governing principle in his life.

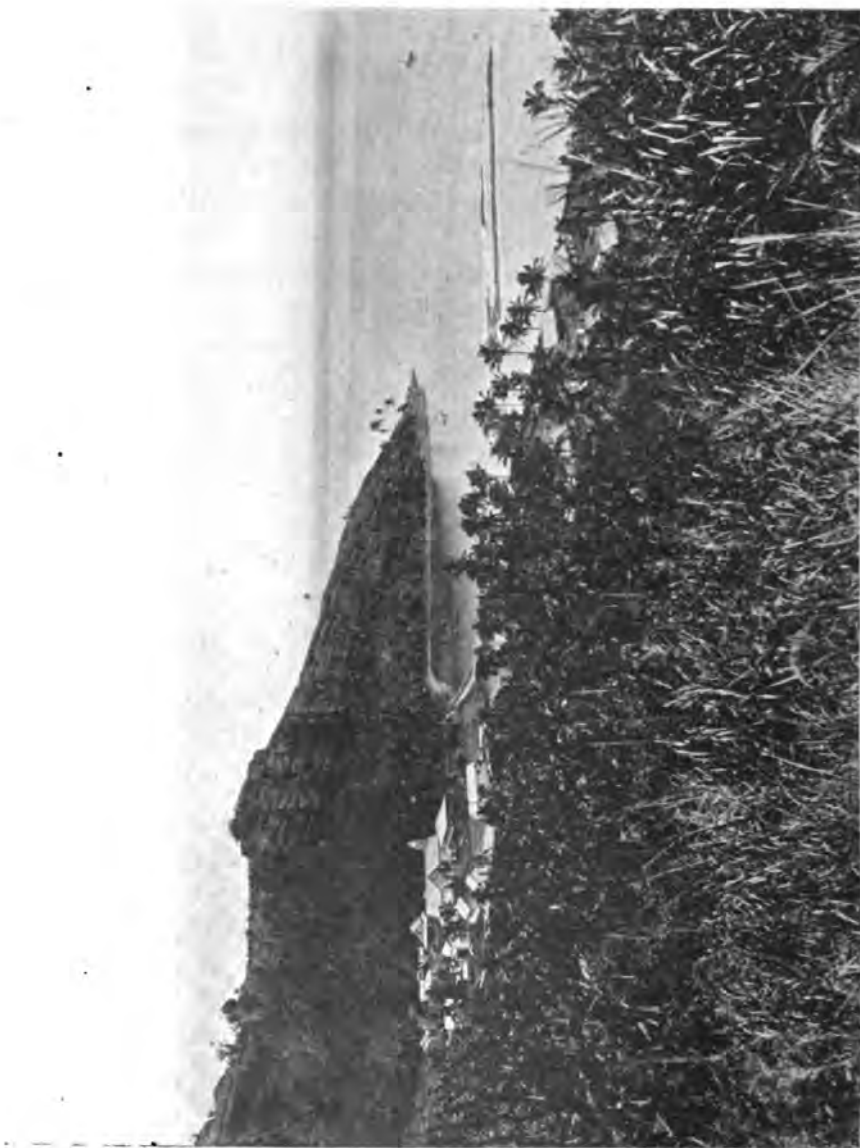
Under this head also may be considered the attempt of the missionary to impose upon the natives the European practice as to home and family. Husband, wife and children constitute the English monogamic home. The Fijians house was a single room too open for privacy. The Fijian was polygamous, living in the tribe, not the family, and to his children he was comparatively indifferent. Curiously the effort to introduce the "home" led to the decay of social morality.

In the ancient days chastity was the rule of the sexes; it was preserved under penalty of death. At night the girls slept with their mothers, and the boys went to the common house set apart for that purpose. The young men, taken up with training as warriors and seamen, were rarely profligate. In the "family" as constituted by the reformers the sexes were brought into closer connection and the "home" became anything but what the reformers intended. Sexual license, under "missionary monogamy," and as permitted by a code much milder than the ancient "club-rule," is to-day practically universal.

Polygamy was, of course, to the missionary a special offence. In heathen times polygamy was regarded as honorable, convenient, profitable and as to the chief indicative of wealth and power. It was socially honorific. With reference to economic conditions—the system of food products and the work of women in the gardens—and with reference also to the bearing and rearing of children, polygamy was advantageous to the race. It was advantageous also in respect to the physical improvement of the race, for it exercised a selective control over mating whereby the strongest men mated with the most prolific women. Those who practised polygamy were the ones best able to maintain their wives in food and comforts. The mothers in their turn, being freed from all other work during the four years allowed to nurse a child, did raise their children to maturity.

Monogamy presupposes a high stage of racial development and an advanced economic system. Even now Europeans are imperfectly monogamic, and it is known that the first white settlers in

Fiji fell in with the Fijian polygamic ways with considerable alacrity. By the missionary polygamy was looked upon with complete disapproval. It was the "source of female degradation, domestic misery and personal suffering." The directions given by the Wes-



A ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONARY STATION.
Native village and coco palms in the foreground.

leyan Missionary Society to its missionaries included the following: "No man living in a state of polygamy is to be admitted to membership even on trial, who will not consent to live with one woman as his wife, to whom you shall join him in matrimony or ascertain that

the rite has been performed by some other minister; and the same rule is to be applied in the same manner to a woman proposing to become a member of the society." By this rule of the church the practice of polygamy was abolished.

To what gain may be judged by considering the fact that under monogamy the Fijian mother was actually placed in the worst possible position for the rearing of children, inasmuch as her work increased manyfold, and she was obliged to shorten the nursing period. The injurious nature of this latter change is indicated by the fact that the Fijian has no substitute for mother's milk. Being overburdened and not properly cared for, the monogamic mother, while giving birth to a greater number of children than formerly, brought few to maturity. Another evil was that on the abolition of polygamy the young girls were freed from the repression formerly exercised over them, and began indulgence in sexual irregularities which are among the special causes of modern day infecundity and race failure.

The emancipation of woman was another cause dear to the European. It is true that in ancient times woman in Fiji occupied a servile position. She was the worker as man was the warrior and protector. It is true that she had little freedom. In countless ways she was hedged about by custom so as to prevent any exercise of individual choice or expression. But in those times also the women were genuinely moral. The purity of her relations with men was preserved, the penalty for unchastity being death.

She was "emancipated," but nothing was done to fill up the time formerly occupied with servile tasks, with suitable feminine interests and occupations. As with the men, life became intolerably dull, and for excitement the woman turned to sexual intrigues. With the abolishment of the ancient penalties attached to sexual immorality, there were no restraints upon such indulgence. Since her emancipation sexual depravity of every kind has enormously increased, accompanied by organic weakness and loss of stamina in offspring. It is a fact that the moral qualities of Fijian women are most defective in those districts where their position in the social scale is highest. The position of women has therefore been unfavorably affected by emancipation.

In all the cases cited the sociological error consisted in enforcing the social laws of an advanced civilization upon a people not prepared to receive them. In every case the changes wrought have been prejudicial to the welfare of the people. If the Fijians had been left in their own system as the Dutch Reformed Church

found it possible to leave the natives of Java, whom it converted to Christianity, the disaster noted might have been averted.



NATIVE CANOE UNDER SAIL.

With outrigger.

The problem of the colonial government in Fiji since 1875 has been a difficult one. The Fijian was neither savage nor civilized.

The old order was broken up; no new life had been created. With a wisdom born of much experience in dealing with native races, the English government adopted for the native a policy of non-interference, building its own administration upon what was left of the old order, adopting freely the communal system and even acknowledging in certain back districts the polygamous relations. Leaving questions of education and religion to the churches in possession of the field, the government has attended to the material and physical welfare of its charges. It has policed the islands, established courts of justice, and developed trade. For thirty years, however, the decay of the race has gone steadily forward, although it is claimed that for a year or two the rate of decline has been retarded if not checked.

If the Fijian race is to be saved, the colonial government must now go to one or the other extreme of policy. It must either continue its policy of non-interference, even to repealing its laws against adultery and fornication—for what is “illegitimacy” so long as a race lives! Or else it must go to the other extreme; assume complete supervision over the natives, and breed and raise the race definitely with reference to higher standards.

Sociologically that is moral for a race which favors life; that is immoral which leads towards death.

THE HISTORICITY OF JESUS.

BY WILLIAM BENJAMIN SMITH.

TO-DAY a book on the Historicity of Jesus¹ has certainly the merit of being timely. In recent years the gravest doubt has been cast upon the well-nigh universally accepted dogma of the human life of the Galilean Jesus, and there is certainly wide room for the production of proofs of that dogma, proofs more cogent than any yet adduced. Not only room, but indeed urgent demand. Of course, the most obvious and approved method of dealing with such doubts is to ignore them. This method has been very widely adopted, even by the highest authorities, and has indeed been publicly recommended by the very highest as the only fitting and effective procedure. We have been told almost in so many words, that persons who raise such doubts, who do not perceive intuitively the correctness of the dogma in question, who see the historical process in some other light than does the German theological, in particular the "liberal," professorate, have really no right to be heard or even to speak in such matters. Hence the present well-nigh unexampled muzzlement of the European press, which reduces freedom of speech to the merest mockery. From Germany, from Norway, from England, from Scotland, as well as from America come regrets from high-placed university professors and distinguished men of letters that it is discouragingly difficult, if not practically impossible, to bring before the public any reasoned "unprejudiced" presentation of the matter in dispute, at least any at all favorable to the radical contention. Said one German editor, in rejecting the manuscript of an excellent scholar and author, "I do not wish to disturb the religious slumber of the people." In the March number of the Dutch

¹ *The Historicity of Jesus*, A Criticism of the Contention that Jesus never Lived, a Statement of the Evidence for His Existence, an Estimate of his Relation to Christianity. By Shirley Jackson Case, of the Department of New Testament Literature and Interpretation in the University of Chicago. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois.

Theologisch Tijdschrift appears an elaborate article in German on the Pauline testimony, establishing the conclusions already reached in *Ecce Deus* (pp. 148-163). The author, Schläger, explains that he had in vain sought to find a German periodical that would publish his article, which is able, temperate, thorough, erudite, in every way unexceptionable, save that it favors the new criticism. An illustrious biblicist writes that any public discussion of *Ecce Deus* seems at present inadvisable, so impossible is it to hope for any open expression of assent even from the most thoroughly convinced German theologian.

Can this throttling continue? To be sure, the wisdom of the ostrich is wonderful and admired of all men; no doubt it is very judicious to crawl under the bed during a tempest of thunder and lightning. Yet under some circumstances, even such drastic prudential measures may prove unavailing. By some unforeseen chance the detested doctrine may leak out, it may reach the mind and even the heart of some earnest popularizer, and suddenly a continent may be shaken with discussion, or, as Harnack puts it, some "uninvited dilettant" may "disquiet all Christendom." When the public mind is in a highly inflammable state, even a single vagrant spark may enkindle a conflagration that not even the whole press of Europe can smother with brochures. So at least it seems that Prof. Shirley Jackson Case has thought, and he has therefore wisely determined to come out into the open, well knowing there is nothing hidden that shall not be revealed. In the book in hand he casts aside all the cautionary counsels so generally followed, he admits that the question of historicity is a real one, that it has received no adequate treatment from the liberal criticism, that it can no longer be waived aside with the conventional air of superior wisdom, and he accordingly devotes a volume to its discussion. The author has undoubtedly brought skill and learning to his task. His footnotes, designed for the scholar rather than for the general reader, offer a long list of titles and bear witness to a wide acquaintance with the relevant literature. It is particularly pleasing to note the recognition accorded to Bruno Bauer, for more than half a century the *bête noire* of criticism both conservative and liberal, rarely enough mentioned and then only that he might be despised. Professor Case has laid aside the habitual sneer of his predecessors and not only treats Bauer with respect, but would even seem to accord him almost the first place not merely chronologically but also logically among the "extremists." He says, "Bruno Bauer, as we have already observed, was gradually led to his conclusions by his critical examination of the gospels and

the Pauline epistles. Consequently the formulation of a new theory of Christian origins was the last stage in his work. To-day this process is usually inverted. The radicals come to the study of the New Testament with a fixed notion of the way Christianity arose, hence they are not greatly concerned with the Christian literature except to demonstrate that its content can be explained in accordance with their hypothesis" (p. 66).

It seems a pity that one could do justice to the dead only at the cost of injustice to the living. I presume not to speak for others, but as a characterization of my own methods and way of approach to the problem, the quoted statement is simply the *truth completely inverted*. It was only by a long series of Bible (particularly New Testament) studies, begun in early college years and maintained with steadily increasing interest, under guidance of the same order of lights (the liberal critics) that Professor Case so enthusiastically follows, that I was finally brought to recognize the blind alley into which they lead, to see the utter impossibility of explaining by means of the liberal theory *any* of the pivotal facts of proto-Christianity, such as the *primitive worship of Jesus as God*, the *mission to the Gentiles*, the *extremely rapid diffusion of the propaganda*, the *preaching of Paul*, and the *absence of the human personality* (the liberal Jesus) from old Christian literature. The only "fixed notion" brought to the "study of the New Testament" was exactly the "fixed notion" that Professor Case has himself always brought and still brings and will alas! perhaps forever bring, the "fixed notion" of the pure-human Jesus as the fount and origin of Christianity, a "fixed notion" derived precisely whence he has derived it, from the study of liberal (particularly, German) criticism. My present position was gained only by abandonment of Professor Case's own "fixed notion," by reluctant recognition of its total inadequacy. Any one that has read either of my German books must perceive that this abandonment was necessitated by persistent probing of the New Testament. Such at least is the impression made on the unsympathetic mind of such a scholar as Fiebig, else he would not have applied the term *rühmlich* to those New Testament studies. At any rate this general state of case is clearly set forth in the *Vorrede* to *Der vorchristliche Jesus*, so clearly, one would think, as to forestall intentionally any such error as Professor Case's and to make his representation peculiarly puzzling. If now it be replied that the words are, "To-day this process is *usually* inverted," not *universally*, and that room is left for a trifling exception, the answer is that such a reply is not satisfactory, that it does not mend matters, but makes

them worse. For the reader could not be expected to know the facts in the case, nor to make the proper exception; he is left with an impression that is distinctly false.

Returning from this disagreeable digression we may remark that the recognition of Bauer, however pleasing, is by no means so just, not to say generous, as that of Schweitzer (who does not agree with Bauer) in his "Quest of the Historical Jesus," by whom the stone that the builders rejected is unhesitatingly placed at the head of the corner. Read the emphatic paragraphs at the close of his eleventh chapter (pp. 159, 160). "The only critic with whom Bauer can be compared is Reimarus." "Bauer's 'Criticism of the Gospel History' is worth a good dozen Lives of Jesus." "Since Paul, no one has apprehended so powerfully the mystic idea of the supersensible *Body of Christ*." Such is the estimate, partially expressed, of the scholar that has mastered the literature of the subject (up to 1905) more comprehensively than has perhaps any other. Like Faust's punishment the judgment of posterity comes late but in ample measure.

Professor Case has intended to give a complete statement of the matter in hand, omitting no important phase of the great controversy. It seems strange in view of such an avowed purpose to find that many of the most highly significant considerations thus far advanced have not been mentioned at all. He has indeed thought it worth while to name the present writer some dozen times sporadically, whose contentions he has also sometimes accredited to others who had themselves adopted them, strangely enough preferring to quote his compatriot at second hand. Yet of only the first third or fourth of *Der vorchristliche Jesus* does he betray any knowledge; of the rest, which critics of the first rank have regarded as "particularly hard to refute" and as perhaps "the most valuable part of the work," he makes no mention. Nor does he seem to have met in its full force a single argument even of the portion he has considered. The only point whereon he has "dwelt thus at length" (pp. 102-110) is the witness of Epiphanius, on which the German critics have also labored most, not indeed as "representing the most substantial data," but because it was easiest here to raise a cloud of dust and to darken counsel by words without insight. With respect to these manifold and mutually contradictory "theological attempts" to explain away the Epiphanius-passage, it will be enough to quote the judgment of an opponent, Bousset (*Theol. Rundschau*, October 1911, p. 373), that they "must all be accounted failures." His own attempt does not come up here for consideration. After repeated readings it still

seems hard to make out just what our author does think on the subject, save that surely Epiphanius could not have testified against liberalism and Professor Case. Here are some of his main statements. "Epiphanius's thought is often very hazy, but on this subject he is perfectly clear. There was among the Jews even before the Christian era a heresy of the Nazarees; then came the Christian movement, which at first was known as the sect of the Nazorees and which finds its proper continuation, as Epiphanius takes great pains to prove, in the Catholic church; and finally there was a third class, who took upon themselves the primitive Christian name of Nazorees but who adhered so rigidly to Judaism that Epiphanius curtly remarks, 'they are Jews and nothing else.'"

"Whether there was ever such an array of sects bearing a similar name... may be questioned.... But one thing at least is clear. His statements about Nazarees, Nasarees, Nazorees and Nazirees involve no ambiguity whatever as to the date of Christianity's origin. The traditional date is the only one suggested. Those who argue for a pre-Christian Jesus can find nothing for their purpose except the bare mention of the early existence of a Jewish Nazarite heresy. To prove the reliability of this statement, and to show further that the sect was 'Christian' in character, is another matter. Epiphanius supplies no argument for this. He does not even so describe the Nazarees as to suggest characteristics which show them to have been precursors of the Christian movement."

Such is Professor Case's treatment, and the reader may judge of the "total absence of bias," the "wholly unprejudiced spirit" of this "complete and unprejudiced statement," qualities indeed that one is sure to expect in theological works that stoutly uphold far-descended traditions. However, it seems a little queer that while discussing this Epiphanius-passage at such length he should forget entirely to remind the reader who first called attention to the passage, whom in fact he means by "those who argue for a pre-Christian Jesus." Why such a vague circumlocution in such a compact volume? The only justification lies in the odd *habit* of our author to avoid as far as possible the ill-omened name of the writer of *Der vorchristliche Jesus*. Aside from this very small but significant trifle, the main thing is that the ingenuity of Professor Case, no less than that of his German predecessors, shows itself impotent in presence of the "*Epiphaniusstelle*." In fact he makes no definable attempt at explanation. Apparently he admits the "early" (meaning the *pre-Christian*) "existence of a Jewish Nazarite heresy" (meaning *Sect of the Nazarees*, as elsewhere he grants "even before

the Christian era a sect of the Nazarees"). He also questions the attempt of Epiphanius to distinguish the "sects bearing a similar name." Herewith then he seems to concede practically everything in dispute. If the Nazarees were pre-Christian (as he apparently grants),² if Nazarees and Nazorees were only variants of the same name (as he seems to concede), as the manuscripts amply testify, and as common sense requires, then what remains? Irresistibly the proto-Christian movement is thrown back beyond our era, because Nazorees was an early name of Christians as Case admits and Acts attests (xxiv. 5). What then is meant by saying "His statements about Nazarees *et al.* involve no ambiguity whatever as to the date of Christianity's origin. The traditional date is the only one suggested"? This sounds very much like a lawyer who should admit that his client had been caught *in flagranti crimine*, and yet contend lustily that this cast no suspicion upon his innocence and no doubt upon his title to the stolen goods. To be sure, Epiphanius does not suggest any but the traditional date. But who ever hinted that he did? It is the traditional date that he strives so desperately to rescue. It was not necessary for him to suggest any other. *The pre-Christian date suggests itself* irresistibly in the admissions of Epiphanius. This Bishop of Constantia is a special pleader. He has studied most deeply and diligently about the Jewish sects and fortunately has learned too much. To his own confoundment he has discovered the pre-Christian Nazarees. What shall he do with them? A wiser man would have kept still as a mouse, but never the Bishop. He is too proud of his discovery. He must tell it abroad. But he "was swayed by a tremendous zeal for orthodoxy" (as Case declares, p. 106), "And for all the wealth of Indies would do nothing for to hurt her." Moreover, like modern liberals, he honestly believed the impossible, that he could in some way divide and conquer, could distinguish the Christian from the pre-Christian by a single vowel, could talk so long and so confusedly that the reader would finally lose the thread of thought and accept "the traditional date" out of mere exhaustion. This method of talking against time promised well, and even to-day the liberals seem to have found nothing better, but it cannot finally prevail. Ever more and more clearly come out the two cardinal and regulative facts, first pointed out (1904) by the present writer, that the Nazarees were certainly

² And as only deeply interested prepossession can any longer doubt. For Epiphanius is not only "perfectly clear," not only peculiarly well-informed, but he is testifying *against* himself, *against* the orthodoxy he loved with such infatuation; hence the unequivocal statement of this most learned of heresiographers must be taken not merely at its face value but at a very high premium.

pre-Christian and must not be distinguished from the Nazorees of the New Testament. It is puerile to make a mountain out of the molehill of difference between *a* and *o*, between forms that are interchangeable in manuscripts; as well distinguish between *lacruma* and *lacrima*, between *epistula* and *epistola*, between *Vergil* and *Virgil*, or between *Leibnitz* and *Leibniz*. It is idle to say that Epiphanius insists upon the distinction. Of course he does: he had to do it; for he "was swayed by a tremendous zeal for orthodoxy," and orthodoxy was and is in extreme peril from his indiscreet discovery and publication. His confusion and contradictions spring from the same source and are just as natural as the confusion and contradictions that Bousset so regretfully acknowledges in Wernle, Weinel, Schwen, Schmidtke and the rest, to mention only Germans. All these "theological attempts must thus far be accounted failures," for they merely obscure the issue and hide the two hinges on which the whole controversy turns and to which not one of these many "attempts," not even this latest of Professor Case, can pretend to do any manner of justice.

The other less detailed treatments in this book are so inadequate that it seems strange that the author could himself have felt any satisfaction in them or have allowed either himself or his publisher to say that "the negative arguments are very carefully examined," when in fact the great majority of the most important have not been examined at all, not even mentioned, and even the few lightly taken up have been as lightly laid down again. The most serious treatment, that of the Epiphanian passage, we have just found to be without cogence or coherence, but the most serious defect of the whole book is its failure to take any notice of Drews's *Christusmythe, II. Teil*, or of Smith's *Ecce Deus*. Even most unfriendly critics declare these to be the most important appearances in the recent debate, while the more sympathetic are unreserved in their estimates.² Our author has read *Ecce Deus*, for he refers to it repeatedly, though not controversially, and presents an excessively meagre summary on page 50. But he nowhere essays any reply to the arguments advanced in that book. He does indeed seem to allude to the chapter on the "Silence of Josephus and Tacitus," only however in order to introduce a strange error into a footnote, p. 87: "This view (that the Tacitean passage has been interpolated) is mainly a reiteration of the doubts of Hochart." As I have studiously avoided reading

² Compare e. g. the reviews by Hertlein, Meyboom, Reinach, Ransom, Toy, Windisch, and others, note also that Bolland in his latest and greatest work *De groote Vraag* (not mentioned by Professor Case) adopts freely the results reached in *Ecce Deus*.

Hochart, and as there is not to my knowledge a single one of his arguments in my article, the reader may form his own judgment in the premises. On page 56 another highly characteristic footnote informs us that "W. B. Smith seems at present to be vacillating on this question: cf. *Ecce Deus*, p. 150." Of course it is not expected that the reader will actually "confer" with the page 150 or with any other page of *Ecce Deus*. He who by accident does so will not find there any faintest shadow of vacillation. The passage in question reads thus:

"What? Is not First Corinthians still earlier than Mark? We need not raise the whole Pauline question. That is quite another matter. For the purposes of this investigation (and only for these purposes) we may admit freely that this letter *as a whole* proceeds from Paul and is older than Luke and even Mark. This admission, however, implies not even for an instant that *this particular passage* is older than all the synoptics or proceeds from Paul. For it is surely a well-known fact that the original New Testament scriptures have been subjected to revision, redaction, and interpolation." Follows then an elaborate argument to show that in any case, whether the epistle as a whole be Pauline or un-Pauline, the passage in question (xi. 23 f.) presents a later secondary point of view in comparison with the earlier original view of chapter x. 16, 17. Any discussion of "the genuineness of the principal Pauline letters" is omitted with perfect logical propriety, not in vacillation, but simply and solely because it would be irrelevant. Such "vacillating" might be imitated by certain liberal critics, though it might reduce in some measure the gaiety of nations. This same minute treatment of the "Pauline witness" (*Ecce Deus*, 148-163), with which Heitmüller now seems to be in essential accord (see his *Taufe und Abendmahl im Urchristentum*, 64-69) and which Schläger has fully confirmed (*Theol. Tijdschrift*, 1912, II, 136-157), wherein I have consciously taken from no man, is once again delicately and appreciatively foot-noted on p. 73 in the words, "W. B. Smith also falls into line here."

Mere trivialities these, yet they indicate better than aught else the spirit of the book in hand. Dismissing the ungrateful task of noting them we must now recall attention to the fact that Professor Case omits all discussion of the very *heart* and *nerve* of the most recent contention concerning the origins of Christianity. Fiebig has declared that the two questions raised by *Ecce Deus*: How far must the Gospel narratives be interpreted symbolically? and how far must proto-Christianity be understood as a monotheistic movement directed against polytheism? are now instant and call for decision.

That Professor Case should never mention them is a queer commentary on the profession: "No phase of any consequence in the history or in the present status of the problem has been ignored." It might seem that words are still used sometimes in a Pickwickian sense.

On the other hand our author has given ample space to Jensen and Robertson, not to mention Kalthoff, Lublinski, Niemojewski, and others. This it may be well to have done, but not to have left the other undone. As one of his sympathizers remarked about this book, "He shows great skill in selecting his opponents." Herein let it not be said that he "falls into line," but he marches in line with his European peers, all of whom, from Weiss to Weinell, from Jülicher to Wahrschauer, fall afoul of the writers named above and thrice slay the slain with pathetic unanimity and gusto, and like Case with this scrupulous tithe of mint, anise and cummin they quiet their consciences and think to absolve themselves from all weightier matters of discussion. "But what good comes of it at last?" is a very pertinent question for little Peterkin. Why "handle" these detachments so "mercilessly" while the main mass of the army moves on undisturbed?"⁴

In spite of the few shortcomings thus far noted and even in spite of some others, the book has decided merits, of which perhaps the chief is the summation (pages 269 f.) of "the evidence for Jesus's existence." It is too much the custom of the historicists to hide their light under a bushel, to hint vaguely that they have untold treasures of argument carefully locked up in safety deposits, the nature and extent of which they do not care to reveal. The present writer has tried repeatedly to get a peep at these garnered stores, but vainly thus far. In the *Theologische Revue* the learned Catholic, Kiefl, declares of *Ecce Deus*, "However trenchant and manifoldly correct the critique of the author is, yet the proof of his counter-hypothesis remains defective." At what point "defective" is not said, but the chief complaint is that Schmiedel's Pillars are so elaborately treated while the "other evidences" are rather ignored! But what are these "others"? The reviewer gives no indication. Schmiedel himself has declared that aside from such Pillars there exists no other clear evidence that Jesus as a man ever

⁴On p. 71 we are taught that "Smith's conclusions as to the Epistle to Romans have suffered severely under the criticism of Schmiedel." This information will be a delightful surprise to all readers of the only two articles in point (which Professor Case does not mention) in the *Hibbert Journal* (January and April, 1903), especially, I trow, to Professor Schmiedel himself. The capital "conclusion" that "Rome" is interpolated in Rom. i. 7, that in the elder form the "Epistle" was addressed to "all those in love of God," is now admitted fully both by Harnack and by Zahn.

lived at all (*Das vierte Evangelium*, p. 17). Hence the logical pre-eminence of the Pillar-passages. When some one produces "other evidences" of equal clearness, they will certainly receive equal consideration. Meantime to pursue the fleeting semblances of logical argument through the pages of Weiss, von Soden, and the rest is like chasing down a will-o'-the-wisp; to wander through their imposing syntactical structures is like threading one's way through the streets of Cloud-Cuckoo-Town.⁵

Wendland does indeed give an audible hint in his review of Reinach's *Orpheus* (*Theol. Literaturztg.*, 1910, No. 21, 644): he would rest the historicity on "the Aramaic basis of the Synoptics and the fact of a mission independent of Paul." Here are two arguments, quite independent mutually. Unfortunately it is hard to make a syllogism out of one premise, and in neither case does Wendland give any hint of what is the other premise; so we are left quite at a loss. In this perplexity it is a great relief to come upon Professor Case's summary, which declares: "The New Testament data are perfectly clear in their testimony to the reality of Jesus's earthly career, and they come from a time when the possibility that the early framers of tradition should have been deceived upon this point is out of the question. Not only does Paul make the historical personality of Jesus a necessary preliminary to his gospel, but the whole situation in which Paul moves shows a historical background in which memory of this individual is central. The earliest phases of Gospel tradition have their roots in Palestinian soil and reach back to the period when personal associates of Jesus were still living; while primitive Christology shows distinct traces of Jesus the man of Galilee behind its faith in the heavenly Christ. The disciples' personal memory of this Jesus of real life is also the fountain from which the peculiarly forceful type of the new community's vitality takes its start."

⁵ E. g., "So it follows that in interpreting Jesus the category of supernaturalism is felt by many to be an inadequate way of picturing his worth, and this is not because he has lost significance but because the category has done so" (p. 313). How careless of the Category to lose its significance! "What! Lost your mitten? You naughty kitten! Then you shall have no pie." *En passant*, Category would seem to be almost as important in the Critique of the Pure-Human as in the "Critique of Pure Reason." With its artful aid you need no longer wonder whether Jesus actually raised a literal Lazarus from the dead; you need only select a Category under which adequately to represent him and picture his worth. It would be easy to fill volumes with choice cullings from the works of leading liberals, wherein vagueness and nebulousity of thought (so-called) are pushed beyond the bounds of cometary tenuity, but this expression would seem to do injustice to the comet, which is not all tail, but has a nucleus. Truly says Homer, "This way and that, wide is the range of words."

This seems to be a fuller and clearer statement of the "other evidences" than is elsewhere to be found in the same compass, and hereby Professor Case has made the public his debtor. A few observations may be permitted.

1. It seems noteworthy that the Pillars shine by their absence only. Professor Case would seem to regard them almost as lightly as Schmiedel regards all such "other evidences." This seems very remarkable, for Schmiedel is not alone in pinning his faith to the Pillars. Witness, e. g., Meltzer's *Zum Ausbau von Schmiedels Grundsäulen* (1911).

2. The favorite argument from the unique, incomparable, and quite uninventible Personality is likewise slurred, if not indeed wholly omitted. This seems even more remarkable still, for this has undoubtedly hitherto been the trump-argument of the liberals.

3. The assertion that "the New Testament data are perfectly clear etc." ignores the whole symbolic interpretation set forth in *Ecce Deus*. If this interpretation be in large measure correct, then the New Testament data would seem to be perfectly clear in their testimony *against* the historicity in question. Unless the error of that interpretation be shown, this leading argument in Professor Case's summary falls to the ground, and what is said about "the early framers of tradition etc." loses all its meaning.

4. What is said about Paul is not correct; it is rather the very *reverse* of the truth. See *Ecce Deus*, pp. 148-163, and Schläger's article already cited.

5. As to tradition rooting in Palestinian soil, this argument like Wendland's, tries to stand on one leg, which is uncomfortable for an argument. The only plausibility of such syllogisms lies in suppression of the major premise. When this is stated, it will be found either false or unrelated to the conclusion. As a matter of fact we have no reason to suppose this Christian movement originated in Palestine or in any other one place. The pictorial representation in the Gospel was *staged* in Palestine, and for the reason stated in Matt. iv. 15, 16, to fulfil the prophecy about the arising of the light on "Galilee of the Gentiles." Nearly all the topical references of the Gospels are derivable directly or indirectly from this *motif*, and it is noteworthy how much of the Gospel picture remains in the air without a local habitation and sometimes without even a name. In the Gospels the Judean ministry is an afterthought not present in the Logoi-source (Q), as Harnack now concedes, and is a highly elaborate reflection from the mirror of prophecy, sacred and profane.

6. "When personal associates of Jesus were still living" assumes everything in dispute, as indeed is elsewhere done in this book.

7. The closing sentence about "personal memory" sounds like a rather grudging concession to the old Personality-argument and is quite too vague to form any basis of discussion. That the *absence* of any such "personal memory" is a distinctive mark of the early preaching, is the conclusion reached in *Ecce Deus*.

In view of all the foregoing it seems doubtful whether the historicists will in general be grateful to the Chicagoan for his statement of the case.

But our author is not content with a discussion of the historical question. He treats of the dogmatic significance of the Jesus for Christianity and religion in general.⁶ He would answer the question "What think ye of Christ?" We are interested in his own answer rather than in that of others, whose views he is at so much pains to present. Precisely what he thinks is not easy to make out: there is room for error in the most painstaking exegesis. He who expounds others clearly may not clearly expound himself. It would appear, however, that for Professor Case Jesus was a man, and nothing but a man; all trace of any peculiar divinity is erased from the picture entirely. Of course, he was a superior man. In what the superiority consisted, it would seem very hard to say. Again and again we are assured that Jesus had some very close communion with God, nothing however inimitable or unattainable by any of us sons of God. "The fundamental item in all Jesus's religious experience appears to be his abiding consciousness of fellowship with the Father." His program of salvation is accordingly said to be almost fatally simple: "become sons of God in childlike trustful fellowship, and under the inspiration of this fellowship live the life of unselfish service" (p. 297). Ethically and socially this Jesus seems to have given nothing new to the world. "Jesus lays down two controlling principles for the guidance of conduct; God is to be loved with full devotion of heart, soul, and mind, and one's neighbor is to be loved as oneself" (p. 301). It

⁶ As do so many Germans, wherein they seem to be parleying for the most honorable terms of capitulation.—When "liberals," "though they stoutly defend Jesus's existence on historical grounds," yet "grant that Christianity would not collapse if belief in Jesus's historicity had to be surrendered"; when they gravely ask, "Is belief in the historicity of Jesus indispensable to Christian faith?" it is plain that they are setting their house in order and preparing to turn over the keys at a moment's notice. One is reminded of Byron's famous line but slightly varied:

"And vowing they would ne'er assent, assented."

seems queer that our author should write "lays down" when he means *quotes* (from the Law, Deut. vi. 4, 5, Lev. xix. 18). Common sense must pronounce this characterization to be pragmatically worthless, if not false; it is so vague as to be no characterization at all. But this very vagueness, however disastrous, is perfectly natural and more than justified. There is not recorded among "New Testament data" a single deed or a single word that the critic can refer with certainty or even great confidence to this "historic Jesus." Plainly then it is quite out of the question to find any clear intelligible characteristic of such a "personality." Professor Case has seized upon this sense of oneness with God, not because he has any proof of it in the New Testament or elsewhere, for he offers none and has none whatever, but because it seems to him to become well "the Historical Founder of Christianity"; whom the shoe fits, let him wear it. We would not undervalue any such sense, but will any one claim for an instant that it is attested for Jesus in any such manner or degree as, e. g., for Spinoza "the God-intoxicated man," of whom Schleiermacher said, "the Divine Spirit transfused him, the Infinite was his beginning and his end"? Yet we do not worship Spinoza nor any of his peers as the founder of a religion. This character-analysis given by Professor Case seems to be little less and little more than the figment of a pious imagination.

More interesting by far are the omissions of the Chicago professor. Naturally he has naught to say of the miraculous element in the Gospels. It is plain, however, that he discredits the same *in toto*. According to him we have not to deal with a Resurrection but with a "resurrection Faith"; the disciples never saw the Risen One—there was no Risen One to see—but they had "vision experiences." It is amazing how lightly our author skims over the thin ice in this deep-water region, but there can be no real doubt as to his meaning and conviction. For him the whole so-called miraculous element in the New Testament is at the very best merely fanciful. For him the structure of the Christian faith rests upon some kind of *lusion*, whether *illusion*, *delusion*, or *collusion*, or a merger of all three. It goes without saying that he nowhere gives any justification for this element or this basis. The great facts of proto-Christianity, the worship of Jesus and the mission to the Gentiles, receive no hint of explanation at his hands; they tower before us wholly unconnected with Professor Case's historical theories, utterly isolated and as destitute of relations as Melchisedec. Nor can any one perceive any motive for the fabrication of the Gospel wonders. Understood literally (as our critic understands them) they

could prove nothing until they were themselves proved, and being mere fictions they could never be proved at all. For Professor Case this miraculous element is far worse than the Old Man of the Sea for the Gospel, which may well exclaim, "Who shall deliver me from this body of death?" It is hard indeed to see how he can read the Gospels with even the least patience, and how he can expound them is a mystery. None of this however is the fault, it is all only the grave misfortune, of Case,—to be wedded to a *passée* and faded theory that has too long outlived its usefulness.

When we now pass to the closing chapter on "Jesus' Significance for modern Religion," we find it still harder to be sure of our author's position. He is evidently greatly concerned to show that there is really such an abiding significance, but in finding any adequate reason therefor he seems to fail utterly. Indeed, the problem he sets himself is absolutely insoluble. The "historic Jesus" of the liberals was at most and at best simply an exceedingly pious man, possibly possessed of a genius for godliness, like John Wesley. All attempts to find something "unique" in this pure-human Jesus have always issued and must always issue in miserable fiasco. You do not seek behind the stove what you have not put there yourself. The liberal imagines a "unique" quality in his Jesus and then turns over every verse in the Gospels to find it there. It is still true, the lament of Werenfels:

"This is the book where each his dogma seeks,
And this the book where each his dogma finds."

We have no reason whatever for supposing a pure-human Jesus superior to hundreds or even thousands of others whose names adorn the annals of our race. We might admire, reverence, even love his pure-human character, and if we only knew with some degree of certainty something that he said or did, we might draw inspiration from his life. But precisely the same and even more may be said of many far brighter stars in the firmament of authentic history. Undoubtedly also many thousands, even millions, have actually drawn hope, courage, inspiration, from the life of Jesus, but it is the divine Jesus of orthodoxy, not the pure-human Jesus of liberalism. Much as the liberals may descant upon their *Jesus-bild*, and desperately as they may strive to find it full of marvel and inspiration, I must be allowed to doubt whether a single one has ever found in it either the wonder or the uplift that he so earnestly desired. In spite of all their perfectly honest professions and intentions, the religious soul must still say of the liberal critics, "they

have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him." *Experto crede*. The greatest of the liberals are coming to recognize this fact. Witness the words of Wellhausen at the close of his *Einleitung*: "For what has been lost with the Gospel, the historical Jesus, as basis of our religion, is a very doubtful and unsatisfactory substitute" (p. 115). Witness Bousset who speaks of the "transient" and the "eternal" in the personality of Jesus (reminding one of Kant's "empirical" and "transcendental" Self), who treats of Jesus as a "symbol" of the divine and so seems to Wobbermin to deprive him of all "significance as the source of our religion." Indeed it becomes every day more unmistakably clear that, as the orthodox Dunkmann affirms, "It is all over with the historic Jesus." Such a Jesus could henceforth be nothing more to us than Socrates or a hundred others; being a mere figment of the liberal imagination, he has lived his little day. But it is by no means all over with the real Jesus, the Jesus of the Gospels, the Jesus of proto-Christianity, "the God Jesus" of Origen. The complete triumph of monotheism is the avowed mission of his "everlasting gospel" borne through mid-heaven on the wings of an angel crying to all nations, "Fear God and give him glory."

It seems strange then that the liberal critic who teaches the pure-humanity of Christ, who "preacheth another Jesus," a "different spirit" and a "different gospel," unknown not only to the church for 1800 years but still more unknown to the primitive Christians, apostles, and evangelists, who rejects all and several the teachings of all the creeds and the far sublimer faith of the "monotheistic Jesus-cult" (Deissmann) antedating all creeds, that *such a one*, no matter what his learning, ability, or integrity, should pose as the Defender of the Faith that he has himself destroyed. Ajax did indeed shield valiantly the fallen Patroclus, but it was Hector, not Ajax, that slew him. Stranger still, in this case the defense of the corse is an heroic effort to keep it dead. It is directed against the friends of the fallen, who come not indeed to anoint "the body of the Christ" unto sepulture, but to reanimate it, not with any pure-human nor even half-human half-divine life, but with a life all and solely divine and immortal as the Deity Supreme.

AHASVERUS NEARING THE GOAL OF HIS MIGRATIONS.

A PRESENTATION OF THE RELIGIOUS PROBLEM IN MODERN
JUDAISM.

BY AHASVERUS LVII.

RELIGIOUS narrowness has always been an implacable enemy of art and poetry. Hussites and Puritans destroyed the most beautiful monuments of medieval art in their blind fanaticism against what they termed idolatry. Medieval monks used the most valuable manuscripts of classic writings as parchment good enough for "The Hours with the Holy Virgin" or similar books of devotion. Early Christians destroyed ancient temples together with the most artistic specimens of ancient sculpture. Missionaries in Germanic and Slavic countries or the conquistadores of Cortez obliterated every vestige of ancient culture and thus deprived the world of an inestimable treasure of information on ancient civilization. Undoubtedly when the Jews conquered Palestine they raged with the same fierceness against the relics of old Canaanitish art and religion.

In the same way the narrowness of the medieval church caricatured the beautiful myth of Ahasverus, the restless wanderer who longs for death, but to whom this salvation is denied. The tale of Ahasverus who dashes himself into a raging fire or down steep precipices, uselessly trying all methods of ending his life yet not able to die, is an allegory of what our experience teaches us daily in the lives of individuals dragging out a useless and burdensome existence in hospitals, in penal institutions, in hovels of misery, and on beds of terrible suffering. Similarly Ahasverus is an allegory of a cause that has outlived its purpose and continues to exist as a curse to its supporters. Unfortunately Christian fanaticism in the Middle Ages added two features spoiling the beauty of the myth. It makes Ahasverus exist as a warning example for good Chris-

tians and a testimony to the truth of the fundamental dogma of Christ's divinity, and it makes Jesus, who on the cross prayed, "Forgive them for they know not what they do," a vindictive fanatic.

Suppose that Ahasverus, of whom no mention is found in the Gospels or in any literature up to the thirteenth century, were a historic personality. Suppose an ignorant cobbler in Jerusalem, to whom naturally the vote of the Sanhedrin was a divine command, just as an order of the Bishop is to the Irish peasant, or the ruling of the Pope to the Tyrolese mountaineer—suppose this poor cobbler saw in Jesus, as he could not otherwise, a dangerous infidel destined to corrupt the whole nation and to deprive it of its divine protection. Suppose he said harsh words to one who was a martyr for a nobler conception of religion. Would he be different from those who condemned John Huss or Savonarola to the stake, or from those who jeered at John Brown when he was led to the gallows?

This is a side remark which has little to do with the question. The main issue is of an entirely different nature. For centuries it was an unsympathetic or hostile outside world which saw in Judaism an Ahasverus, a cause long dead and still persisting in living, or pretending to live and suffering justly in consequence. Its lot was like that of a monarchical party in a republic. Now it is different. For a century the feeling within Judaism has been that the allegory of Ahasverus is a photographic presentation of Judaism and its conditions. Perhaps nobody has presented it in a clearer way than did Heinrich Heine, the brilliant Jewish genius, himself an Ahasverus, vacillating between proud self-assertion and cowardly mimicry. His statement, "Judaism is no religion, it is a misfortune," expresses a sentiment shared by a great many members of his church, people, or race—whatever the unique organism may be called. An idea of the number of his sympathisers may be formed from the statement made by Michael Beer, the brother of the famous composer Meyerbeer, a talented poet who died in the prime of manhood, in a letter to Heine, written from a French seashore resort. "Yes, dear Heine," said he, "if I could wash off my Judaism in the ocean, but no ocean has water enough to cleanse us from this stigma." This is the cry of the Jew, longing to be a member of human society without constantly being classified as a Jew. It is far more frequent than outsiders will suspect, who may be misguided by a more or less self-deceptive, hypocritical gasconading.

Theodor Herzl, undoubtedly the most popular name in the Jewish history of the last decade of the nineteenth century, the founder of modern Zionism and the advocate of the reassertion of

the Jews as a nation, preaches merely a gospel of despair. Jews ought to assert themselves as Jews, because it will not help them if they try to be absorbed by humanity. In his tragedy, "The New Ghetto," the hero, a rather remarkable, almost prophetic presentation of the author's life, dies from wounds received in a duel, which he fought with one who insulted him as a Jew. His dying words are: "Tell my people they shall go out." How they shall go out the dying man has no time to tell. Nor had the poet who wasted his life on a bewitching utopia.

In the same fragmentary way the same topic is treated by Herzl's compatriot, the highly gifted Vienna poet Arthur Schnitzler, in his novel, "The Way Out." He does not indicate where this way out can be found for Ahasverus, the Ahasverus of our days, the Ahasverus of the fifty-seventh generation, but every one of his characters is groping for it. Every one of his characters, physicians, politicians, bankers, and authors are sighing the sigh of Ahasverus. Their greatest trouble is that they feel that their life as Jews is a penalty, a life sentence imposed upon them, a yellow badge, not of cloth worn on their garments as their ancestors were compelled to wear, but a yellow badge all the same. They feel that they stand for no positive program, as one of their most talented men, the German author Berthold Auerbach, has expressed it, when he makes one of his Jewish characters say, "The modern Jew is not so much a Jew as he is a non-Christian."

A negative program is hardly a program at all, as we can see from the slow growth of the liberal churches. Their condition is exactly the condition of modern Judaism with the difference that the latter has the racial element to prevent its followers from desertion and often to compel them to self-assertion. The difficulties of modern Judaism are in the main those of all religions. The God who created the world meets with an unanswerable question mark in Kant's philosophy, in the theory of evolution, and in the discoveries of geology. The God who rules the universe is again question-marked by the Copernican system, which altered so completely our conception of heaven and earth. Belief in the Bible as the revealed word of God finds again its obstacle in historic and philological criticism, as it developed within the last century. Finally heaven and hell, the most powerful arguments in favor of any religious organization, have not merely the Copernican system with the philosophy of Spinoza and Kant and inexorable historic criticism against them, but above all the arguments of the apologists of so many centuries. In all these respects Judaism has to share the difficulties of other

religions, but in addition it has some of its own. Because its professors are a minority, their faith suffers from lack of prestige, and their religious practices are in conflict with the most imperative demands of public and private life.

A fine psychological observation of the Talmud says that one should not belittle the pagan religion in the presence of a proselyte of the tenth generation. There is naturally a sentimental attachment to our own past, as well as to the views of our ancestors, even when we have completely outgrown them. Thus the Jew will find something poetic in his rigorous laws regulating diet or Sabbath observance, although he may have ceased practising them long ago. They are connected with the dearest memories of his childhood, with his veneration of his father, and his love for his mother. He will remember how happy he was in the days when life presented no puzzle, when every question had its definite answer, either in what he knew, or believed he knew, or in his confidence that others knew what he was lacking. Undoubtedly the Christian feels the same way unless he is still in the early stage of scepticism, which fills the man with iconoclastic prejudices, and consequent lack of appreciation of the poetry of the past. Yet the sentimental Jew who has outgrown his traditional views will at best say that the Judaism of his early youth tried to teach him that two times two are five, while Christianity may appear to him as teaching that two times two are five and a half. The Christian will reverse the simile, and his is the advantage of having the majority behind him.

The spiritually emancipated Jew remembers the prayer of his childhood in which he asks for the favor of God who has promised to keep his covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. He finds now that if the venerable patriarchs, who have been dead for thirty-odd centuries, are not a mere production of mythical fiction, they can not furnish him any claim on anything he desires, and that praying as he did, he drags God, the wise and just, down to the level of a whimsical tyrant or a shrewd politician who bestows preferment on the ground of the petitioner's backing. Still the same Jew in all likelihood feels that the formula, "We ask for Jesus' sake," is still more illogical. He asks for a favor on the ground of the unjust execution of a well-meaning, noble-hearted social and religious reformer. Why not ask for John Huss's sake, for Savonarola's, for Giordano Bruno's sake, for Mary Fisher's, or for John Brown's sake? At any rate it is a question whether two times two are five, or two times two are five and a half. The latter is somewhat more remote from the truth, but both are equally false.

In European health resorts we often see the weird figure of the Polish Jew, dressed in his gaberdine, conspicuous by his long beard and the side curls of his hair. It is the fashionable Jew from lands of Occidental civilization who is provoked at this spectacle, which he thinks—and in all probability correctly—drags him down in the social estimation of his neighbor. To the Polish Jew this costume is a sign of loyalty to his ancient faith. It is his interpretation of the divine command: "Ye shall be unto me a peculiar people," and as such is laid down in the authoritative codes of Jewish law, although even the most observant Jew of western Europe, not to speak of America, has quietly dropped this and similar laws as obsolete. This emancipated Jew, however, takes no umbrage at the appearance of a monk or a Catholic prelate who self-consciously parades the dress, or some conspicuous insignia of his ecclesiastical station. He does not even feel offended at the appearance of a Quaker, whose costume is an exact analogy of the traditional Jewish robe. The reason is obvious. The Franciscan friar, the nun, and even the Quaker, are parts of the large and powerful Christian community. The Jew is a member of a small minority. Therefore in wearing a Jewish costume he brands himself as an inferior, while the Christian clergyman wears the uniform of a great army, respected for its power all over the world.

A still greater difficulty arises from Jewish religious practices. The observance of dietary laws is not merely an inconvenience requiring self-abnegation, it is also a sort of self-ostracism. The Jewish banker—such specimens are very rare in civilized countries—who takes part in a banquet of a bankers' association, and lets all dishes pass him, with the exception of fruit or ice cream, feels humiliated by this conformity with the requirements of his religion. The conscientious Catholic who, participating in such a banquet on a Friday, abstains from meat, does not experience the same feeling of ill-ease. He is one of two hundred millions, and in many countries his religion holds the reins of power. To this is added the conflict with practical requirements. The Sabbath law is a serious obstacle in industrious and active communities. In many instances it is even a plain impossibility. The Jewish newspaper man, police official, railroad conductor, hotel keeper, and letter carrier, can not possibly observe the Sabbath. The Jewish merchant, barber, or huckster, is almost prevented from complying with the Sabbath requirement, and the more energetic is the community in which he lives, the more this difficulty increases. Consequently, even if he is entirely uninformed on the metaphysical side of the religious prob-

lem, he is conscious of the hopelessly wide chasm which yawns between his life and the theory which he professes.

By drawing a line through the map of Europe from the mouth of the Vistula River extending to the eastern shore of the Adriatic, we can divide the Jewry of Europe into two camps. The one west of this boundary line is in a process of hopeless disintegration, while the other still continues in its ancestral conditions. There are of course exceptions to this definition, for we still find amongst the western Jews some who cling with enthusiastic loyalty to their inherited religion, while even in the darkest Orient (not excepting Palestine, the catch-basin for all religious eccentricities) specimens of advanced thought, including Voltairian hatred of all religion, are exceptionally found. The situation of western Europe is far more emphatically duplicated in the United States, the only important center of Jewish population outside of Europe, while northern Africa and the settlements in Asia may be generally classed with Eastern Europe.

This condition of slow disintegration of Judaism began with the French Revolution, when the removal of Jewish disabilities coupled with secular education began to undermine the venerable fortress of the Jewish religion. As long as the Jew lived in circumscribed areas, closely huddled together with his people, observance of his religious practices was a requirement of his social standing; and his life, almost exclusively that of a small shopkeeper and a hawker, had for centuries been accommodated to the requirements of his faith. The Jew who lived in an Alsatian village, pursuing the occupation of his ancestors for centuries, visiting villages and towns in his neighborhood to buy cattle, to sell dry goods, to attend fairs and the like, used to come back to his village on Friday to attend the synagogue on Sabbath, and if he had any social ambitions, they were perfectly gratified by a dinner of the charitable society of his place, or by attending a Jewish wedding, and his highest ambition for public life was that of holding a position as warden of his synagogue. As soon as these disabilities were removed and the people from such a village moved to Paris or even to Strassburg, they found themselves facing obstacles which had been unknown to them before. Their occupation was not adapted to the observance of their traditional laws, and the society into which they were thrown demanded an entirely different mode of life. In some instances, perhaps in the majority of cases, the first generation would still cling to their old habits, but the succeeding generation, not imbued with the force of religious sentiments and old habits, drifted away. Thus we can

see that all over western Europe, as well as in America and even in the European settlements in important trade centers of the Orient, Sabbath observance is an exceedingly rare phenomenon.

With this emancipation, the estrangement from public worship goes hand in hand. A man who in his younger years was in the habit of attending the worship at the synagogue regularly, when the Sabbath was to him a day of rest, might after he ceased observing the Sabbath in a great many, perhaps in the majority of instances, still manage to spare an hour or two from his business in order to attend the synagogue. His son, who from early youth never acquired that habit, did not feel the necessity, and thus the great majority of the Jewish population in large centers are more or less estranged from that expression of religious feeling which is found in attendance at public worship. It has been figured out by statistics, which are as complete as we can have them under the present circumstances, that seventy-five percent of the Jews of New York are not connected with any synagogue. This figure may perhaps have to be reduced, for a great many Jews who are not members of a synagogue may still attend services on the two great holidays, New Year and the Day of Atonement, and in all likelihood give their children some modicum of religious education, and require the services of a minister in case of death or at a wedding. At any rate the religious life which finds expression in attendance at public worship or in the observance of the religious law, which in the case of Judaism is most evident in the observance of the Sabbath and dietary laws, is a hopelessly rare phenomenon in all large cities of Europe and America, and inasmuch as the tendency of the Jews as a mercantile people is to move into large cities, this condition can only become more and more pronounced in the direction of a further estrangement from religion.

Another important feature which works against the maintenance of religious life in Judaism is the departure from the former spiritual life, particularly from the old system of education. In olden times a Jewish child received an exclusively religious education. The boy when he was five years old, and often at an earlier age, was taught to read Hebrew, and as soon as he had mastered the alphabet was initiated in the Bible and Talmud. The education of girls was very much neglected and, where any attention was given to it, was confined to just as much Hebrew as was necessary in order to follow the services of the synagogue. Then their education stopped. The boy who gave promise of mental attainments continued to study rabbinical literature, and in later life he either entered the business

of his father if the son of wealthy parents, or if he married into a wealthy family for which Talmudic attainments were a great recommendation, he was placed in business by his father-in-law. Otherwise he became a rabbi. In very great exceptions he would take up the study of the medical profession, the only one open to the Jews. As the right of residence, and in many instances even the right to practise medicine, was limited to the ghettos, such cases must have been very rare, and even in these rare instances the studies were considered a practical attainment, like a commercial education or training.

With the beginning of the new era, which set in even before political rights were given to Jews, secular education began to spread and with it came naturally an estrangement from the old spiritual life. The Jewish boy attending a secondary school soon found out that he was considered a sort of semi-savage, and he threw himself into that new life with a vigor, as is always the case with those who by untoward conditions are retarded in their mental development. A strong illustration of this point is seen in the case of Isaac d'Israeli, who, becoming imbued with a taste for literature, drifted completely away from the fold of Judaism. This of course was not true in every case, but even in those cases where the cultured young man still retained his love for Judaism, the attractions of Shakespeare, Locke, or, as the case may be, Schiller, Goethe, Voltaire and Rousseau, proved greater than of the Talmud with its intricate discussions of questions that had lost all vital interest. In this way a wide gulf was formed between the past and the present, and the habits of thought, which up to the end of the eighteenth century were altogether molded by religious views, became more or less amalgamated with that of the environment, or to put it more strongly, the spiritual life of the Jews became secularized.

The chasm between the life of the Jew of to-day and that of his grandfather or great-grandfather can best be illustrated by individual typical instances. In the first half of the eighteenth century there lived in Ferrara a practicing physician, Dr. Isaac Lampronti, who is the author of a most stupendous rabbinic encyclopedia, dealing with all the intricacies of rabbinical law. What this means the uninitiated reader will easily learn when he is informed that Lampronti devotes an essay, filling some thirty closely printed pages, to the discussion of what grace is to be said when one takes a cup of chocolate. The reader uninformed on rabbinical law, and he is by no means confined to the non-Jewish camps, must understand that rabbinical law prescribes a different kind of grace for each class of

food. If we compare this Dr. Lampronti with a Jewish physician living in the same country one hundred and fifty years later, and for this purpose we shall select the celebrated Cesare Lombroso, we can see at once the wide gulf between Judaism of the nineteenth and twentieth, and Judaism of the eighteenth century. These conditions are still more pronounced in northern and western Europe, for these countries were far behind Italy in their secular culture, as far as their Jewish communities are concerned. It was under the influence of the rationalistic ideas dominating the last decades of the eighteenth and the early decades of the nineteenth century that the governments introduced compulsory education among the Jews. The representative spiritual leaders of the latter in large Jewish centers such as Frankfort on the Main, Prague or Berlin, opposed this idea with all their might. Still more was this the case in eastern Europe, in the old Polish countries and in the Orient. Even now the battle is not over. The representatives of strict orthodoxy in Palestine, as well as in North Africa and in Turkey, put all possible obstacles in the way of the missionary work carried on by the Alliance Israelite Universelle, and similar societies. A typical case is that of the struggle of the Alliance to open a school for secular instruction in Tripoli 1876. There the local rabbis would under no condition permit the establishment of even an elementary school. The progressive element appealed to the chief rabbi of Jerusalem, Abraham Ashkenazi, who rendered a decision that as long as the instruction was limited to the acquisition of a European language which helps a man in his earning capacity there could be no objection, but no geography, history, or any other heretical science must be taught. In Jerusalem to-day one who sends his children to a kindergarten, is deprived of participation in the alms sent from abroad for distribution among the poor. One can hardly blame these fanatics for their attitude because they know, or rather, instinctively feel, that from the moment secular education enters a community, the religious life becomes adulterated.

The surest way to measure the weakness of religious life is naturally the examination of practical observance. It has been figured out by careful calculation that at the most generous estimate there are only five percent of Sabbath-observing Jews in the city of Berlin, with its 140,000 Jewish people. Somewhat better are conditions in London with its large foreign population recruited from the Polish ghettos, but even there, optimistic estimates place the Sabbath-observing population at twenty percent. More unfavorable are conditions in America, particularly when we do not take as basis

the ghetto industries and sweatshops in which Jews predominate. If we limit our observation to the native and naturalized element, Sabbath observance is so rare that it could only be expressed in mills or perhaps in tens of mills. Undoubtedly the same conditions prevail when we take devotional exercises or the observance of the dietary laws into consideration. The orthodox Jew never neglects to perform his three daily devotions, which in the morning are particularly solemn by the use of a scarf in which the worshiper wraps himself, and by the use of the phylacteries. The age of thirteen was quite a solemn epoch in a boy's life, for then he was given his phylacteries which he was henceforth to use every morning in performing his devotions. It is safe to say now, that in the lands of western civilization only a small fraction of the boys are initiated in that practice, and only a negligible quantity of these continue it after reaching manhood. In the eighteenth century a man like Moses Mendelssohn, whose name stands as a symbol for the introduction of modern culture into Jewish life, would not even drink a glass of wine, which his friend Lessing had touched. Theoretically Mendelssohn had outgrown the belief underlying such observances, but in practical life ancient traditions clung to him as closely as the physical traits which made him a Jew. In modern days it is safe to say that the number of households in which the dietary laws are observed—speaking of course of countries in which the Jew lives on a footing of political and civic equality with his neighbors—is insignificantly small, and even in a considerable fraction of those which for sentimental reasons continue to observe the dietary laws, the individual members of the household disregard these laws with perfect equanimity when away from home.

While it is comparatively easy to form an idea as to loyalty to Judaism when we observe the conformity to religious practices, it is exceedingly difficult to form an opinion on loyalty expressed in convictions. The non-Jewish reader will realize this from his own experience in ecclesiastical circles. How many of those who are church members, who attend church services fairly regularly, and even take a leading interest in church affairs, are spiritually identified with church teachings? How many of those who had their children baptized actually believe that unless this ritual were complied with, their offspring would suffer the pains of hellfire for eternity? Within the Jewish church conditions are not different, but there is another difficulty from which most of the Christian churches are free. The Jew has no pope, no church council, no catechism, no synod, in fact no universally recognized ecclesiastic authority. What

he believes is his own business, a matter between himself and his God. The safest guide to the conception of what Judaism as a church teaches is the prayer-book in which are recorded the religious conceptions of the community, as they have developed through centuries.

Taking this prayer-book as the basis for our investigations, we find that the modern Jew is as far from his official creed as he is from the catechism of the Roman Catholic church. The guiding thought of the prayer-book is that Israel has been scattered throughout the world as punishment for the sins of the fathers and that this temporary condition will come to an end when all Israel will turn to the Father in heaven, or at the time of the fulfilment, which God alone knows, and then the scattered remnants of the chosen people will be brought back to the land of their fathers. There the Temple of Solomon will be rebuilt in all its glory, the descendants of Aaron who are still privileged characters in the synagogue, will be reinstated in their sacrificial duties, and the whole sacrificial cult will be reintroduced, thus again as in former years effecting its work of atonement for the sins of the individuals as for those of the community.

Outside of a few mystics no Jew in lands of civilization takes this view seriously. It is safe to say that even the emotionally religious Jew would shrink in horror from the idea that the killing of bullocks and rams and lambs, the sprinkling of their blood, and the burning of their fat, should form an edifying spectacle for him. It is true that within the last century some progressive rabbis and scholars have tried to prune these ideas from their prayer-book. The result was an emasculated ritual which by its inconsistency and its thin air religion leaves the worshiper absolutely cold. The worst feature of it is the substitution of an adulterated idea of the mission of Israel. This is no more, as Isaiah and Zechariah have predicted, a repatriation of Israel with an addition of peoples from the four corners of the earth who shall come every Sabbath and every new moon to worship the Lord of Hosts on the holy mount in Jerusalem, but it is the rather platitudinarian idea of making the belief in one God universal. Whether the manufacturers of such a revised creed were conscious of the fact that monotheism, at least in the conviction of some people, is compatible with the trinitarian idea, and that even the consistent Jewish monotheism would still leave open the question how this God created the world and how he stands in relation to the individual who offers petitions to him, is hard to

say, but it is sure that the critical examiner of this revised creed will find no answer to such questions.

In addition to this central idea, the question as to the inspiration of the Bible must stand foremost. Judaism, lacking a central church organization and concerned almost exclusively with the definition of ritual practices, devoted little attention to the clear presentation of this dogma. Still every synagogue retained the reading from the Bible as the most solemn part of its service. In almost every synagogue this part of the worship is performed with great solemnity. The Pentateuch, written on scrolls of parchment, bedecked with embroidered covers, and ornamented with silver and jewels, is taken out from a shrine, carried around the synagogue in solemn procession, opened and elevated before the devout worshippers, and read after an offering of thanks to God, who "has chosen us from all nations and given us his law." Thus in the main the inspiration dogma of the synagogue is the same as that of the church, with the exception that the New Testament is not included in the canon of inspired writings.

Modern historic criticism has played havoc with this theory. It is recognized that in these inspired writings there are scribal errors, which often make the text unintelligible. It is recognized that in the Pentateuch there are different sources of legislation, centuries apart. It is recognized that some elements are adaptations of myths which were taken over from Mesopotamia, and it is admitted that some of the laws, such as death penalty for Sabbath breaking, are repulsive to the ethical conception of modern man. It is further recognized that some Biblical books, like the Song of Solomon or the Forty-fifth Psalm, are erotic poetry without religious significance; that others, like the Book of Esther, present a narrow chauvinistic conceit; others, like Job, are agnostic, and again others, like Ecclesiastes, are directly materialistic. The author of the last-named book boldly states that he does not know whether the "soul of man goeth upward and the soul of animal goeth downward."

Thus we arrive at another dogmatic difficulty, which is common to both Judaism and Christianity, the question of life after death. The Jew in this respect has an advantage over the Christian, because his Bible, with the exception of one passage in the Book of Daniel, does not teach bodily resurrection, and even the idea of a future life in which the good are rewarded and the wicked punished is not found in it. It might even be stated that, leaving the scepticism of Ecclesiastes and the agnosticism of Job out of consideration, the constant dwelling on prosperity and long life as reward for good-

ness proves that the Judaism of the Bible did not teach a life after death in the only sense in which this would be of interest to the religious mind. On the other hand it must be admitted that the testimony of the Talmud and of the New Testament and the teachings of the ritual, clearly make the belief in heaven and hell an integral part of the present Jewish religion. It may be said even more emphatically that modern Judaism, in its adaptation to the requirements of the age, has made the belief in a future life the central thought of religion, just as it is the case in Christianity. The best proof of it is the service for the dead, which having developed in medieval times evidently under the influence of the Roman Catholic church is the most popular part of the religious devotion in modern times. The Jew, if he is only slightly connected with the synagogue, will not miss attending it in the year of mourning following the death of a near relative, when he recites the Kaddish prayer which is a rather bombastic eulogy of God with prayer for the realization of the kingdom of heaven. Similarly he will attend the special services for the dead held on certain holidays; and in the large cities of Europe where the synagogue accommodations are insufficient, special overflow services are held on those days. To the great mass of worshipers such compliance with tradition is simply a habit, to others who feel that their general mode of thought is quite remote from that of the synagogue, attendance at such a service means an emotional expression of their affection for their deceased parents. Few, if any, closely examine themselves as to the real meaning underlying their attitude. It is safe to say that if they were asked whether they believe in a heaven where those who abstained from forbidden food and any labor on the Sabbath day are rewarded by having a good time, "eating of the Leviathan with garlic sauce," as Heine puts it, and drinking of the wine which has been stored up from the crop harvested between creation and the days of Noah when man first began to use it, they would laugh at the idea. They would also indignantly repudiate the thought that one who smoked a cigar on the Sabbath—an offence considered a blasphemy amongst the orthodox—will go down to a place many miles below the surface of the earth and be roasted there for eternity, or at least for twelve months. Such notions the liberal Jew would say are childish, but if he were asked what he would substitute for them or whether there was any logic in the belief in heaven without its indispensable counterpart, hell, he would be unable to give a satisfactory answer.

Now the question arises, what keeps the Jew a Jew, if in thought

and practice he is consciously widely separated from those traditions which he knows to be an indispensable feature of Judaism? In answering we must exclude the masses of Jews in uncivilized countries, and the few specimens in the western world who do not consider it even necessary to reply to such a question. Lessing's "Nathan the Wise" contains the sympathetic figure of the friar who in his simplicity says, "If I were not obedient without asking questions, would this be obedience?" Similarly Samson R. Hirsch, the literary champion of uncompromising orthodoxy in lands of western civilization, said in the introduction to his apology for Judaism, that the revealed will of God is sufficient reason for all our religious life and thought. There are other people guided by an emotional attitude to things religious. One might say they think with their hearts. Religion appeals to us, they will say, as a beautiful elevating sentiment, and while in regard to details we are not always able to answer the questions, the fundamental idea of a God governing the world is perfectly satisfactory to us, and is a stimulus to make us live a good and useful life. Many others—and I am afraid they form the vast majority of the cultured Jews—take Judaism simply as a fact from which they can not escape, and it must be admitted that they are right. Michael Beer, whom we quoted in the beginning as one who regretted that he could not wash off his Judaism in the ocean, expressed a truth to his friend Heine, whose life shows the strongest evidence of this theory. Heine did try to wash off his Judaism by embracing the Protestant church and by going even so far as to publicly deny that he had ever been a Jew, and yet he, one of the greatest lyric poets of German literature, is denied a monument in the city of his birth, and the one monument which a generous admirer succeeded in placing in a remote corner of New York, was twice mutilated by vandals. Why was this done? The only answer is that he is hated as a Jew. A similar instance is furnished by the life of Disraeli. If the religious side of the question were considered, Disraeli, the son of a father who was only a nominal Jew, and himself educated as a Christian, should not be classed as a Jew. Yet even a liberal like Gladstone, who shocked the friends of his youth by voting for the admission of the Jews to Parliament, speaks of his political opponent as one who displays the vindictiveness typical of his race. Even way back in medieval times, when anti-Jewish feeling was largely based on religious hatred, we hear of Pope Anacletus II, who had to suffer from prejudice because he was a great-grandson of a converted Jew. It is difficult to explain this complex phenomenon of animosity against the Jew which is found in Chris-

tian as well as in Mohammedan countries, and to a certain extent was even noticeable in the Hellenic world of Alexandria as well as in Rome.

My idea is that the main psychical force which accounts for this phenomenon, is the snobbery inherent in all mankind, which hates where it can not despise, and despises what is different from itself, and this sentiment is intensified by a religious fanaticism and maintained by this mental inertia which accepts views and prejudices of the past without questioning. Be it as it may, the fact remains that this hostile attitude which does not allow the Jew to get rid of his Judaism, which sees the Jew, and only the Jew, in him, even when he rises high above mediocrity, as poet, artist, or statesman, is the strongest cement to solidify social consciousness amongst the Jews. A fine psychological observation of the Talmud says that the ring which Ahasverus handed to Haman had greater effect on preserving Judaism than all prophets and prophetesses with their preachments. Individual Jews have often been absorbed by their environment. The main condition is and was that they should not soar above the average. No one can trace to-day the descendants of those who embraced Christianity a century ago. A student of genealogy recently found out that one Count Fries, who belongs to the exclusive circles of German aristocracy was a descendant of a Berlin banker, bearing the typical name of Daniel Itzig. If Count Fries or his sister, who is a Countess Coudenhove, were to land in New York to-day, all the exclusive clubs of the metropolis, or of Newport, would throw their portals wide ajar to receive such a distinguished guest, while these very same portals would remain tightly closed to such a respectable, generous, and even wealthy Jewish banker, as Daniel Itzig was. Open the gates to Daniel Itzig, let the King of Persia hand the ring to Mordecai instead of Haman, and the king's namesake, the cobbler of Jerusalem, will find the coveted resting place which has been denied to him for almost twenty centuries.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE ADULTERESS BEFORE CHRIST.

Russia is a peculiar country, comparatively unknown to the other Aryan races, and we may say that to a great extent Russia is herself the cause of this lack of appreciation. The severe boundary line, their high tariff, enforcement of much red tape in crossing the frontier, the differences in government, in customs and language, have isolated the inhabitants of the Moscovite empire as efficiently as if they were living within a Chinese wall cut off from the rest of the world. But to a great extent we must also bear the blame, and, I will add, we lose not a little by not knowing this eastern race as well as we ought to. No doubt the Russians are behind the rest of Europe and North America in many respects in civilization, institutions, and otherwise, but they have also their virtues, the acquisition of which would help to broaden our own views. We will here speak only of Russian art.

The music of Russia is known to be unusually deep and emotional. Her composers have made the classical music of Germany their own, and have developed it in a peculiar way which is typically Slavic. Russian architectural style has a charm of its own, and Russian poetry almost defies translation. What a variety of style there is! Within the domain of the novel Russia has produced a Gogol, a Dostoievski and a Tolstoy, and painting too can be favorably compared with the works of art in other countries. As an example we publish as a frontispiece to the current number, a painting by Vassili Dimitrievitch Polienov, entitled "The Adulteress before Christ," and accompanying these lines we insert below some other representations of the same subject. How sweet and sentimental are the paintings of Italian, German and French masters! How devoutly submissive and penitent are the women of western European art compared to this vigorous heroine of the Russian painter! What defiance is in her eyes, and how much more character is expressed in her hypocritical accusers. Polienov represents the climax of a dramatic scene, the import of which is indicated by the attitudes of Christ himself and of the villains who are compelled by his authoritative decision to give up their prey.

We notice that the scene is laid before the temple of Jerusalem, and the artist has made his study on the spot. In our opinion he has missed the right reconstruction of the temple, but possibly he has done so for artistic reasons, and moreover he would scarcely have all the materials at his disposal when painting this great work of art. The trees are exactly as they grow on the temple area, and there is a stone which has been discovered among the

ruins of the temple debris. It contains the injunction against Gentiles not to trespass on the temple enclosure, declaring that if they should be slain they would have only themselves to blame, thus allowing the Jewish fanaticism to have its own way on the holy ground. The Latin version of this injunction has not been found but Polienov inserts it on the other side of the great staircase. This staircase is the main error in the reconstruction of the temple. It can not have existed, and the injunctions against trespassing were inserted in the balustrade which surrounded the platform or *chil*.

The following data with regard to the artist's life we owe to Mrs. Frances C. P. Corse of St. Petersburg. He was a historical genre and landscape painter, born in St. Petersburg in 1844. He received his education in the Petrobavodsk gymnasium and afterwards in the university. He studied in the Imperial Academy of Art where in 1869 he received the second gold medal



CHRIST AND THE ADULTERESS.

By Tintoretto.

for his picture "Job and his friends," and in the following year the first gold medal for "Christ raising the daughter of Jairus," which picture, with two others, is at present in the Academy. In 1872 he was sent abroad by the Academy and painted in Paris the "Arrest of Countess d'Etremont," by virtue of which he was admitted to the Academy in 1876. In the Russo-Turkish War he was commissioned by the Crown Prince, later Alexander III, to paint scenes from the war. After this he moved to Moscow and in 1884 he visited Egypt and the Holy Land. He has several pictures in the Tretiakoff gallery in Moscow and two in the Alexander Museum in St. Petersburg, a portrait of Alexander III, and the "Woman take in Adultery." The latter was painted in 1888, exhibited in the same year and bought by the emperor. His subjects are mostly biblical.

The Royal Academy of Venice possesses one of Tintoretto's presenta-

tions of the adulteress before Christ, which is counted as one of the best of this Venetian master, and he has painted the same subject repeatedly. It is of special interest because it characterizes the times, and exploits before our eyes the aristocratic circles of Venice. Among the portraits here immortalized we find Titian, and in the right corner Tintoretto himself. We call special attention to one of the characteristics of Tintoretto, which is his masterly treatment of the hands and the gestures expressive of the sentiments of the several persons. In addition we might add what does not appear in a photographic reproduction that the charm of the colors belongs to the best that was produced during the Renaissance.

A Hungarian Counselor, M. Marcel d'Nemes, of Budapest, has in his art collection another picture representing the same subject in a similar treatment



THE WOMAN TAKEN IN ADULTERY.

By Titian.

by the same artist. Even many of the individuals in the group are identical with those in the one here reproduced, but the two central figures are somewhat different. The Christ is a more positive character and occupies the position of prominence in the center, and the model here used for the adulteress is utilized in the Budapest picture for that of a mother among the group of persecutors while the victim is of a fairer type but still gentle and submissive.

Titian's adulteress is as beautiful as any of Titian's heroines, but in his presentation of the whole scene is more like a display of living pictures, and the figures and details are as if intended for a theatrical show. Even the cords with which the woman is bound indicate that the act itself is not to be taken seriously, and the pleasant expression in her face anticipates nothing so horrible as the danger of being stoned.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

EAST LONDON VISIONS. By *O'Dermid W. Lawler*. London: Longmans Green & Co. Pp. 305. Price 6s. net.

The pseudonym under which this author writes is an anagram of his name Edward Willmore, preferred originally because of the autobiographical character of the book. The element of autobiography is not in literal exactness of external incidents so much as in its portrayal of the author's own early attempts at the solution of spiritual difficulties. The book has something of the character of a novel and much of the fascination of one, but the *dramatis personae* are allegorical and form an elaborate symbolic system to which Mr. Willmore expects later to furnish a key in order to show the important world-meanings involved. In his preface he says that "the significance of the story with its visions will best be understood when it is considered as an essay of values, an attempt to show the supremacy of the Christian religion, though not as commonly understood." A glimpse of his method and purpose may be gleaned by the following paragraph from the preface: "The writer portrays the conflict between a new soul and an old world, and the efforts that that soul makes to construct some spiritual floating ark, or even only seaworthy life-belt, against the deluge of scepticism that threatens to submerge the highest landmarks of the modern world. In his life, indeed, he is at first entirely unpractical, and an example to avoid. But he seeks for Truth. The type of Truth afforded us in these pages is undoubtedly the Star Lady. Her Christmas candle in its toy-candlestick is possibly some forgotten aspect of the light of Christianity itself. She offers him food—truths which at first he is unprepared and unworthy to accept. All things fall into wreck. He declines the ardent advances of the Lady of Venice, a voluble yet secondary character, typifying the world of affluent commerce and civilization, which he may accept largely on his own terms, even to modify, will he but make the compromise and forego Truth. Sophonisba—symbol of humbler toil and content—for her too he is unfitted, has really no love for her, but only velleity; though she (and this is again significant) announces with simple directness her own love for the Star Lady, who is Truth."

Still these explanations can not give any adequate conception of the charm of personality and descriptive detail which the pages contain. Many bits of East London life and atmosphere have the literary quality and richness of flavor of those of De Morgan and Arnold Bennett. The almost poetic charm of the book combined with its evident sincerity of purpose has made for it a wide circle of friends both in England and in this country. Prof. C. J. Keyser, of Columbia University, takes occasion to refer very incidentally in a lecture on mathematics before a congress of mathematicians to "the brilliant author of *East London Visions*."

Mr. Willmore has some very insistent ideas of religious reform and desires to form an organization. To this end he has written a second book more popularly didactic, which will appear soon under the title *The Call to Life*. He addresses public meetings in the streets of London in his spare time and here he has been successful in discovering sympathetic spirits who will soon form the nucleus doubtless of a large organization. Their *Credo* they call "The Bond of Truth" and in its message of love, helpfulness and service it is good for all to read: "Our creed, or belief, is contained in the words 'Our

Father.' God is, at the least, 'The Power not ourselves that makes for righteousness.' The Bible is not the Divine account of man, but priceless human accounts of the Divine. Bibles are still to be written. God's Word is within us. There ought to be no paid ministers. Any man or woman who wisely helps others is a minister. Religion means the organization of life—putting human life in order, as it ought to be. It consists in practical justice, kindness, unselfishness. The true church includes various committees for mutual help. We look forward to the manifestation of Christ (a spiritual ideal) in the sense of a nobler humanity. For this ideal we ought to work, and sacrifice ourselves, and prepare a house for the Son of Man. By house is meant environment. We have nothing to do with other churches or political systems, but we respect all sincere people. There is a judgment in Eternity. Each person is judged by character. Each must render an account. Freedom means discipline, rectitude, the service of the Lord. There is no other freedom." p

AUTHORITY. By *A. v. C. P. Huizinga*. Boston: *Sherman, French & Co.*, 1911. Pp. 265. Price \$2.25 net.

The Rev. A. v. C. P. Huizinga here explains the functions of authority in life in its relation to legalism in ethics and religion. He condemns the opposition to authority as voiced by the representatives of the Religious Liberals who convened in Boston in 1907, where Dr. George A. Gordon declared "The loss sustained by the Christian world through the reign of authority is incalculable." Dr. Gordon demanded for a true development of inner life the absence of outward restraint. He demanded that we must strike out along our own lines, if we are to be true to ourselves. The very idea of personality, of responsibility, of private initiative, of individual significance, the entire personal equation opposes itself to any pressure of external restraints.

Our Mr. Huizinga stands up against this individualism and proclaims an authority which is ultimately the authority of a personal God who makes known his will in revealed religion. In his announcement of the book, our author says that "God is made to appear in revelation as the final authority in all the forms of truth in which our faith may abide." The truth appears to lie between the two extremes.

There is most certainly a cure above the demands of the individual and the personal equation should be subject to the eternal laws of nature, but the authority in science as well as in ethics is not of an individual or personal kind. It is the authority of both, which religiously speaking is the only true God, and if there were an individual God being he would be superior to any ego deity which governs the world as a king rules a country. Mr. Huizinga is decidedly right as to the extreme conception of the pragmatic individual now so common in our days, but he is decidedly one-sided in the way in which he so easily accepts the traditional conceptions of a revealed religion where the nature of authority is regarded as of a personal nature.

To characterize the author's position we will quote from his chapter on Roman Catholicism, "Cardinal Gibbons says in 'The Faith of our Fathers': 'It should be borne in mind that neither God nor His Church forces anyone's conscience. To all he says by the mouth of his prophet: "Behold I set before you the way of life and the way of death" (Jer. xxi. 8). The choice rests with yourselves,' he is addressing only the non-Roman Catholic. For as a

Roman Catholic bishop wrote to a Calvinistic friend of mine: "The Catholics,' it has been said, 'rely on the inspired men, not on an inspired book.' And the canonicity of the Holy Scriptures is held to rest solely on the authority of the Roman Catholic Church."

Cardinal Gibbons discusses the standpoint of Protestantism in the following manner:

"Let us see whether an infallible Bible is sufficient for you. Either you are infallibly certain that your interpretation of the Bible is correct or you are not. If you are infallibly certain, then you assert for yourself, and of course for every reader of the Scriptures, a personal infallibility which you deny to the Pope, and which we claim only for him. You make every man his own Pope. If you are not infallibly certain that you understand the true meaning of the whole Bible—and this is a privilege you do not claim—then, I ask, of what use to you is the objective infallibility of the Bible without an infallible interpreter."

We agree with the author that pure subjectivism such as represented by paganism which gives to the personal equation an undue prominence is wrong and insists on the objectivity of an authority, but this objective authority is the authority of science as stating with careful investigation the facts of any case under discussion in formulas, the so-called natural laws, or in the outcome of correct reasoning, such as we have in mathematics, arithmetic, geometry and logic. The authority of the multiplication table is intrinsic, and does not rest on the personal authority of the teacher or even of an individual God. In fact the multiplication table itself is part and parcel of the divinity that sways the world.

κ

SOURCE OF THE CHRISTIAN TRADITION. By *Edouard Dujardin*. Translated by *Joseph McCabe*. Chicago, Open Court Publishing Co., Pages 307.

This is a critical history of ancient Judaism, thus recognizing only the one source for Christian tradition. It is prefaced by a brief note on Jewish history and literature which contains a map of Palestine and a chronological and synchronic scheme illustrating the history of Judaism. The work is divided into three parts of which the first, "The Law," treats of the early days of Jewish history, the Esdras school, and the Pentateuch; the second, "The Prophets," treats of the birth of prophetism, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, the two Isaiahs and the imperialist revival; and the third discusses "the Apocalypses" from the early hymns in the synagogues to the time of the Dispersion. A series of brief appendices covers certain details which would have interrupted the unity of the text. The topics include the name "Israel," the Samaritan Pentateuch, the "imperialist" theory of the composition of the Mosaic books, the Pentateuch "Documents," Simeon the Just, etc. The volume was translated for the Rationalist Press Association of England.

ρ

Mr. Charles Kirkland Wheeler, the author of *A Hundredth Century Philosophy*, has criticized Kant in a book entitled *Critique of Pure Kant, or A Real Realism vs. A Fictitious Idealism, in a word the Bubble and Monstrosity of the Kantian Metaphysic*. Kant is dead and Mr. Wheeler is his grave

digger. We wonder that Kant whose "utter absurdity" and "utter silliness" is here determined could ever have risen into prominence. It is to be feared that other thinkers have misconstrued Kant and have put some sense into his philosophy which either is not there or Mr. Wheeler has been unable to discover. It would be pathetic to think that Mr. Wheeler would have to wait for the hundredth century until his philosophy will be accepted by the world.

The frontispiece shows the portrait of Mr. Wheeler in his study and he appears there as a sympathetic person with a kind and mild expression, abundant white hair and white whiskers of English cut. The peaceful character of his exterior does not show his vigorous philosophical iconoclasm. K

The Bhaga, the most important book of Brahmanism, the Song of the Blessed One, or in Sanskrit Bhagavadgita, has been frequently translated and reproduced in almost all languages, especially in English and in German. The task is a very difficult one on account of the ponderous terms of Brahman religion, and the interpretation of the philosophy back of it.

An important addition to the literature of the Bhagavadgita, is the new translation which has been made by the most prominent Vedanta scholar of our age, Prof. Paul Deussen, whose German translation has been published by F. A. Brockhaus of Leipsic, under the title *Der Gesang des Heiligen* (price 3 marks, bound 4 marks). The book is comparatively small for it consists of 132 pages and is not burdened by long philosophical explanations. The preface offers only the most incidental explanation of the Brahman religion as expressed in the Vedanta. K

Among the University of Michigan Studies there is a Humanistic Series which has its place in the body of human knowledge, although the subjects treated seem in this busy rushing age to belong to the realm of the unessential. Some of the titles in the series for 1911 are as follows: The Myth of Hercules at Rome, by John Garrett Winter; Autobiographic Elements in Latin Inscriptions, by Henry H. Armstrong; A Study in Latin Abstract Substantives, by Manson A. Stewart; The Usage of *Idem*, *Ipse* and Words of Related Meaning, by Clarence L. Meader. P

In a short work entitled *La Réincarnation, la métempsychose et l'évolution physique, astrale et spirituelle* (Paris: Dorbon Aîné, pp. 250, price 3 fr. 50) Dr. Papus (Dr. G. Encausse) undertakes to discuss the phases of reincarnation "from the passage of physical cells into other physical bodies to the return of the immortal spirit into a new body." The book is written from a purely occultist and theosophical standpoint. P

Correction: Mr. Arthur MacDonald, of Washington, D. C., writes us that in his article on "The Mentality of Nations" in the August *Open Court* the heading of the last column of Table 2 should read, "Number of Persons to Each Copy per Issue of Newspapers and Periodicals." This should also be the heading to the last three items in the last column of Table I.



THE FOUR SIBYLS.

Raphael's Fresco in the Church of Santa Maria della Pace at Rome.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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PAGAN PROPHECY.

SOME CURIOUS FACTS IN THE HISTORY OF RELIGIOUS
DEVELOPMENT.

BY F. CRIDLAND EVANS.

Emerson assures us that

"One accent of the Holy Ghost,
The heedless world hath never lost."

But this optimistic saying may be looked upon with some dubiety when we take into consideration the various views that have prevailed as to the vessels wherein the outpourings of the divine spirit have been stored. The iconoclastic hand of modern criticism has sought to eject from their tabernacles the variously shapen urns and reduce them to shreds and fragments, until the sacred storehouse were well-nigh depleted. Conservative Protestantism with the exception of the bodies that hold to the doctrine of a personal dispensation from the Inner Light, are united in believing that the Old and New Testaments are unique in their inspiration, and rigidly exclude all other writings with pretensions to divine origin. When we turn to the church of Rome, however, we find Holy Writ enlarged by the fourteen books elsewhere known as the Apocrypha. Moreover we find a different point of view regarding the works of the Fathers, and a much augmented reverence for the vast body of lore known as the traditions of the church. If not put in the same class as scripture, these writings are at least set apart from profane literature in a way that would indicate that they are supposed to speak in some measure with the "accent of the Holy Ghost."

Parallel to this indication of a broadening of the Holy Spirit's field of operations, we come to a belief in another and stranger

source of inspiration, viz., in the literature of heathendom. To the modern church there is something repugnant about this notion, and



PYTHIA, THE DELPHIC ORACLE.*

in truth, as Symonds has shown, it does contain an insidious solvent of many Christian principles. But the early and medieval church

*The illustrations in this article are all from Michelangelo's famous frescoes.

ignored such disturbing inferences, in order to lay stress on those portions of the theory which appeared to corroborate her teachings. As precedent for the doctrine of pagan inspiration they could cite Balaam the Midianite. If he could prophesy, what would prevent any other Gentile from receiving the same inspiration? Thus reasoned the medieval mind. So the heathen texts were overhauled and the heathen prophecies examined, and verses from Virgil and the Sibyls were placed alongside those of Isaiah and Malachi.

The Christian respect for pagan founts of inspiration may have been due to the newly-converted bringing with them into the church many of their old habits of thought, prominent among which was a profound reverence for the sibyls. These personages were reputed to have been wise virgins who had dwelt in certain temples, usually of Apollo, and were especially *en rapport* with the deity. Their number is uncertain, but various writers have mentioned those of Erythrae, Persia, Libya, Cumae, Tibur and Delphi.

The Delphic Sibyl, or Pythia, was unique in the fact that instead of being a single individual she was an institution. When a Delphic priestess died, her successor was appointed, so that we have a dynasty of seeresses, enduring for centuries. The Delphic utterances were delivered among so many curious circumstances that the reverence with which they were regarded is not at all surprising. The Greek and Latin worlds received them with awe, and Christian writers were unable to come to an agreement on the subject. This reverence lingered on as late as Jeremy Taylor, who in his life of Jesus Christ (sec. 4) mentions the sibylline prophecies with belief. Even Milton, if the expressions in his "Ode to the Nativity" be any thing more than poetic fancy, had a notion that there was something in the pretensions of Delphi and "the oracles were not dumb" until the birth of Christ.

Plutarch, who resided near Delphi, has given us an account of the proceedings. It seems the priestess became intoxicated by inhaling some sweet-smelling vapor that issued from an orifice in a cave beneath the Temple of Apollo. The gas known as "laughing gas" has an odor of almonds, and the source of the oracles may have been an allied composition of natural origin.¹ Plutarch gives an instance of one poor priestess who took too great a dose of the divine vapor and died of *delirium tremens*. But most of her sisters attained great age. Under the influence of the gas, the Pythia would rush into the courtyard, and her ravings would be forced into sense and

¹ For an interesting account of how it feels to be under the influence of "laughing gas," see *The Will to Believe* by William James.

sometimes into verse by the *prophetes* or official interpreter. Plutarch, in his essay on the "Pythian Responses," records a few. A



THE LIBYAN SIBYL.

metrical one reads, "God pardons everything that can't be helped," which answered the anxious inquiry of a youth who had unwittingly responded to the advances of a young woman while he was in a

state of intoxication. Collections of these oracles were made by Herodotus, Philochorus, Theopompus and other ancient dilettanti,



THE ERYTHRAEAN SIBYL.

but their labors have perished. The Delphic oracles were generally characterized by ambiguity.

The other sibyls differed from the Pythia. Their power was

personal. When they died, the inspiration of their shrine came to an end. Few facts of their history can be gathered, and these few are ascribed by different authors to different sibyls. In all probability none of them are derived from any historic personage. Some natural phenomena, like the gas of Delphi, may have originated the legends. Northwestern Asia Minor seems to have been the original seat of the belief, and the fact that the Trojan princess Cassandra was inspired by Apollo to prophesy, may have some bearing on the subject.

According to Pausanias, the Libyan sibyl was the daughter of Zeus and Lamia, and the original of the mystic sisterhood. Another author, however, gives the same parentage to the first Pythia. In fact it is impossible to disentangle the legends, excepting those that apply to the several of the more important sibyls. But collections of mysterious writings existed, which purported to have been their utterances, and almost every Greek city had a collection in the *sanctum sanctorum* of a chief temple. The books which Pisistratus consulted in the Erechtheum furnish a case in point.

The oldest, or at least the most famous, of these sibylline books was made in northwestern Asia Minor. Its inspired authoress is said to have been Herophile, who dwelt either at Marpessus on the Hellespont or at Erythrae. The book was preserved in the temple of Apollo at Gergis. Thence it passed to Erythrae, where it became well known. Some authorities believe that it was this collection that made its way to Cumae and thence to Rome.

According to the old Roman legend, the Sibyl of Cumae offered to sell nine mysterious volumes to King Tarquin the Proud, and being refused, destroyed first three and then three more, demanding the same price after each incineration, until the king was impressed enough to buy the remaining three at the figure that was asked for the original nine.

The Cumaean sibyl was beloved in her youth by Apollo, and the god promised her anything she might ask. So she pointed to a heap of dust and begged to be allowed to live as many years as there were grains in the heap. Angered that she did not ask for himself, Apollo granted the request, but took advantage of her neglect to stipulate that she was to retain her youth. So she grew horribly withered and ugly, until she dried up. By last accounts she had shrunk into a mere voice and was kept in a vase in a temple near Naples.

This legend reminds us of the lady of Lübeck who rashly wished to live forever, and she is now so fallen away that the people

of the old Hansa town keep her in a small bottle that hangs on a column in the high church at Lübeck. Once a year she stirs and



THE CUMAEAN SIBYL.

then they feed her with the Holy Sacrament. But to return to the Sibylline Books.

Tarquin stored the precious volumes in the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter and created a college of patricians to be their caretakers. It is uncertain of just what the books consisted, for the members of the college were under oaths of secrecy regarding them, and these obligations were kept all the more strictly by reason of the remembrance that one of the guardians who had ventured to reveal some of the contents was condemned by Tarquin to suffer the punishment of a fratricide. Most of our knowledge on this point has been gathered together in Niebuhr's *Roman History*, a work whose apparent neglect is probably due to its poor English translation.

Niebuhr thinks that the Sibylline Books consisted of palm leaves covered partly with symbolical hieroglyphics and partly with Greek hexameters. This latter peculiarity required the custodians to know Greek and had its share in the Hellenization of Rome. When consulted it was probably shuffled and a page opened at random, in the same way that Orientals use Hafiz or the Koran, and many Christians make predictions from the Bible. Such was the custom at Præneste, where a similar collection existed in the Temple of Fortune. Here the pages were slips of wood, which were taken up together by a boy and one of them drawn by the inquirer. Tradition said that a nobleman of Præneste found them in the cavity of a rock which in a series of dreams he had been commanded to cleave open.

It is certain, however, that the Roman collection of sibylline writings did not concern the future. They were questioned as to the proper rites and ceremonies that were required in time of special danger, like famine or an impending battle, when the ordinary means of access to the gods seemed inadequate. They could be consulted only on the express order of the senate. It was through them, or some other of the *libri fatales*, "the books of fate," that the Romans buried alive two Greeks and two Gauls, a man and a woman of each nation, for in fact, along with the Cumaean books, the college instituted by Tarquin the Proud guarded the Etruscan prophecies of the nymph Begoe, and the Latin one of the Marcii brothers, the Tiburtine Sibyl, and others of the same sort. They were all books of fate. Like the Greeks, every Etruscan city seems to have possessed such. We know of the Veientine ones from their having touched the destiny of Rome and the Veii in connection with the draining of the Alban Lake. But the Roman library of supernatural wisdom perished in the year 83 B. C., when fire destroyed the Capitoline temple during the first civil war.

The Greek origin of the Sibylline Books is indicated by the

fact that when the temple was rebuilt, ambassadors were sent to Erythrae to obtain duplicates, and after inspecting the sacred writings of this and other shrines, returned to Rome with about a thousand verses. This collection became even more famous than its predecessor. It mingled prophecy and warning with its liturgical instructions, and many political events were affected by the mysterious sentences said to have been found in it.

Needless to say, the influence of many personages was sufficient to swell the number of sacred runes. One of its most notorious sayings was that which declared that Parthia could be conquered only by a king, with the inference, that as Julius Cæsar was about to invade that kingdom, he was also about to assume the crown. Strange to say, this prophecy was fulfilled, but it was not a Roman king that conquered Parthia. But the scandal caused by these so-called predictions assumed such proportions that Augustus thoroughly revised the collection and cast out many verses as spurious. Rome seems to have been flooded with this class of literature and Augustus destroyed all that could be found in private hands. The authorized version was placed in the Temple of Apollo Patronus and was burned in Nero's time. Soon another collection appeared, and it may have been this one that we hear of existing in the year 363. In 399 the Christian emperor Honorius commanded its destruction, together with that of the other pagan memorials of Rome. This order was obeyed by Stilicho, probably in the following year.

But it was none of these Sibylline Books that found favor with the Christians. Quantities of writings attributed to the Gentile prophetesses were in general circulation at a very early date, and in them the Christians found passages relating to their affairs. Augustine, Justin and Jerome allude to them favorably, the last declaring that the sibyls were rewarded with prophetic powers on account of their chastity. Lactantius carried the subject to the extreme. He and other preachers were fond of quoting them to the pagan philosophers, who were made merry thereby and who declared the whole literature fraudulent. These sibylline leaves are still in existence, and were printed at least four times in the nineteenth century. In 1890 a translation by Terry of some selections, under the title of *Sibylline Oracles* was issued in New York. Modern scholars consider them to be a conglomerate of Christian and Jewish writings, though Bishop Horsley in the early years of the last century argued in their favor with learning and ingenuity.

Another reason for the Christian respect for the sibyls lay in a strange tradition concerning one of their number. It was said

that Augustus inquired of the Tiburtine Sibyl if he should accept the divine honors decreed by the senate. The sibyl, after some days of meditation, took the emperor apart and showed him a vision of an altar, and above the altar an opening heaven, where, in a glory of light stood a beautiful virgin holding an infant in her arms, and a voice said, "This is the altar of the son of the living God." Whereupon the emperor caused to be erected near the Temple of Jupiter an altar bearing the inscription, *Ara primogeniti Dei*. The temple is now gone and on the site stands the church now known as the *Ara Coeli*, "the altar of heaven." In the east transept is a chapel now dedicated to St. Helena. The altar of this chapel is reputed to enclose the very altar of Augustus. Nearby, a bas-relief illustrates the story in rude fashion. Church traditions give this work of art a fabulous age; it dates at least from the twelfth century, while the legend itself can be traced to Byzantine writers of the eighth. But it is a strange and suggestive fact that the sibyl is commemorated at a place possibly identical with the spot where the Sibylline Books were once deposited.

Alongside of the Tiburtine sibyl, the church also revered her of Cumae. Virgil, in his strange fourth bucolic, declares that the golden age and the expected infant of which he sings, fulfil the final prophecy of the Cumaean song. As Christian commentators long regarded this bucolic as a prophecy of the coming of Christ, sometimes of his second coming, the Cumaean Sibyl was therefore considered to have foreseen the Messiah. And even though some modern theologians now shrink from finding their worthies in other than Biblical dispensations, we find a trace of the older attitude in one part of the Roman Catholic liturgy. The service for the dead still includes the *Dies Irae*, the masterpiece of medieval Latin poetry, composed by Thomas of Celano in the fourteenth century. The poem opens with a stately warning of the day of judgment, which the author declares to have been predicted by David and the sibyl: *Teste David cum Sibylla*. Translators, both Catholic and Protestant, have softened the word "sibyl" into prophet.

In the days of the Renaissance the revived interest in paganism increased the respect for the sibyls. They received independent attributes and histories. One was actually reputed to have married a son of Noah, and to have foretold the Tower of Babel and the coming of Christ. This seeress is the one who seems to have been known either as the Sabbaean or the Babylonian, but whom Michelangelo labeled Persica.

The sibyls frequently appeared in art. They figure in the win-

dows of Beauvais Cathedral. Raphael painted them over an arch in the church of Santa Maria della Pace in Rome. Finally with



THE PERSICAN SIBYL.

Michelangelo's Sistine frescoes the cultus found its grandest expression in the apotheosis of the sibyls alongside of the prophets of Israel.

But the sibyls were not the only pagan worthies to receive a kind of reverence among thoughtful souls. In the eastern church many of them have official honor. Dean Stanley saw in the porticoes of several churches of Moscow and in the Iberian monastery in Mt. Athos pictures of Homer, Solon, Thucydides, Pythagoras and Plato, as pioneers preparing the way for Christianity. In the west Pavia looked up to Boethius like a saint; the Venetian Republic sent to Alfonso of Naples as its most precious gift, a bone reputed to be the leg of Livy; and Plato narrowly escaped canonization. In early Christian times Tertullian spoke of Aristotle as *patriarcha haereticorum*, while Luther called him *hostis Christi*. Some writers saw in the Alkestis of Euripides a prefiguring of the death and resurrection of Christ. Above all, Virgil was honored. In the protection of Naples his bones assisted those of the patron saint Januarius. The authors of many miracle plays bring him on the stage as one of the Messianic prophets. On a twelfth century stall in the Cathedral of Zamora in Spain, he appears in the company of many Old Testament figures, carrying the word *progenies*, taken from the famous line of the fourth bucolic. He also appears in Vasari's pictures in a church in Rimini, while in Raphael's fresco his words *iam nova progenies* serve to indicate the Cumaeen sibyl.

Nor is this reverence for Virgil incomprehensible. The noble character of the man and of his poems made it pitiable that his name should be omitted from the roll of the blessed, because of his one involuntary fault of not being baptized. This feeling is well illustrated by the legend of St. Paul's visit to the poet's grave at Naples, when the apostle cried out in tears, "What would I not have made thee had I found thee still alive, O greatest of poets!" As late as the fifteenth century a sequence narrating this incident used to be sung in the Mass of St. Paul, in Mantua, the poet's birthplace.

Virgil's reputation as a prophet constituted one of his strongest claims to ecclesiastical veneration. Some perfervid critics have found in the warning that he puts into the mouth of Helenus, in reference to the dangers of the Straits of Messina, a prophecy of the earthquakes of 1693 and 1908. Less surprising are the conclusions that have been drawn from his fourth bucolic, where he sings the birth of a wondrous child who shall herald the dawn of a golden age. Many readers have thought that here Virgil was foretelling the approaching advent of Christ. Some modern commentators believe that he may have been acquainted with some of the Hebrew prophetic literature. At any rate the fourth bucolic probably played

its part in the evolution of the popular idea of the poet, changing him first to the saint of Naples, and then to Vergilius, the mighty magician. The history of this development has been beautifully worked out in Professor D. Comparetti's study of *Vergil in the Middle Ages*.

Seneca might also be included in the ranks of the pagan prophets. His "Medea" contains some curious lines, which seem to anticipate the discovery of America. They are thus Englished by Ella Isabel Harris:

"And the times come with the slow-rolling years
When ocean shall strike off the chains from earth,
And the great world be opened. Tethys then,
Another Tethys, shall win other lands,
And Thule cease to be earth's ultimate bound."

Can it be that some tradition pervaded the classic world of the existence of a western continent? Perhaps some Phenician ship crossed the Atlantic. It is possible that Columbus knew these lines and that they gave him a stronger hope that the mystery of the western ocean was not impenetrable. John Fiske remarks that in a copy of Seneca's tragedies, bought at Valladolid by Ferdinand Columbus and now to be seen in the Biblioteca Colombina, there is appended to these prophetic lines a marginal note in script to the effect that they have been fulfilled by Admiral Christopher Columbus in the year 1492.

LITERARY GENIUS OF ANCIENT ISRAEL.

BY AMOS KIDDER FISKE.

IN some respects the most remarkable of ancient literatures and that which has had the largest influence in the development of human civilization for a long period, has been so obscured and distorted by the sanctity imposed upon it by the people who produced it, that due credit has never been given to their literary genius. It is by no means the earliest of literatures in its origin, and before its completion that of Greece had reached its highest excellence.

The tenacity of the sacredness originally imposed upon it, and its preservation as a conglomerate but compact mass for so many centuries, has been mainly due to the fact that it is not merely a collection of the "works" of individual authors laboring independently, and is only in a small measure identified with the time or personality of the actual writers. It is the composite production of the highest genius of a whole people working in the main with one purpose and toward one common end during several centuries of an experience such as no other people ever passed through. In this colossal work of unconscious literary cooperation there was no pride of authorship, and no respect for the personal claims of authors. What one generation produced another was free to work over and adapt to the conceptions and aspirations of its own time, casting into oblivion any material that did not serve its purpose. There was excision and expansion, blending, transmuting and recension until at last the whole mass was compacted, roughly and with little skill but with sufficient cohesion, into one body and sealed as a sacred heritage to posterity. Thus it became, in a broad but legitimate sense of the term, the epic of that people's life for a thousand years, embodying their history and experience as their best minds interpreted it, their highest conceptions, their best thoughts, their loftiest sentiment, their utmost wisdom and highest hopes. This treasure was imbedded in much grosser matter and it varied in qual-

ity and value, but it received a kind of consecration that for ages forbade analysis.

That this literature was worked out and finally wrought together in this unexampled manner was due to the peculiar character and circumstances of the people from whose genius it emanated. Coming together as a congeries of nomadic tribes and clans, mostly of kindred blood, seeking a country in which they could settle down and become a nation, they had gained by conquest a narrow territory which was shut in from the sea, and isolated at the time from the sovereignty of the great powers which had previously ruled over it in succession, though it was still traversed by the caravan and military route between them. For a long time they were beset by enemies and had to struggle for national existence; their first kingdom fell apart and formed two rival nations with a varied history, and finally one after the other of these was destroyed by the powers of the East. But there survived a remnant of that peculiar people which saved its treasures of literature, gave them their final gloss and put upon them the seal of sanctity.

This people brought into the country which they conquered a religion and a worship which they cherished as their exclusive possession. They had a conception of one deity who was their God alone and whose sole people they were. This conception grew with their progress until from a tribal deity, watching over his own, jealous of other gods, fighting against them and destroying their worshippers, he became the God of the universe, the creator of the heavens and the earth, the sovereign power over all mankind, but was always peculiarly the God of Israel, who would finally make them the great ruling nation of the earth, as they fondly believed.

Faith in this deity, fear of his anger and his power, and trust in his love and goodness, as they conceived of his attributes, were fostered until devotion to him became the ruling passion of the people's teachers and the constant burden of the literature that they held worthy of preservation. This faith was the chief inspiration of the writers; and as it expanded, it moulded the growing mass of their work into one body, by no means homogeneous, harmonious or symmetrical, but sufficiently coherent to be held together and consecrated as the "word" of their God, uttered through his chosen speakers and writers.

That the genius of Israel, inspired with this faith, should have left such a body of literature as a sacred heritage to the people out of whose life and experience it had grown, is not so remarkable as the reverence in which it was afterwards held by peoples of wholly

different origin and character. This was partly due to the fact that Christianity sprang from the bosom of Judaism, but far more to the fact that, when it took root and spread outside of Semitic soil it developed dogmas which were derived largely from other sources but were linked with promises and fore-shadowings in this old literature of Israel. This gave it a new consecration and a new vitality. The Jewish sanctity became a kind of divinity which it was sacrilege to question, because upon it rested some of the chief dogmas of the Christian church. This distorted and obscured the work of Israel's literary genius, placed it in a false light and threw over it a delusive glamor to awe the superstitious soul into submission to teachings of which that genius never dreamed, but which it was forced into supporting.

It is only within two or three generations that modern scholarship has grown bold enough to disregard the ban of sacrilege and by rational study to reveal in its true character the one great literature which in its beginnings and highest development antedated the earliest classics of Europe. Hardly yet can the literary genius of Israel be treated as a power of the human mind working according to its natural lights and capacities and within the limitations of its heredity and its environment, without giving offense to sensibilities that have been wrought into a morbid state. But only by such treatment can its work be truly appreciated and its real value be estimated. By treating the literary production of that genius as human in the fullest sense a new interest is given to it, and it may be rescued from the neglect or indifference into which as a whole it has fallen in recent years, notwithstanding the fact that it is still more widely published and disseminated than any other. Few read it at the present day except in detached parts, and the younger generation knows little of it save by what it hears expounded from the pulpit, or in the old doctrinal way. Humanly regarded, it is of exceeding interest, and it loses nothing of genuine ethical or religious value by being truly understood. It is open to reason, as to faith, to believe that there is a divine power behind all human development and progress, but it cannot reasonably be confined in its direct activity within the limits of one contracted country, working through one small people, however "peculiar," at one particular stage of human history. The literature of ancient Israel is by all intrinsic and external evidence shown to be as human in origin and character as that of Egypt, or Babylon, Persia or Greece, or that of any modern era.

Like other literatures it began with oral tradition of primitive

days and the early movements of the people. To aid the memory these became embodied in fixed forms of tales and songs, recited or chanted from generation to generation. It was after the kindred or allied tribes and clans had been roughly welded into something like a nation and was divided into two kingdoms that the floating traditions of old days were reduced to written legends and stories of heroes and deeds of the past. Later, as reflection and imagination developed in this genius, it created a mythical ancestry of the people and their various tribes, and for all the human race, and sought to account for the origin of things, as human genius has been doing from the earliest to the latest day in history, and will continue to do while history lasts. The first writers were not without material for their work outside of their own traditions and imaginings. Long before their nation was born their land had been ruled successively by the empires of the Euphrates and the Nile and was still on the great highway between them. They were neighbors of an older people than themselves in Phenicia. They borrowed or appropriated conceptions and suggestions where they came within their mental reach and transmuted them to their purpose.

Mythical accounts, largely borrowed and transformed by the native genius, of the creation of the world and the origin of its inhabitants; of the destruction of the first race of men by the baffled deity, except for one favored family from which had descended all the known peoples, dispersed abroad by the confusion of their language when they had the temerity to seek cohesion and to scale the abode of the gods by building a tower to heaven; and of the choice of a progenitor for all the tribes of Israel and a promise to make of them a great nation in which all the world would be blessed, —these appeared in more than one version in the two kingdoms, ~~so far~~ ^{long} far from the time when the material of the epics of Greece was accumulating, less than a thousand years before the Christian era. Stories, equally mythical or fabulous, were developed regarding the descendants of Abraham, the ancestors of the tribes and of the related peoples of the region in which they dwelt, symbolizing their kinship, real or fancied, their early alliances and their enmities. To account for their wanderings and struggles before they gained possession of the land which became their settled home, stories were told of how their patriarchal ancestors had been driven by famine within the borders of Egypt, where they fell under a galling servitude from which they were rescued by their God with wonderful demonstrations of his superior might.

After one of the two kingdoms had been destroyed by Assyrian

conquerors the different versions of the early myths were blended and expanded and turned to account as a framework for the laws by which priests and rulers were to induce submission and obedience to their authority, giving to these ordinances the character of divine commands and the awful sanction of a direct revelation of the deity's resistless will. Israel was not the first or the last people to impute the ruling authority or the source of law to the deity; but no other people ever established so intimate a relation between their God and themselves, or made themselves so abjectly dependent upon his power and his favor, which was to be won only by unswerving devotion to him. Their earliest writers taught that their God had brought their ancestor from the East and given him their land, promising that his descendants should become a great nation and binding them under a solemn compact to worship and obey him and him alone.

The essentially mythical character of this material in the story of Israel cannot be doubted by any one who will read that story with an unbiased mind, nor will he doubt that it is the work of genius of a high order. Divested of the sophistication of the latest priestly writers, who sought to transform it more completely to their purpose, it has an exceeding human quality, sometimes grossly human, and a marvelous simplicity and force. As illustrations of that peculiar myth-making genius, note well the stories of Abraham and Lot, symbolizing the remote relationship with the hated people of Moab and Ammon; of Hagar and Ishmael, imputing to Israel's great ancestor the origin of the lawless denizens of the Arabian peninsula; of the marriage of Isaac and Rebecca, and of Jacob and the daughters of Laban, as a twofold cementing of the relationship with Syria and as exemplifying the superior craft and skill of the younger people; of the successful supplanting of the primacy of Edom by defrauding Esau of his birthright as the elder of twin nations; and finally the immortal story of Joseph and his brothers as an explanation of the tradition of the sojourn in Egypt, which was to give occasion for the marvelous rescue under the lead of Moses and the tremendous demonstration at Mount Sinai, as the prelude to that promulgation and development of law which was not complete until a thousand years later, but was all attributed to that great revelation in the wilderness.

How deny that work like this is compact of myth and fable and not at the same time accept as facts of history the tales of gods and men, the miracles and the marvels, which make up so much of the material of the epics of ancient Greece? Why deny to the

writers of ancient Israel the imagination, the power of invention and the motive for glorifying their own origin and history which have been the common endowment of men since the human intellect awoke to an interest in their fate? Why deprive that one people of the gift of literary genius and make dummies of their greatest writers?

I have dwelt upon the mythical element in this literature because it is best calculated to impress the idea of its human rather than divine origin, since all human genius has worked in that way in its primitive stages, and because the enlightened modern mind cannot accept the results as either representations of fact or of divine truth. In other ways the literary genius of ancient Israel worked in a very human fashion; but its unique peculiarity in its later stages was the idea that everything in Israel's life was dominated by the direct influence of the deity, conceived as in a special sense the God of his own "chosen people," to whose destiny everything else was subordinate. That idea was the product of an enormous race pride which has preserved the offspring of Judah from extinction or absorption "even unto this day." This appears in the legends and the history, as well as the myth and fable, of the literature that was wrought into one great epic of their life; and it is the dominating note of the ardent and eloquent utterances of the orators whom translators of their language have converted into "prophets."

Legends of the heroic age, when the tribes were slowly growing and preparing for the coalescence under the pressure of necessity for mutual defense which ultimately resulted in a loosely united nation, were originally mere stories of the doughty deeds of warriors in the conflict with enemies. Bands of invaders were repelled, predatory neighbors were driven back, tribal wrongs were avenged, and there was continual conflict with the Philistines who held the land between the hill country and the sea. As first written down, after the establishment of a monarchy and the division into two kingdoms, these tales of the old days, when there was no ordered government and "every man did that which was right in his own eyes," were of a truly barbaric character. So far as the supernatural entered in, as it did in all heroic tales of primitive times, it was of the mythical order. Mutilated fragments of the oldest metrical form survive. One of them pictures the God of the people as coming to their rescue in battle, careering over the mountains of Edom from his abode on Mount Sinai in storm and tempest.

There were defeats as well as victories, and oppression as well

as triumph. It was long after one kingdom, that in which most of these tales had originated in written form, had been destroyed, and the other was beset by powerful enemies from the East, that a new doctrine of theocracy was developed and embodied in a code of divine commands, carried back to the last days of the struggle in "the wilderness" and the eve of the conquest of "the promised land." This was in itself a work of genius, but it was the culmination of generations of progress in conceptions of the relation of the people to their God. Its central doctrine was their absolute dependence upon him, and the necessity of his exclusive worship and of unquestioning submission to his laws, as revealed through priest and prophet, for the salvation of the nation from its enemies and the fulfilment of the promise of perpetuity in the land which their God had given to their great ancestor.

In the light of this doctrine all the historic legends were newly edited. Defeats and calamities were attributed to disobedience to Israel's real lord and king or neglect of his worship as their one God and the enemy of all other gods and their worshipers. Each rescue from peril, each victory over enemies, was due to repentance and calling upon him and the raising up of a deliverer. What in the relation of events did not accord with this doctrine was in rude and imperfect fashion suppressed or modified to conform to it.

When the history of the kingdoms was roughly compiled from the rude annals of the successive rulers, it was treated in the same manner. It was the favor of the deity that brought victory or success or prosperity in any reign, for some reason that was made palpable. It was his anger that brought disaster or calamity of whatever kind, and reason was found for that. Marvels and miracles were matters of course in human experience under the beliefs of those days in all lands. One kingdom was destroyed and its land was devastated by Assyrian armies because its people and their rulers had been false to the worship of Israel's God and had failed to observe his laws and obey his chosen servants. That, at least, was the doctrine and the belief of the writers of the other kingdom who recorded their fate. Every menace that hung over the surviving nation was a warning or a threat, and when that was unheeded and reliance was placed upon other power than the great God Yahveh, his favor and support were withdrawn and the power of Babylon was used as a chastisement. The holy city was desecrated and Mount Zion became a subject of wailing and lamentation until the expiation was complete.

This theocratic doctrine was the creation of the Hebrew genius,

and it has had a powerful influence in human history from that time to this. It was the burden of the solemn warnings, the eloquent appeals, the fierce denunciations and threats of those ardent orators, who have been called "the prophets," and who made a harsh and inflexible language vibrate and resound through the world and down the generations, imparting its tone to other tongues. In these and a few poets imbued with the same spirit, the literary genius of Israel reached its culmination.

Its chief inspiration was not a power outside of itself, through it uttering what it did not know or understand and imparting to the world truths of nature, truths of history or truths of religion of permanent validity. The mass of its work was as purely human in kind, in character and quality, as that of any other ancient people.

But that doctrine of theocracy, as developed by the "prophets" and afterwards debased by the priests, served to transmute it sufficiently to weld it together into one mass and give it a kind of sanctity that preserved it as a single whole and made it in effect an epic of the life, the achievement, the contribution to the world's progress, of one of the least of ancient peoples in its dominion and secular power, but the only one that has sent a clear strain of itself down through history with an invincible solidarity.

FISH AND WATER SYMBOLS.

BY J. W. NORWOOD.

IN the issues of *The Open Court* for May, June and July, 1911, are some very interesting articles concerning the fish in Oriental symbolism and pointing out some of its Christian as well as "pagan" uses and meanings.

In these same articles it is to be particularly noted that the fish is almost invariably (and naturally) associated with water or some aquatic symbol. In the August issue, the essay on the catacombs, showing numerous primitive Christian pictures in which Christ is associated, as the Good Shepherd, with the same aquatic symbols, well displays the Christian use of symbols of "pagan mysteries."

The same author, the editor of *The Open Court*, in the October issue, makes some interesting remarks upon "Rivers of Living Water," accompanied by allusions to Christian and Buddhist scriptures and Greek and Oriental picture symbols. His concluding paragraph in "Rivers of Living Water" indicates a correct interpretation of the basic principle upon which the construction of fish and water symbols rests:

"We cannot doubt that the idea of a divine body, consisting partly of flames (or perhaps more correctly of light) and partly of water inhabited by creatures of earth, air and water, was not isolated, and the question arises whether this view does not come down to us from a primeval age and so would naturally be common to all mankind. This conception of divinity *may have acquired a definite meaning in some mystic rite indicative of the attainment of the highest degree of perfection.*"¹

Since the science of symbolism is but very little cultivated by men of intelligence and erudition now-a-days, and such as do pretend to the ability to translate original meanings mostly have a very

¹ The italics are mine.

superficial knowledge of the subject for lack of some authoritative sources of information, the following is here offered merely as suggestion to the general reader and is not asserted as fact.

Those who may be interested in ascertaining upon what foundation these assertions rest, will find plenty of corroborative evidence in the mythologies and symbols of all ages, races and religions. This should perhaps satisfy them, and if not, then their investigations may lead them eventually to the conclusion that there may yet remain traces of "some mystic rite," which might further enlighten a student but would scarcely be of interest to the average reader.

As a first hypothesis, it may be generally stated that the growth of symbolic representations betrays an apparent theological system as a base. It is conceded by most investigators that primitive language consisted largely in, if it was not actually preceded by, signs and picture writing, which gradually evolved into the more ornamental and exact conventionalized symbols of ancient religious and mystic rites. This came about as man's appreciation of harmony and proportion in nature's geometry grew.

Upon one side it produced our alphabets, mathematical and other scientific symbols, and upon the other, those systems of symbolic instruction whereby in certain "ancient mysteries" the allegories and dramatic representations of mystery legends were fully illustrated and concealed from the initiated.

A second hypothesis involves the idea that the original source of all mystery legends, and consequently of their various dramatizations and explanatory symbols, is to be found in some primitive natural conception of nature and deity, perhaps inherent in man, or at least universally diffused.

Such a conception is the ancient universal notion connected with the creation of the world and man, the introduction of the arts and sciences and the progress of civilization.

Briefly stated, the supreme intelligence or builder of the visible and material universe, is conceived as first creating the earth from chaos, in much the same manner as stated in the first verse of Genesis and as expanded and amplified in detail by modern geological theories.

Northern nations imagine a terrific combination of fire and ice and consequent steam resulting in the formation of a universal sea or ocean from which land emerged. In the midst of this sea dwelt a huge serpent.

As we proceed toward the south, the creation legend assumes various forms, sometimes fire alone being the first element to be

followed by water and earth and sometimes the gods building the world from various materials, but always we find the common notion of a completely water-covered globe before land appeared. And always we find this great sea said to have been inhabited by one particularly huge serpent or fish or other representative of aquatic life.

This creation theory seems to have been connected with the theological notion (perhaps allegorical) that deity or the creative forces of nature might be likened to a great sea of space, but space curiously endowed with intelligence. In this sea of universal intelligence floated all created things, which therefore appeared to the imaginative mind of man as the results of the divine thought.

An elaboration of such ideas probably produced the cabalistic representation of the "Ancient of Days" as a huge head, and the curious descriptions of its features, thoughts, beard, etc. Similar allegories are to be found in Oriental characterizations of the supreme deity.

This universal sea of divine intelligence found its counterpart in the terrestrial sea covering all the land. The created thing, or creation thought into being by the universal intelligence, such as the physical world, found its symbolic counterpart in the great fish or serpent inhabiting that sea.

Expressed mathematically, the sea represented the whole and the fish or serpent the part—of divine intelligence. For a fish or serpent to emerge from the waters in the form of one of the numerous fish and serpent gods of antiquity, was equivalent to saying that individual intelligence proceeded and was evolved from the universal.

At this point it may be interesting to observe that in the Phœnician, Hebrew, Greek, Latin and English alphabets, all derived from the same source, the letters M and N have a peculiar significance which may be considered mere coincidence, or thought worthy of consideration.

The letter M is *Mu* in Greek and *Mem* in Hebrew and Phœnician tongues. This word means "the sea," and the early as well as present shapes of the letter indicate its derivation from the hieroglyphic form of a wave or water mark.

The letter N is *Nu* in Greek and *Nun* in Hebrew and Phœnician and means "fish." These letters follow one another as if we read, "The sea; the fish."

Another singular matter is observed in the two zodiacal signs

of Aquarius followed by Pisces. Symbolically they are represented as wave marks and the double fish respectively.

With this conception of the universal intelligence or universal soul of nature represented by the sea or its symbol, we find it easy to comprehend many singular notions of the ancients connected with sea serpents, fish gods, serpent gods, arks, anchors and other symbols derived from them.

A certain class of legends concern the sudden arrival of a god, half fish and half man, who teaches the arts and sciences, especially letters. He usually arises from the sea. Every possible form of this legend can be traced, from the primitive fish-god to Aphrodite arising from the sea foam.

Another class represents the creator of the world, born from an egg spewed from the mouth of the great sea serpent. This form is found among the aboriginal American legends as well as with the Oriental races.

Still another, and no doubt later, version represents the creator god born from a lotus or water lily. This flower is the flower of light in which Hindu and Egyptian gods are observed sitting.

Every conceivable combination of these legends seems to be found among the complicated mythologies of the more esthetic races of antiquity, until in Christian times there appears the greatest profusion of aquatic symbols apparently used in connection with every theological, gnostic, cabalistic and mystic or spiritual exposition of the nature and attributes of deity.

Various Greek and Roman gods, not to mention those of the Oriental nations, were attended in their travels by fishes. From the story of Noah to similar ones of pagan deities, we note many gods saved by dolphins or other denizens of the deep. Oriental and Occidental fairy tales have stories of the intelligence of fishes who act as friends of man, recovering lost valuables.

In some myths the fish becomes translated into a ship, *argha* or ark. The Hebrew Noah, saved in the great ark to repopulate the world and preserve human knowledge, finds his counterpart in every deluge story of which there are many versions.

The ark becomes sacred and mystical as the keeper of the holy relics and scriptures; and through curious etymological connections it seems to throw light upon certain of the mystic rites of the Egyptians to be found in the Book of the Dead—more properly the chapters of the "Coming Forth by Day"—in which the Holy Royal Ark figures.

Again we find the Greek and Latin words for archaic, arch, ark,

arc, all apparently connected in an intricate symbolism in which there is more than a suspicion that there is an etymological as well as a mystical interconnection. It would seem as though the roots of such words derived their meaning from the mysteries, rather than that their mystical meaning was the result of coincidence.

However that may be, we find connected with the ark, the symbol of an anchor. While the Greek root from which the word anchor is derived, plainly means a hook, or hooked, it may be suggested that the form of the anchor when used as a symbol, frequently appears to be a combination of two symbols, the ancient Egyptian *ankh* or symbol of life concerning which so much has been written, and the phallic symbol of the lunar crescent in which the phallic sun's ray stands erect. Even in Christian symbolism the anchor is sometimes represented with prongs resembling fish or serpents.

It may be suggested as a third hypothesis in connection with

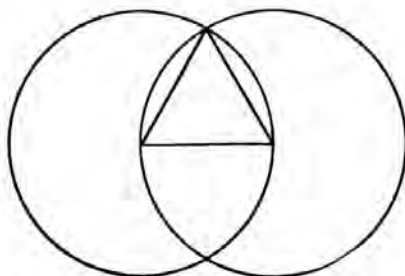


Fig. 1. FIRST PROPOSITION OF EUCLID.

the fish and water symbols, that to one who makes a careful study of the subject as a whole, there appear to be certain underlying harmonic principles upon which the science of symbolism rests and which enable the investigator to trace, with a tolerable degree of accuracy, the gradual evolution of each symbol from its root until it becomes fused with other symbols analogous to the etymology of words. Thus the science of symbolism demonstrates that all symbols of any particular system form an intricate network of hieroglyphics covering the entire range of philosophy which they are meant to illustrate.

While it would require a considerable volume to trace all the allusions to the fish and water symbols and their combinations with other symbols, it may be of interest to suggest some of these.

The guilds of traveling freemasons of the Middle Ages, who built the great Christian cathedrals of Europe, and whose existence is erroneously supposed to have terminated several hundred years

ago, had certain secrets of the trade which were concealed in geometrical formulas and diagrams.

One of these concerned the construction of the pointed or "Gothic arch," the foundation upon which the "Gothic" style of architecture rested. This was no doubt derived or adapted from the Arabians, though this question does not directly concern us here. This important trade secret is contained in the first proposition of Euclid, namely, to construct an equilateral triangle upon a given line, which proposition is the base upon which the Euclidean system of geometry is built. This is evidenced by the fact that Euclid's 47th problem, which closes the first book of his *Principles*, was and still is the symbol of the Master Architect among all guild masons, several of whose ancient lodges still do active work in England though fast falling into obscurity. The reason for this is that the 47th problem requires a knowledge of all preceding ones back to the first, for its proper solution.

The solution of Euclid's first proposition requires Fig. 1 which of course forms the Gothic arch.

The intersection of the two circles whose respective centers are the ends of the given straight line, encloses a figure popularly known as the *vesica piscis* or fish-bladder from its supposed resemblance to that object. Not only was the *vesica piscis* used in the construction of the arch, but also to enclose the images of the saints as we find it both in Christian and pre-Christian times where it frequently surrounds the pictures and statues of gods.

This symbol had a mystical meaning to theologians as well as guild masons as it formed the "Womb of the Logos," in that with *two* strokes of the compasses, a figure appeared making possible the construction of the equilateral triangle of perfection, representing the sacred *delta* or "Word."

In Milton's *Paradise Lost*, this idea is brought out when God is said to have cut out the world with one stroke of the compasses and the heavens with another stroke. After creation only, came the appearance of man, his fall, and subsequently, as in *Paradise Regained*, his redemption by Him that was called the Logos.

This symbolic idea of the "Word" will be at once recognized as adapted and not original with the Christians. The Word within the fish (*vesica piscis*) no doubt was connected with the astronomical and astrological notions of the ancients concerning the supposed birth of Christ under the sign of Pisces. Indeed modern astronomy tells us that the "Star of the East" was a conjunction of Saturn, Jupiter and Mars in the sign of Pisces, B. C. 4.

That this Euclidean *vesica piscis* was an ancient property of the guilds, at least in some crude form, is attested by the use they made of the fish symbol as a common mark to designate their work. Among the many collections of these old marks from European and Asiatic temples extending over a period of several thousand years, are to be found many symbols of two intersecting arcs of circles in the shape of a fish. Sometimes the double fish is used. (See Fig. 2)

Also it may be but a curious coincidence that the water mark so much used in Arabic and Moorish architecture, is a frequent ornament in Gothic architecture. Among the Arabs and Moors particularly, the wave lines are frequently seen in combination with an arch of any description.

A matter that at once carries us back to the original notion of universal intelligence and light enclosing and giving birth to individual creations, is the heraldic name of a certain fish known as the "luce," a shining fish, the perch. Luce of course means light and

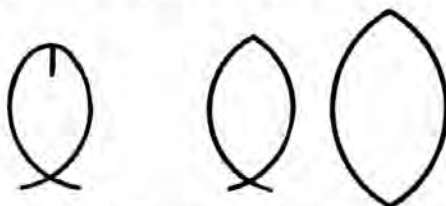


Fig. 2. MASONS' MARKS.

is derived from the same root that gives us *lux*, light, luck, etc. *Lus* is the old French for fish and the Low Latin makes it *lucius*. Thus in the Middle Ages we find the fish as an emblem of light just as we find *luces* and *fleur-de-lis* in French and Norman-English heraldry.

Among the many other masons' marks of antiquity we find the letters or figures M and N frequently used. Their significance in the alphabet has been referred to above. The figures or letters Z and W which so often are used as marks also, betray the antiquity of these signs, probably used without a knowledge of their original significance save as "sacred" symbols.

One of the "monograms of Christ" was an anchor of curious design between two fishes, an obvious allusion to the old astronomical notion of the Egyptians who set the sign of the fishes (Pisces) as a symbol of courtship and love in the spring, the survival of which we still have in St. Valentine's day.

This sign of Pisces in the Hermesian alphabet corresponds to

the "arch symbol" of the modern "Arch Masons" save that it has a true arch in place of the third *tau*, as will be noted from the figure (Fig. 3). It appears to be an arch surmounting the sign of the double fish—a figure resembling the letter H, and in the Greek zodiacal signs very pronouncedly indicating the "given straight line" and two arcs of circles of Euclid.

Again we must refer to the old guilds, for this "H" figure also plays a prominent part in their symbols and "marks." Indeed it

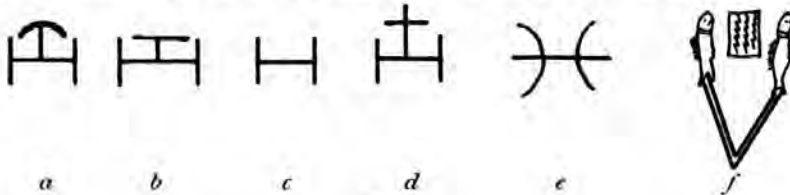


Fig. 3.

- a*, Egyptian Sign of Pisces from Hermesian Alphabet of Ben Waseh.—*b*, Egyptian Symbol used by Freemasons.—*c*, Masons' mark common to guilds of Middle Ages and found on ruins of Solomon's Temple by Palestine Exploration Association.—*d*, Christian symbol, especially of the Society of Jesus; also used by some European orders of knighthood and by the Pulijanes of the Philippine Islands.—*e*, Astronomical Sign of Pisces.—*f*, Sign of Pisces from Dendarah zodiac.

appears as a representation of brotherly love in other systems in the form of two men clasping hands, which takes us back to the double fish mentioned above, between which the anchor of hope is seen to be grounded in love. It also seems to refer to similar symbolic allusions among the ancients, whose type is Damon and Pythias or Castor and Pollux, the celestial twins who appear in the zodiac as Gemini.

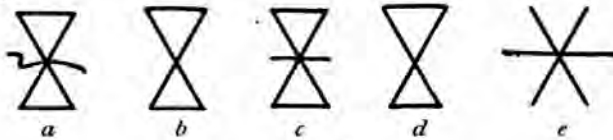


Fig. 4.

- a*, Hindu symbol of the upper and lower "elements" from which the world was built or created.—*b*, Egyptian symbol of the hand. The hand meant building or architect.—*c*, *d*, *e*, Masons' marks.

A careful examination of the numerous uses of the fish as a symbol leads us to suggest a fourth hypothesis in explanation of why in some instances we see the double fish as in the zodiac and in others a single fish. The reason may be that when "light" or "intelligence" is individualized in the person of a single god or deity, one fish appears; but when an abstract idea in connection with this

emanation of individual life denoting celestial light and intelligence from the universal sea, is denoted, then we find the double fish.

In the ancient cosmogonies, there was conceived to be a dual principle in nature which, among other ways, is displayed in the formation of the upper and lower expanses, symbolically indicated by a figure in which the division was marked in a striking manner. Thus two triangles set apex to apex and having a short line of division between would be such an appropriate figure (Fig. 4); or the image of a god, one half of one color and the other half of another color, would likewise be appropriate.

We find in the Cabala the curious imagery of God, the great *One*, reflecting himself in the waters below in order to become *Two*. By the One and the Two were all things created, said the Chinese. The Cabala is paralleled in this by the Hindus. In this sort of imagery the Supreme Creative Light proceeds from a triangle. The

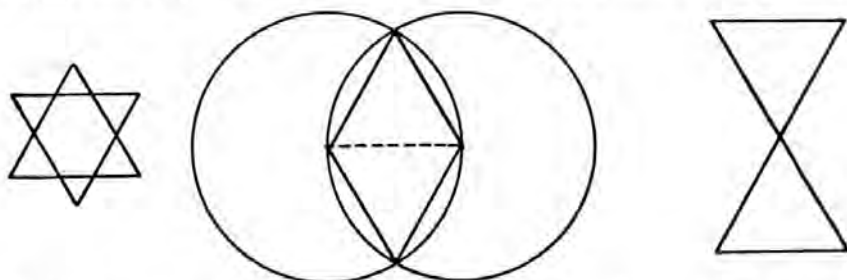


Fig. 5. THE DOUBLE TRIANGLE IN THREE WELL-KNOWN ORIENTAL DESIGNS.

reflection of the triangle in the upper expanse produces the second triangle. Their combination gives us, among other forms, the six-pointed star, the triangles placed apex to apex, and also the diamond or lozenge formed of the triangles placed base to base.

In every instance it is to be noted that "the waters," or the universal sea, is regarded as the symbol of that which is below, while the triangle represents that which is above and by "reflection" descends into the waters.

This double triangle may be perfectly produced in the *vesica piscis* (Fig. 5) before alluded to, and is common either in the apex-to-apex form or the six-pointed star, throughout the mystic systems of the ancients.

The Hindus (Buddhist) had a figure of the former type with a waved dividing line at the juncture of the apexes (see Fig. 4) which indicated the elements fire and water (or light and water) as representative of the upper and lower expanses. The Egyptians

had the same figure without the dividing line, as the hieroglyph for hand. The Romans indicated the number ten ("the perfect number of heaven") by the letter X, supposedly because it represented the "double hand," since "V" or five, was denoted by one hand.

In the Hebrew alphabet the name of the letter *yod* meant hand, and its numerical value was ten. So it is obvious that while numbers and arithmetical ideas were derived from counting the fingers of the hand, their relation to symbolism through the Cabala was the result of associating mystical and practical ideas.

The open hand appears to have been universally considered a symbol of friendship and peace. As such it tipped the wands or ceremonial staves of the Egyptian hierophants. Joined hands among the Romans was an emblem of fidelity, and regarded as the image of the god Fides, being in fact practically the same as the Castor and Pollux symbol before alluded to.

The idea of a dual principle pervading everything in nature is thus well displayed in this hand symbol. The Egyptian double triangle is the "hand of Providence" so to speak and as such becomes identical in meaning with the Hindu form denoting the upper and lower elements, from which it was probably derived.

This double triangle also forms a very common "Masons' Mark" (see Fig. 4), both with and without the dividing line, and very frequently appearing as merely two crossed lines divided by a third, upon which the six-pointed star could easily be constructed.

Applying this dual triangle idea to images personifying deity, we may understand the reason why the figures shown in Dr. Carus's article on "Rivers of Living Water" in *The Open Court* of October, 1911, have attenuated waists. Here the god or goddess represents in his or her own body the heavens and the earth. The "rivers of living water" pour forth from the lower triangle for the reason that he suggests, that they are waters of life and light, emanations of deity.

In conclusion it may be suggested that a consideration of this somewhat chaotic exposition of the fish and water symbols, which it is hoped will not be considered too ambiguous or too lightly touched upon, is meant to set out the following fundamental meanings of these symbols.

I. The waters, denoted by the wave marks, represent the lower expanse always and denote a universal sea, whether it be of light, life, love, intelligence or soul, or merely a physical ocean inhabited by aquatic life.

II. The fish is representative of that which comes from the sea

whether this be individual light, life, love, intelligence or soul, or merely a physical thing such as an incarnated deity, a land or island brought up from the ocean bed on the tip of a rod, or a god of learning.

According to the nature of a legend therefore, it is easy to distinguish the meaning of these symbols. The water-symbol is rarely denoted by other than wave marks while the fish-symbol appears in many guises, and enters in the composition of many other symbols. The one is an abstraction, a universal. The other is concrete, an individualization.

If the waters represent the divine wisdom, the fish-god emerging therefrom is the god of letters and science. If the waters are called the waters of Truth (for wisdom means possession of the truth) then that which is in the waters, whether fish or triangle, stands for that part of the whole which is comprehended by man.

FISH SYMBOLS IN CHINA.

BY BERTHOLD LAUFER.

[The Field Museum of Chicago contains a great number of valuable jade ornaments which, together with many archeological objects, were collected by Dr. Laufer. We take pleasure in here furnishing our readers with illustrations of some of them together with Dr. Laufer's explanations,¹ and we begin by reproducing a peculiar Chinese girdle ornament called *küeh*, which consists of a ring open in one part and symbolizing separation. Wu Ta-Ch'eng, Dr. Laufer's authority, published the picture of one of them which he considers the oldest type of *küeh*.]

THE symbolism relative to the incomplete rings called *küeh* is peculiar. Wu Ta-ch'êng alludes to it in figuring a specimen in his collection (see accompanying illustration) in which I believe



KÜEH. AN OPEN JADE RING, SYMBOL OF SEPARATION.

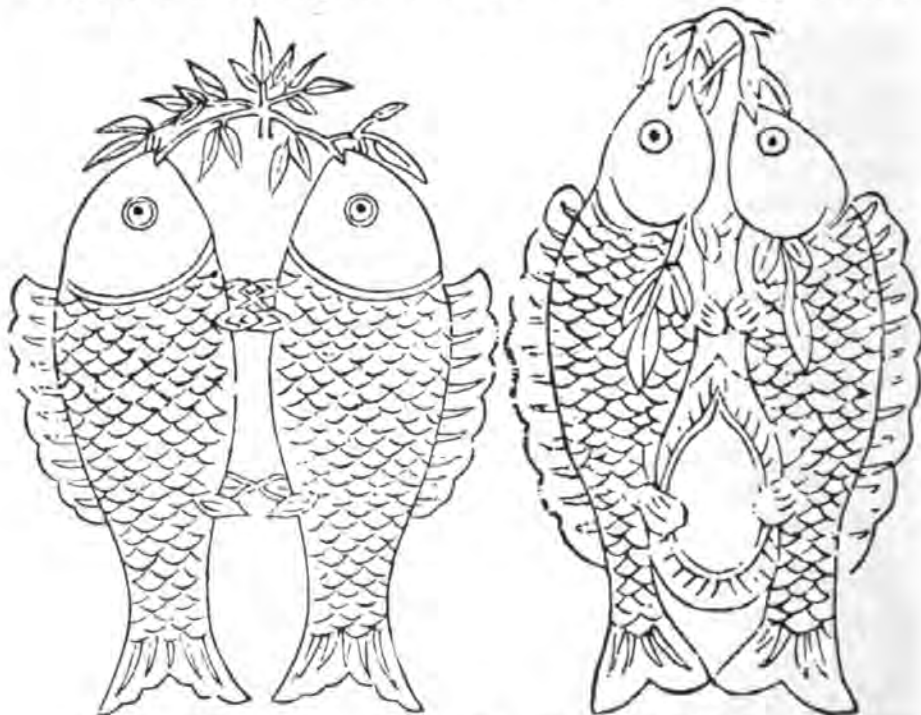
The Chinese archeologist Wu Ta-Ch'eng regards the figures on the obverse as two dragons, though they look more like fishes.

the oldest type of these rings may be found. It is carved from green jade with a black zone and has a double dragon (*shuang lung*) engraved on the one face and "the scarlet bird" (*chu kio* or

¹ Berthold Laufer, *Jade; a Study in Chinese Archæology and Religion*. Chicago, Field Museum, 1912.

chu niao), the bird of the southern quarter, on the other face. The form as here outlined exactly agrees with that on a tile disk of the Han period (*Chinese Pottery of the Han Dynasty*, Plate LXVII), Fig. 4). It is not known what its proper significance is on the tile nor in this connection on the ring. The break in the ring is effected by a narrow strip sawn away between the two dragon-heads which cannot touch each other; it symbolically indicates the rupture or the breaking-off of cordial relations between two people.

The gloomy half-ring *küeh* originally meant separation, banishment, nay even capital punishment; or, what could not appeal either

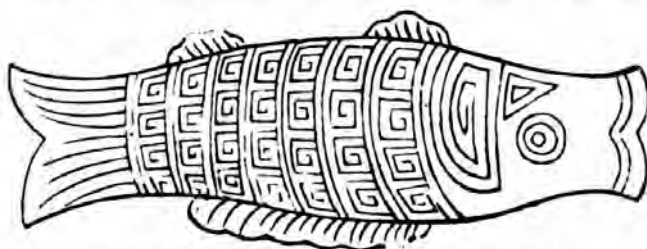


JADE GIRDLE PENDANTS. PAIRS OF FISHES.

to the people at large, the decision in literary disputes. But this entire symbolism must have died out during the Han period; for then a new style of girdle-ornament gradually seems to have come into general use, carved into graceful designs not pointing to any serious disaster for the wearer. It is useless to raise here a question of terminology, and to argue that these ornaments differ from the ancient half-rings and may have developed from another type which may have even existed in the Chou period under a different name. This may be, but the fact remains that the long series of these objects is designated *küeh* by the native archeologists, and that in some of

them the type, and above all, the designs of the *küeh*,—and these are presumably the oldest in the group of the new *küeh*,—have been faithfully preserved.

The two illustrations of double fishes, here reproduced, are carved from green jade. In the first their fins are connected, and they are holding in their mouths the leaved branch of a willow (*liu*), according to the Chinese explanation. It should be added that, during the Han period, it was customary to pluck a willow-branch (*chê liu*, see Giles No. 550), and to offer it to a parting friend who was escorted as far as the bridge *Pa* east of Ch'ang-ngan where the branch of separation (*küeh*!) was handed to the departing friend.² The significance of this ornament is therefore simple enough: we must part, but we shall remain friends as these two fishes are inseparable. It reveals to us at the same time how the *küeh*, so formidable in the beginning with its message of absolute divorce, was mitigated into a more kind-hearted attitude which made it acceptable



JADE GIRDLE PENDANTS. SINGLE FISH.

to all people—it became a parting-gift, a farewell trinket. The date of this piece is set at a period covering the Wei and Tsin dynasties, i. e., roughly the third and fourth centuries A. D., but I have no doubt that the pattern goes back to the creative period of the Han.

The second figure displays a similar design of a pair of fishes, the same carving being brought out on both faces. Also here, the editors explain the plant design as that of a willow. The leaves are represented here on the bodies behind the gills, and a leaf-shaped wreath (with the perforation of the ancient *küeh*) appears between the lower fins. Another difference is that the tips of the tails here touch each other which seems to hint at a more intimate union of the party concerned, while there is a gap in the previous piece in correspondence with the break in the ancient half-ring.

[It is noteworthy that the fishes frequently appear in pairs in the Christian catacombs where the idea of a parting suggests itself very obviously. Here the two fishes are usually separated by an anchor, the common symbol of

² Pétillon, *Allusions littéraires*, p. 172.

hope, so as to suggest very plainly the idea of a parting with the hope of meeting again. We may add that the pair of fishes as they appear in the zodiac are very different in nature and presumably in meaning, and should not be confounded with either the Chinese fish, with the *küeh*, or the Christian fishes in the catacombs; and further the figure of the single fish has again a significance of its own. In Chinese it means loneliness, independence and uniqueness. We here reproduce such a single fish.]

The scales are conceived of as meander fretwork; but I do not know whether, for this reason, this fish is associated with thunder. The peculiar feature is, at all events, its single-blessedness in distinction from the common fish couples. There is a huge fish in the Yellow River, called *kuan* (Giles, No. 6371, Pétillon, *loc. cit.*, p. 500)³



JADE GIRDLE PENDANT. CICADA.

supposed to be a kind of spike, noted for its solitary habits of life, and therefore an emblematic expression for anybody deprived of company like an orphan, a widower, a bachelor, or a lonely fellow without kith or kin.⁴ A girdle-ornament of this design was perhaps a gift for a man in this condition.

Among the jade amulets placed on the corpse to prevent its decay the fish occurs on the eye and lip-amulets. But there are also

³ The Chinese theory that this species is not able to close its eyes is certainly mere fancy, as in all fishes the accessory organs of the eye like the lids and lachrymal glands are poorly developed.

⁴ In this sense, it is mentioned as early as in the Shu king. In one poem of the Shi king, No. 9 of the songs of the country of Ts'i, Wên Kiang, the widow of Prince Huan of Lu, is censured for returning several times into her native country of Ts'i where she entertained an incestuous intercourse with her own brother, the prince Siang. The poet compares her to the fish *kuan* who is restless and sleepless at night for lack of a bed-fellow (see Legge, *Shi king*, Vol. I, p. 159, and Vol. II, p. 293).

instances of large separate carvings representing fishes which have no relation to the body, but have been placed in the coffin for other reasons.

The Field Museum of Chicago contains two mortuary jade fishes unearthed from graves of the Han period. One of them⁵ is a marvelous carving of exceedingly fine workmanship, all details having been brought out with patient care. It represents the full figure of a fish, both sides being carved alike, 20 cm. long, 11 cm. wide, and 2 cm. thick, of a dark spinach-green jade. A small piece has been chipped off from the tail-fin. There is a small eye in the dorsal fin and a larger one below in the tail-fin. It is therefore likely that the object was suspended somewhere in the coffin; it is too large and too heavy (it weighs 1¼ pounds) to have served for a girdle-ornament. In this way,—with comparatively large bearded head and short body,—the Chinese represent a huge sea-fish called *ngao* (Giles No. 100).

Such large and fine jade carvings are likely to have had a religious significance, and the following passage may throw some light on this subject:

"In the Han Palace Kun ming ch'ih a piece of jade was carved into the figure of a fish. Whenever a thunderstorm with rain took place, the fish constantly roared, its dorsal fin and its tail being in motion. At the time of the Han, they offered sacrifices to this fish in their prayers for rain which were always fulfilled."⁶

The middle figure on the same plate, a fragment, perhaps only the half of the original figure, is represented carved in the shape of a fish of leaf-green jade clouded with white specks, on the lower face covered with a thick layer of hardened loess. It is 11.5 cm. long, 4.2 cm. wide, and 9 mm. thick.

In the July number of the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Tokyo* (Vol. XXVII, 1911), there is an article by Prof. S. Tsuboi describing some interesting figures of animals of chipped flint, one of them representing a well-formed fish (p. 132).

While the religious symbolism formerly connected with the fish has almost disappeared it continues as a favorite ornament, and jade girdle pendants in the shape of fishes are still much in use. The third figure of the same plate represents such a modern carving of white jade showing a fish surrounded by lotus-flowers (9.8 cm. long, 4 cm. wide). The contrast between this modern and the two ancient pieces in design and technique is evident.

⁵ The upper figure in the adjoined plate.

⁶ *Si king tsa ki*, quoted in *P'ei wen yün fu*, Ch. 100 A, p. 6 a.



JADE CARVINGS. FISHES.

The butterfly carved from white and brownish-yellow jade is a unique specimen among mortuary offerings. It is alleged by those who found it that it was taken from the grave-mound of the famous Emperor Ts'in Shih (B. C. 246-211) near the town of Lin-tung which is 50 *li* to the east of Si-ngan fu. I am not fully convinced that this is really the case, though any positive evidence *pro* or *contra* this assertion is lacking; but there is no doubt that, judging from its appearance and technique, this is a burial object of considerable age and unusual workmanship, such as is likely to



MORTUARY JADE CARVING. BUTTERFLY.

have been buried with a personage of high standing only. It is a flat carving (12.6×7.6 cm., 0.5 cm. thick) both in open work and engraved on both faces, the two designs, even in number of strokes, being perfectly identical. The work of engraving is executed with great care, the lines being equally deep and regular. We notice that a plum-blossom pattern is brought out between the antennæ of the butterfly; it is the diagram of a flower revealing a certain tendency to naturalism, which seems to bring out the idea that the butterfly is hovering over the flower. We further observe four designs of plum-blossoms, of the more conventional character, carved

à jour in the wings. The case is therefore analogous to that illustrated on a Han bronze vase (*Chinese Pottery of the Han Dynasty*, p. 283).

It is known that in modern times the combination of butterfly and plum-blossom is used to express a rebus (*mei tieh*) with the meaning "Always great age" (W. Grube, *Zur Peking Volkskunde*, p. 139).⁷ It is difficult to say whether, in that period to which this specimen must be referred, this notion was already valid, though the possibility must be admitted in view of the early rebuses traced by A. Conrady (preface to Stentz, *Beiträge zur Volkskunde Süd-Schantungs*). It would, however, be erroneous to believe that the rebus in all cases presented the prius from which the ornament was deduced, for most of these ornamental components are much older and may even go beyond an age where the formation of rebuses was possible. The rebus was read into the ornaments, in well-nigh all cases; while other single ornaments were combined into complex compositions with the intention of bringing out a rebus. It is not the rebus which has created the ornaments, but it is the ornament which has elicited and developed the rebus; the rebus has merely shaped, influenced and furthered the decorative compositions as, e. g., occurring in the modern Peking embroideries figured by Grube. In the present case, it is quite obvious that the association of the butterfly with a floral design rests on natural grounds, and was originally not provoked by a mere desire of punning, which is the product of a subsequent development.

A very curious feature of this specimen is that the two upper large plum-blossoms in the wings are carved out in loose movable rings turning in a deeply hollowed groove but in such a way that they cannot be taken out, a clever trick such as the later authors designate as "devil's work" (*kuei kung*). This peculiarity certainly had also a significance with reference to the mortuary character of the object. Such movable pieces are designated by the Chinese as "living" (*huo*); so we have here two "living" plum-blossoms in distinction from the two "dead" plum-blossoms below, and the two former might have possibly conveyed some allusion to a future life.

⁷ There is also the interpretation *hu-tieh nao mei*, "the butterfly playfully fluttering around plum-blossoms," alluding to long life and beauty (*Ibid.*, p. 138, No. 15).

THE PRIME OBJECT OF ORIGINAL CHRISTIANITY.

BY A. KAMPMEIER.

THAT Christianity in its origin was a purely eschatological religion intended only for the time of its origin, is a fact which clearly stands forth in the writings of the New Testament. It is only the unhistorical sense of the church from a very early date down to our own days that has covered up this fact by twisted interpretations of the numerous passages of the New Testament clearly expressing the firm expectation of the approaching end of the world and the coming of the kingdom of God from heaven. These interpretations dominated Christianity for 1800 years.

It is natural that the church took refuge in such wholly unfounded interpretations, for to understand them as they were intended to be understood would have been to grant that Christianity in its origin was founded upon a great error, namely upon the non-fulfilment of that expectation—an error which Jesus and Paul and their immediate followers alike shared—and this would have been to assume the purely human origin of Christianity. Although the fact of that great error, and therefore the purely human origin of Christianity, is at present acknowledged by all unprejudiced Biblical scholars, nevertheless the great majority of Christians are not acquainted with this fact, not even the majority of the ministry. Even religious radicals who have grown up under the traditional interpretation of the eschatological passages do not seem to be clearly acquainted with their original meaning. Otherwise they would not always center their attacks upon other points of Christianity instead of upon this fact, which more than anything else clearly establishes the perfectly human origin of Christianity, at the same time showing that it can be understood in a truly natural and historical way, without assuming interested priestly motives as many unreasonable rad-

icals of the old type still do; or without looking for other secrets supposed to have mainly given rise to Christianity, as for instance the purpose to establish monotheism and to destroy paganism and idolatry, for which object Judaism was better fitted than Christianity and pagan philosophy itself offered weapons enough. I think it is not too daring to say that the historical understanding of the eschatological passages of the New Testament and their import for the origin of Christianity is as little known or felt among those attacking Christianity or seeking for secret motives for its origin in other directions, as among those who still see in Christianity a directly divine revelation once established for all times. In my personal experiences with ultraradical enemies of Christianity I have observed that they are as much under the ban of the orthodox traditional interpretations of the Bible as are its faithful believers. As an example I will give that of a radical writing fiercely against Christianity, who faithfully accepted the orthodox explanation of Gen. vi. 4, that the "sons of God" were Sethites and the "daughters of men" Cainites. I therefore look upon this article as a contribution to a true historical understanding of the origin of Christianity both for believers and unbelievers, not pretending to give anything really new—for Biblical scholars are acquainted with the facts—but only aiming to popularize results of historical Biblical research in quarters where there indisputably still exists a great necessity for a better acquaintance with them.

In directing our attention to the strong eschatological nature of original Christianity, much of its pensive, gloomy, ecstatic, enthusiastic and visionary elements will become clear to us. For it is a fact that at all times in the history of religions, when there existed a firm conviction that the end of the present and the beginning of a perfectly new world were near at hand, these elements were aroused, together with the wildest beliefs. Witness the Middle Ages when in connection with the immediate expectation of the Judgment there arose men of fanatical, apocalyptic-prophetical tendency, fiercely inimical to the papacy and its excrescences, who like Tanchelm (killed by a priest in 1124) assumed themselves to be incarnations of God, or like Eon (died in prison 1148), referred the phrase *per eum, qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos* ("through him who is to come to judge the quick and the dead") to themselves; or again witness such strange and gloomy phenomena as the rise of the brotherhood of flagellants.

Early Christianity was strongly impregnated with these mystical elements, and the cause of this was surely to a great extent the

firm belief in the approaching end of the world and the miraculous establishment of a glorious kingdom of God, when all unrighteousness, all social and political injustice, under which those times were severely suffering, would be for ever crushed.

In order to give a clear proof that Christianity at its origin was strongly eschatological in character and that the new belief was intended only for that time, we must pass in review those passages which clearly pronounce this. In doing so I shall proceed in historical order, giving first the earlier and dominant views of the eschatological hopes, and closing with those passages occurring in the later books (historically considered) of the New Testament, which because the earlier expectations were not fulfilled either discard them altogether, or if they speak of the last days, speak of the circumstances introducing them in a different way from the earlier writers; yes, in the latest books the doubt is even met in Christian circles that because the expectation that the end was near has not been fulfilled, there will be no end at all.

I will insert here the almost superfluous remark that the eschatological passages have originated from the quite general expectation prevalent among the Jews of the first century which was based upon a false interpretation of the book of Daniel as shown in my article "The Successive Stages of the Jewish Idea of the Kingdom of God" (*Open Court*, October, 1911).

It may also be superfluous to repeat here, that no twistings whatever of all the interpreters up to our time in the effort generally to spiritualize the term "Kingdom of God," "Kingdom of Heaven," as meaning a state of the soul, or the glad tidings of the Christian doctrine of salvation, can evade the original meaning of the eschatological passages, even if a spiritual ethical meaning of that form may be attached to such passages as Romans xiv. 17; 1 Cor. iv. 20 or Luke xvii. 21.¹ The original meaning of that term is based on Daniel ii and vii, which speak of the final kingdom of God coming from heaven to destroy all previous kingdoms of the earth.

The teaching of John the Baptist, the stern preacher of repentance, is that this kingdom and its judgment are near, and Jesus follows him with the same note in the beginning of his preaching. But while these statements do not mention a definite date, Jesus proceeds to more particular statements, according to the Synoptics, saying that the end will come before the generation then living will

¹ Any one interested in the efforts of interpretational acrobatics to get around the plain meaning of the eschatological passages will find numerous examples in the commentaries. It is a sad example of the unhistorical if not untruthful sense of the church.

have passed away (Matt. xxiv. 34; Mark xiii. 30; Luke xxi. 32) ;² that there are some standing about him who will not see death, before the kingdom will come (Mark iv. 1) ; that his disciples will not even finish their preaching in the cities of Israel before the end will come (Matt. x. 23). The Synoptics further incorporate in their writings an apocalyptic document (in Mark xiii. 7-8, 14-20, 24-27, 30-31, called by critics "the small Apocalypse" and probably written during the last stages of the Jewish war and about the time of the destruction of the city), which reports Jesus to have predicted that event and that *immediately* after it (Matt. xxiv. 29)³ the end would come. Luke who incorporates the same document in his gospel, because the end did not come right away, assumes an interval between the destruction of the city and the end and says: "Jerusalem will be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled" (xxi. 24). Thereupon he says (verse 27): "*then* will come the Son of Man" preceded by cosmic signs, etc. (verse 25). According to Luke's expectation also therefore the end was soon to come.

Paul, who wrote his epistles (speaking of course here of the authentic ones) before the destruction of the city, clearly expresses his expectation that the end was near. Yes, he even expects to live to see it (1 Cor. xv. 52). Paul is so firmly convinced of the truth of his belief, that he calls it a *mystery*, i. e., a divine secret revealed to him (1 Cor. xv. 51). This is the meaning of the word "mystery" with Paul in other connections (compare Rom. xi. 25). He is firmly convinced that not all of his readers (including himself) will die but many will be transfigured. Those who shall have died, he says, will first be awakened at the blast of the final trumpet and then "we" will be transfigured. The same is stated in 1 Thess. iv. 16-17 with the addition: "Then we living and surviving will be snatched up with them (those awakened) in the clouds etc." To his Roman readers he reveals the other divine secret (Rom. xi. 25), namely that his own people, the Jews, had partly been hardened "until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in." Then also the whole of Israel will be saved. Paul, like Luke, had an extremely limited knowledge of the extent of our globe; he naturally expected all this to happen soon.

In 1 Cor. xvi. 22, we have another proof of Paul's belief. In

² The Greek *γενεά* in these passages never meant anything like "the Jewish people," "the human race," etc. as traditional interpretation would make us believe. This is an entirely unjustifiable interpretation of the grammatical meaning of the word.

³ *εὖ θέως*; Mark. xiii. 26, *τότε*.

zealous emotion he writes at the close of his letter: "If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be devoted to destruction, *Maranatha*." This Aramaic expression means, "Our Lord is come," that he is near. The Hebrew preterite often has this meaning of something yet in the future but in fact near at hand, especially in asseverations.

In 1 Cor. x speaking of what had happened to the disobedient Israelites in the desert, he says (versell): "This is written for us as an admonition, to whom the end of the world has come."

2 Cor. v. 4, though not speaking of the end of the world, nevertheless also corroborates Paul's expectation, for the apostle expresses in that passage, written from out of the remembrance of his fatiguing labors on which he dwells so much in this letter, the fervent wish not first to feel the pangs of death but to be transformed at the appearance of the Lord. In Phil. iii. 21, written in his captivity, this fervent wish seems again to have risen in Paul's mind to the former firm conviction of what would become of his body. It must have been especially consoling to him at a time when he was uncertain about the outcome of his captivity. He says: "The Lord will transform our lowly body, etc." (he does not speak of his dead body).

In 2 Thessalonians (even if it is not accepted as of Pauline authorship) we still have the earlier belief of Christianity expressed, that the final coming of God's kingdom will be preceded by an individual in whom evil will become incarnate. The language describing this individual is borrowed from the description in the book of Daniel of Antiochus Epiphanes, the one-time arch-enemy of God's people. After the destruction of that individual likewise (as was said of Antiochus E.) God's kingdom will appear. Still no hint is definitely given as to who this individual may be, though from the obscure oracular language of the passage, and what we otherwise know of early Jewish and Christian views in this matter, a personality from the Roman government is hinted at.

The Apocalypse of John is more outspoken. In spite of all mythical language taken from more ancient and syncretistic pagan myths in which the book of Revelation is clothed, references to the history of the times are plain. Besides other plain hints mentioned in my article cited above and also in "The Number of the Beast" (*Open Court*, April 1909) in accord with other unprejudiced scholars, the references to "the great city having dominion over the kingdoms of the earth" (Rev. xvii. 18), and to the woman clothed in crimson sitting on a beast with seven heads, whose "seven heads are the seven hills, whereupon the woman sits" (Rev. xvii. 9), are so clear

that there ought no longer be any doubt that the book of Revelation points to contemporary Roman history. And even if the explanations of Revelation drawn from contemporary Roman history are not perhaps well founded in every case, still this fact stands out plainly that the Apocalypse is as definite and outspoken in its announcements of the approaching end of the world as any other book of the New Testament. The book declares right from the start that it is to reveal what will happen shortly (verse 1) and that "the time is at hand" (verse 3). After repeated utterances of this kind it closes with the words of the Lord himself: "Surely I come quickly," to which the answer is given: "Yea, come, Lord Jesus."

The letter to the Hebrews (of unknown authorship) also expects a speedy coming of the last day. After stating (i. 2) that "God has spoken to us in the last days" (namely the last world-period); that he had "suffered at the completion of the times"⁴ (ix. 26), it admonishes the readers to a steadfast and holy life, "and so much the more as the day is approaching," i. e., the last day (x. 25) and because "there is yet a *very very little* while,"⁵ the coming one will come and not tarry" (x. 37).

With the Fourth Gospel and the epistles attributed to John we come to a different stage of the eschatological idea. 1 John ii. 16 still speaks of "the last hour" being at hand, but while the Synoptics bring the end of the world in connection with the destruction of Jerusalem, and the Apocalypse, presumably also 2 Thessalonians, expects the incarnation of evil (the individual Antichrist) to arise from the Roman empire, the writer of this letter sees the sign of the last times in the arising of many Antichrists (ii. 18), under the form of heretics coming from the midst of the Christians⁶ themselves, who deny that Jesus was the Christ and that Christ had appeared in the flesh. The Docetae, to whom reference is very probably made, taught that the *Æon*, i. e. Christ, as they expressed it, had not really appeared in the flesh, but only in a *seeming body*. This, says the writer, is the nature of the Antichrist. Similarly Polycarp (*Ep. ad Philippenses*) says: "Every one who denies that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh is Antichrist, and who does not confess the testimony of the cross is of the devil." We have here a transformation of the eschatological idea of original Christianity; it is the beginning of the formation of church dogma in opposition to heresy.

In the Fourth Gospel the idea that the end is near has been

⁴ συντέλεια τῶν αἰώνων the same as τέλος.

⁵ μικρὸν ὅσον ὅσον.

⁶ ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐξηλθον.

entirely discarded, a very interesting fact in distinction from the Synoptics since this gospel seemingly pretends to give a historical statement with regard to the person of Jesus. But as the Jesus of this gospel is a pure abstraction and the divine Logos, it would not have been in place to attribute to him such an erroneous prediction as the coming of the end during the lifetime of the generation among whom Jesus himself lived. We notice the purpose—a sign that at the time this gospel was written the previous expectation that the end was near had not been fulfilled. This element was therefore discarded. It is only in the appendix to this gospel (xxi.) that the saying is attributed to Jesus concerning the pretended author of the gospel: "If I will that he remain till I come, what is that to thee (Peter)?" The notice then follows: "Therefore this saying went out among the brethren, that that disciple would not die." We are all acquainted with the legend of ecclesiastical history, that John was only slumbering in his grave and by his breath moved the earth. The writer of the appendix has unwittingly (though otherwise the Fourth Gospel discards all expectation that the end is near) had in mind probably the saying of Jesus in the Synoptics: "There are some standing here, etc." and has unconsciously testified again to the erroneous hope. The belief of the still living John, by the way, was truly Oriental. J. G. E. Falls in *Three Years in the Lybian Desert* (Freiburg, 1911) says that the Senussi (a Bedouin tribe of the oasis Siwa) believe that the sheik Sidi Mahdi, who died 1902, still lives.

In the pseudepigraphic second epistle of Peter the doubts of scoffers that there will be an end must be met. They say (iv. 4): "Where is the promise of his coming? For since the time the fathers fell asleep, everything remains as from the beginning of creation." The erroneousness of the expectation of original Christianity was clearly felt in Christian circles. The writer of the epistle feels it himself, but he explains the nonfulfilment of that expectation as being founded in the clemency of the Lord, "who does not wish that any be lost, but that all may turn to repentance" (verse 9).

The prime object of original Christianity, in spite of its erroneous expectation, was an ethical one, and we need not seek for any other secret of its origin. We may not consider the motive behind the ethics of original Christianity a very high one and may agree with Schweitzer in his *Von Reimarus bis Wrede* in calling the ethics of Jesus "interimistic," i. e., intended only for the short interval remaining before the end. Still the object of original Christianity, in striving to awaken self-reform and repentance from evil ways and to offer a means of salvation to the repentant in the belief of a

Saviour, must undoubtedly be admitted to be an ethical redemptory purpose; and in this Christianity simply followed in the wake of more ancient religious faiths. The so-called Orphic faiths, from whose terrible descriptions of the torments of the wicked in Hades such Christian works as the Apocalypse of Peter of the second century have taken their shocking and extended representations of hell, according to Dieterich in his *Nekya*, besides other Greek "Mysteries," aimed at the same purpose as original Christianity, namely to awaken repentance and self-reform and to offer redemptory means. The well-known passage in Plato's Republic, where he speaks of mendicant prophets going around to offer means of redemption and producing Orphic books, has been cited in former issues of *The Open Court*, if I am not mistaken, by some writers, and I need not repeat it here. Dr. Conybeare is right when he says: "We make a mistake if we think, that the awful shadow of the belief in hell was not cast across the human mind long before the birth of Christianity. On the contrary it is a survival from the most primitive stage of our intellectual and moral development. The mysteries of the old Greek and Roman world were intended as modes of propitiation and atonement, by which to escape from these all-besetting terrors, and Jesus the Messiah was only the last and best of the *lutherioi theoi*, i. e., redeeming gods. In the dread of death and in the belief in the eternal terrors of hell, which pervaded men's minds, a few philosophers excepted, Christianity had a *point d'appui*, without availing itself of which it would not have made a single step towards the conquest of men's minds." The old Persian religion in calling Zarathustra "the healer of life" who is destined to heal again the life of mankind made sick by the evil demons of sin, as its later daughter Mithraism with its ascetic and rigorous practices, aimed at the same ethical redemptory purpose as original Christianity. The same must be said of Buddhism. In the Lalitavistara (I, 1 and I, 2) Buddha is called "the King of physicians." It says of him: "Thou true physician, experienced in healing, place thou the long suffering ones soon by means of threefold redemption into the blessedness of Nirvana." Thus we find the same prime object of original Christianity in more ancient forms of religion that of an ethical, redemptory purpose. The strong eschatological element of Christianity connected with this purpose, was also an element of the religion of Zarathustra, Mithraism and Stoicism, all of which believed in cycles at the end of which the destruction of the world would come and a new era. Christianity perhaps only differed from these beliefs in that it felt so certainly and definitely that the end was near, and this expectation marks it as

being intended only for the time of its origin without any idea whatever of a religion intended to go down into history for 1800 years. Original Christianity could not have any such idea or any such foresight into the far future. The Roman empire had to appear to the first Christians as the last empire, because it was reigning over the whole world as they thought. The succession of ancient world-empires seemed to have exhausted itself in the last, the Roman empire. There was no idea, at the utmost but a very hazy one, of great realms beyond the Roman world.

The eschatological ideas of original Christianity, like those of physical punishment for evil doers after death and of blessings of the new heaven and the new earth for the repentant and saved, are exploded once for all. Nobody, except those who still follow the old method of trying to determine on the basis of the Apocalypse and other parts of the Bible, just when the end is coming, is concerned about that time any more, not even the orthodox. From science we know that the worlds of the universe do not come to an end so fast, and that our earth may yet exist many cycles of time. Similarly we know punishment in a future life can no longer be conceived in the old way of excruciating physical pains. Whatever may be the ideas about the state of the individual after death, all will agree that a disembodied spirit, if individuality would continue in this way, could not be punished by physical torments in a limited locality in the underworld.

There is no question that just the explosion of the ancient ideas of the end of the world and of future punishment have contributed more than anything else to a disbelief in Christianity in modern times and also to relax morality with the majority. Still the moral maxims of Jesus and original Christianity, which in spite of all contrary assertions are the same maxims—even those of the highest order—as those taught by other ancient moral and religious teachers (for Jesus taught nothing essentially new) these moral maxims still remain in their full value and can not be sinned against without evil consequences. And here we find that the ancient motive of fear of evil consequences, expressed in the idea of a future retribution, shows itself as strong as ever. While the lower moral type of man, even if he no longer believes in hell, is restrained from evil deeds by fear of temporal punishment administered by law, and a higher moral type is restrained from immorality and vice by the fear of losing self-respect, reputation and honor among fellow-men, social standing and position, livelihood, or by the fear of bodily and mental ills attendant upon vice, etc., even the highest moral type of man is kept from

doing wrong by the fear of losing his inner happiness and bliss, even if he is not governed by any fear of external consequences. It is hard to see that any ethics can be anything else but eudemonistic or not be guided by fear in some way or other. In order to bring every individual to the highest moral type—for before this is accomplished the general happiness of mankind will be little advanced—the doctrine of good or evil consequences in the soul of every man following right- or wrong-doing, with the aim of arousing fear in this respect, must be as strongly preached now as it was in original Christianity. There is no more danger that such preaching will not tend to develop the highest qualities of ethics, than the preaching of the fear of judgment in original Christianity precluded the demands of genuine forgiveness, mercy, charity and love.

Even the eschatological element of original Christianity, that the end of the world is fast approaching with its judgment for the individual and general humanity, will always retain its truth, though not in an external physical reality as antiquity accepted it, yet a reality nevertheless. Every individual is constantly nearing the end of his existence where an inner judgment will declare to him whether he has made his life a life of worth to himself or not and whether he leaves blessings or curses behind him. Likewise the life of whole generations or nations is constantly nearing periods in which their own verdict will declare whether they have lived a life of worth to themselves or not and whether they will leave blessings or curses behind them, for as Schiller says, *Die Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht* ("The world's history is the world's judgment"). These seem to be commonplaces, but they nevertheless must be repeated again and again. Such final periods do not seem to be as vivid realities as under the external aspect in which the ancient mind conceived them, but they are as real and ought to be to the human mind as vivid. That they do not appear vivid enough to the general human mind is only a sign that the truly ethical and religious spirit is yet far from being fully developed and therefore needs a continual deepening and an inculcation of the idea that the spiritual life of mankind is as much an actual reality with an inner purpose in the life of the cosmos as is the life of the latter appearing to the outer senses.

THE PRESENT POLITICAL CONDITIONS IN CHINA.

BY GILBERT REID.

THE political situation in China is bewildering. Those of us who have lived the longest in China are most ready to confess our ignorance. And yet we are all surmising or prophesying, sometimes with feelings of pessimism and sometimes with clear optimism. While a republic has taken the place of the old Manchu monarchy, there does not seem to be any great moral re-awakening. True reforms are as difficult to secure as they were under the Manchu rule. This is easy of explanation, if we consider some of the principles which lay at the basis of the revolution. The revolution was successful because of the spirit of disloyalty, either on the part of those who held or had held official position in the late government, or on the part of the soldiers who formed a part of the imperial army and were paid from the imperial treasury. Besides, there was the feeling of personal hatred to the Manchus, who belong to the same race as the Chinese but were looked on as aliens and usurpers. It is hard to secure unity after the cultivation of feelings of mutual animosity. In addition there was the desire on the part of many to secure better positions for themselves than they had under the old regime. It is true that many of the revolutionists were true patriots, but the establishment of a republican form of government is made difficult by the existence of these characteristics to which we have just referred.

As a matter of fact there is no sign of great improvement in matters of true reform. There is plenty of talk of liberty, equality and fraternity, but in too many cases the liberty is without the restraints of law, the equality is without any distinction of parent and **child**, man or woman, or between those in authority and those who are represented by those in authority, and the fraternity is largely

superficial, still maintaining the distinction between the five races of China, represented by the five colors of the new flag, and emphasizing the rights of the provinces in contradistinction to the rights of the central government.

It has been a matter of surprise that with those who are Christian converts, and even with some missionaries, there has been a profession of friendliness to the Chinese officials of the old regime in past years, in the hope of securing favors and contributions, while there has been a secret plotting to overthrow the old government



SUN YAT SEN.

The Leading Spirit in Chinese Politics. From a picture taken April, 1912.

and to bring about the revolution. This method of blowing hot and cold cannot command the respect of any right-minded person.

The financial difficulties facing China are colossal. We see no way for China to maintain either her sovereignty or her standing as a sound credit nation with the other nations of the world. She is in danger of bankruptcy, or of subserviency to the financial control of foreign money-lenders. What is the method of relief is beyond our comprehension at present.

Notwithstanding these difficulties and dangers, there seems little likelihood of the Manchu Dynasty being restored. In the opinion of some of us a constitutional monarchy, by preserving continuity

with the past and by observing the fundamental teachings of China's own sages, would have been better than an attempt at a republican form of government, which breaks down old traditions and throws the country into a state of anarchy. In saying this, it is not because any of us disbelieve in democratic ideas, for such ideas have always existed in China and would have been just as possible under a constitutional monarchy as under a republic.

We who live in China have great sympathy for the Chinese people, and we would be glad if relief could be found from her many calamities as well as from her present political difficulties. The problems to arise in the future call for sound judgment and full sympathy on the part of those who come to China from other countries and live here among the people. Any one who is not willing to help China had better stay away. There is much that we can learn from her past, and there is much that we can give her, if we consider what is really the best, and not what the Chinese for the moment may desire or demand.

The transformation that has taken place so suddenly presents an interesting spectacle to every student. The outcome will have a far-reaching effect on all the nations of the world.

THE POET LAUREATE OF JAPAN.

TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY THE LATE ARTHUR LLOYD.

[Baron Takasaki is the head of what is known as the *Uta dokoro*, or Poetical Bureau, of the Imperial Household Department, and it is his duty as such to keep a record of all poems composed by members of the imperial family, and especially to arrange for the *Uta kwai* or poetry meetings of which old-fashioned, aristocratic Japan is still fond. The greatest of these meetings is held shortly after the New Year, and prizes are awarded for which any Japanese subject may compete.

Baron Takasaki, though not fluently conversant with English, has had many friends among English-speaking literary men, including the late Secretary Hay, who sent him a poem which must have been written a few days before his lamented death. Before the poem reached its destination, the writer was no more. I herewith reproduce the lines as they will, I am sure, be of interest to American readers. They were written in acknowledgment of some verses which Baron Takasaki had addressed to him.

"I, a gray poet of the Sunset Land,
Greet you who sing by Nippon's shining strand.

"Out of the shadows of a day that's done,
I hail you, Poet of the Rising Sun!"]

Plum-Blossoms in the Snow.

(1904.)

Our hardy plums this year have dared to bloom
Amidst the snow. Our hardy regiments
Bloom valiantly amidst Manchurian snows.

Pleasure-Seekers.

(1904.)

This spring the pleasers will sail in boats
Adown the river Oi, by Arashi,¹
To see the peaceful cherries; but their talk
Will all be of the tempest of the war.

¹ Near Kyoto, a place famous for its beautiful scenery.

Self-Culture.

My garden's full of weeds. I root up one,
To find another in its place, and thus
The summer's ended ere my work's half done.

Pure Love of Flowers.

I am not anxious for a long-drawn life:
Therefore, I plant the tall chrysanthemum,
Not as a symbol of longevity,
But as the fairest flower upon God's earth.

Patience May Be Exhausted.

(Referring to the long-protracted Russo-Japanese negotiations.)

1903-4.

E'en the long-suffering Buddha turns at last
In anger, when a man with insolence
Strikes his face more than thrice.²

The Peasant Heroes of the War.

Now will the patient ox³ think of the time
When he too was a warrior, and, with horns
Blazing, wrought havoc in the foemen's tents.

A Friendly Greeting.

To Tennyson, the noble Laureate's son,
And Governor of the Austral Commonwealth.

Mountains and seas, with bars material, keep
Our little lives asunder, as themselves
Are kept apart and distant; but beyond
The mountains and deep seas, the world of soul
Unites our hearts with pleasure.

It is good
To have a friend that speaks a different tongue,
And lives with people of another sphere,

² This is a proverbial expression. *Hotoke no koa mo sando.*

³ This refers to a Chinese story. The wars with China and Russia have had a tremendous moral effect on the common people. In the old days it was only the *samurai* that bore arms; now, even the lower classes feel that they have been raised to that dignity.

With different thoughts from those that I have known,
And yet a friend,

When shall I meet again
My peerless friend, and grasp his great good hand,
And speak once more with him as friend to friend?
I know not when, but still I long and wait.

To a Lark.

Lark, that thy matin lay dost bring
To Heaven's gate with soaring wing,
Then, falling like a droppèd stone,
Seek'st thy poor nest with grass o'ergrown,
To rise again—dost thou well know,
Thy course our human life doth show?
For man, successful, soars on high,
Then falls through some calamity,
To rise again. Vicissitude
Where man finds beatitude.
Rising or falling, may we sing,
Like thee, brave lark, on happy wing.

On the Occasion of Their Majesties' Silver Wedding.

[Their Majesties celebrated their Silver Wedding in the year 1893. The Empress, by birth a lady of the House of Ichijo, belongs to the ancient family of the Fujiwara. The *Fuji* is the wistaria.]

Some five and twenty years ago,
They took the climbing Fuji vine,
And wedded it unto the Pine,
And bade the two together grow.

And we have watched, as years have flown,
The Fuji twine her tender arms
Around the Pine's robuster charms,
Until the two became as one.

So now we pray that, thus entwined,
The two may stand for happy years,
One in their strength, and free from fears
Of storm or tempest, rain or wind.

The Poet's Son.

[The Poet's son, going to the war, as a lieutenant in the navy, receives from the Court the present of a brace of wild geese.]

You've had a royal gift. Now, in return,
Shoot that proud bird that haunts the Eagle's Nest,⁴
And bring him as an offering to your Lord.

[The poet receives news of his son's death before Port Arthur.]

Well hast thou kept the teachings of thy sire
That ever bade thee, in the parlous hour,
Yield up thy life for thy dear country's sake.

Now rest in peace: the son thou leav'st behind,
Thine only son, I take and nurture up,
A living monument of all thy worth.

[This poem being shown to Her Majesty, she writes as follows:]

We mourn for him, the son who lost his life
For his dear country on the battle-field;
Yet 'tis the Father's Heart that grieves us most.

Take thou his son,—he's full of life and hope,—
And use him as thy trusty bamboo-staff,
For serviceable aid in all thy work.

[To which the poet replies, in a small volume of verse entitled *Oya gokoro*, "The Father's Heart":]

I wept not for my son, yet now my sleeves
Are wet with tears, right gracious tears, that fell
Like rain-drops from the o'er-shad'wing Forest-Queen.⁵

Yes, I will take my dead son's only son,
And rear him gently.⁶ He shall be, to me,
A staff; to thee, a strong, protecting, shield.

[The poet goes to the railway station to receive the mortal remains of his son.]

To-day I go to meet his poor remains,
An empty shell—mere ashes—; for his soul
Lingers behind the body, till our flag
Has marked Port Arthur's fortress for her own.

⁴ The Eagle's Nest is the name of one of the forts at Port Arthur.

⁵ "Forest Queen," i. e., Her Majesty.

⁶ "Gently," in the sense of "as a gentleman."

Diplomacy.

The weak bamboo, no strength it has to stand
And wrestle 'gainst the onslaughts of the wind;
But pliant bows its head before the gale.
Its very pliancy doth show its strength.

Yet, Beware.

Draw but the sword from its white wooden sheath,
And straight, cold thrills course gladly through the frame
Of him that draws and flashes it aloft—
O autumn-frosted⁷ blade of Old Japan.

⁷ The phrase "autumn frost" (*Aki no shimo*) is often applied to the Japanese sword which is as delicate and yet as sharp as a thin piece of autumn ice.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A UNION OF RELIGIONS IN JAPAN.

Prof. Ernest W. Clement of the University of Tokyo sends us a clipping from *The Japanese Advertiser* of Tokyo in which a member of the Shingon sect, Mr. Saku Keijun, declares for the complete union of Buddhism and Christianity. Mr. Keijun's remarks are translated from the *Hinode Koron* as follows:

"I am not satisfied with the union of the various sects of Buddhism but advocate a union of Buddhism and Christianity. It is well known that the foundation of the Shingon sect is the dual Paradise (*mandara*), first, the one of fancy (*Kongokai mandara*) and second the real (*Taisokai*). The special characteristic of this mandara is the union of all the religions of the universe. All the gods of Brahmanism, Taoism, Shintoism, and the universe are brought together in this dual mandara. This being the nature of the mandara, the image of Christ who bore the cross and that of Mary should have had a place there from the beginning, and it is nothing less than marvelous that it is not so. The reason is this: Since the dual mandara recognizes the necessity of an infinite Buddha, it harmonizes with the customs and feelings of the Occidentals who adhere to monotheism, and this monotheism will appeal to them. Already this dual mandara includes the gods of Brahmanism, which teaches that the universe was the work of Brahma; therefore we can include in our galaxy the one true God whom the Christians worship. Especially when we take into account the spirit of esoteric Shingon we would make the person of Christ and God the Great Mandara. The cross we would make the center of our worship in the Jesus mandara, the Bible the Law mandara, and the infinite activity of the Christian church in the direction of mercy and salvation the sceptered militant mandara (*Katsuma mandara*) or mandara of works. Thus Christianity may be brought into the mandara under these four classes. Buddhism and Christianity in fundamentals are the same, but if we make minor distinctions we see Buddhism teaches we are related to the past; that is, all things existed in a former state, but Christianity explains existence according to natural laws. But progressive Christianity has become pantheistic. Those who entertain the idea that man may become a god are now found both in the West and in Japan. This idea is the same as that of being absorbed in and existing as Buddhas.

"There are some Buddhists who say Buddhism and Christianity have been separate and distinct from the beginning and a union of the two is impossible, but men of this type are uninitiated and have no clear comprehension of the principles of Buddhism. The Shingon is the most progressive of all the sects

and the mandara is the principle deity worshiped, and the fundamental spirit is that all religions may be reduced to a single religion, and taking their stand here they contend that the union of Buddhism and Christianity is possible. Some take a superficial view of the question and refer to the time when Buddhism was introduced into Japan, and when it clashed with Shinto the image of Buddha was cast into a pond at Naniwa. They say this is proof that Buddhism will not harmonize with other religions; but this is a mistaken view. The founder Kobo Daishi established the Ryobu Shinto and gained great strength, but the fundamental principles of our religion from the beginning favored the union of religions and the various Shinto gods were introduced. This establishing of the Ryobu Shinto was not the work of Kobo Daishi according to some. Whatever the facts are in the case the great virtue of the Shingon is that it recognized the essential harmony of Shinto and Buddhism, and labored to bring the two together. So it happened that the gods and Buddha were arranged side by side and worshiped without the least contradiction. There is no such thing as a Shinto believer casting away an image or a Buddhist taking down the shelves devoted to the gods. Families worship both at the same time and move on in perfect harmony. The advanced Shingonshu and the progressive Christian inclining to Pantheism are essentially one in principle, and there is no reason why the two should not be practised in the same family without the least disturbance.

"Religion is a thing where greatest liberty should be allowed. Even family restraint is not to be tolerated. At the present day in some families the father is Buddhist, the mother Shinto and the children Christian. In such instances there is ceaseless opposition and strife, but if the fundamental principles of religion were understood it would not be so. The fundamental principles of all religions are the same, and if it were only known that everything centered in the mandara of perfect harmony there would be nothing of this running to the extreme of breaking up ancestral tablets.

"The union of these two faiths is of the utmost importance to society. In what respect is this so? Heretofore the two have mutually hated each other, and if they only knew that really they were one and the same their intercourse would be perfect. If these opinions could only be put into practice the path of international relations would become much smoother. The various Buddhist sects are divided over minor points such as self-reliance (*jiriki*) and reliance on another (*tariki*), or trusting and looking to the paradise of the Jodo; some interpret the teaching in a general way while others put all the emphasis on the mere letter. In fact all these have their source in the Buddha, which is enough to insure a union. There are many ways of establishing this, but the direct one is the reason evidenced in the infinite need of Buddha. It makes no difference whether we attain by the same methods or not, our objective is the Buddha. Herein is the explanation of my seeking to establish the *Ryobu Yaso Kyo*, or the union of the two religions. Hitherto my remarks have dealt with faith, but the mandara applies equally to doctrine and philosophy. The great battles of philosophy have centered around monism and dualism. Neither of these theories are complete in themselves. Idealism and realism at once become occult and mystic.

"Occult Shingon may be said to be monism and at the same time not monism, and it may be said to be dualism and at the same time not dualism, because monism and dualism are perfectly blended into one. The same may be

said of faith. From old times there have been conflicting opinions concerning self-reliance and dependence on a higher power. The fact is, both these views have been carried too far. No one has ever thought of taking a stand between them. It makes no difference how great are our efforts to become a Buddha or a god by our own strength, while we are finite men there is no possibility of accomplishing the feat. Buddha and the gods are infinite, always abounding in mercy and love which come to our aid when we would become perfect. So we see a power other than our own is necessary and when this power is in harmony with our own we attain our wish. This is the real nature of religion. Religion viewed from this point of view makes the reconciliation of all religions possible, and when a union of all is accomplished the result can not but be good.

"The explanation of the origin of religion is that man's nature demands it, but every individual has a different desire. For this reason some advance the view that faith is individual in the extreme and such a thing as making all religions into one is an impossibility. I am aware that faith depends entirely on the individuality of the believer, but I can not agree with those who say this makes a common religion an impossibility. Such advocates look only at the leaves and branches and do not bear in mind that in essentials all religions are one. It matters not how numerous the forms and how distinct the races, they may be reconciled by the great merciful heart bringing about a free change. To-day the world of thought is in great confusion, and it is a time when no one knows whither he is tending. Being wrapped up in western thought men in a superficial way advocate individualism. Things have come to a miserable pass. However, at present the tendency of thought is towards the intellectual and religious, but mixed with this is the tendency to agnosticism. At this time when men have crossed the danger line it is truly grievous to see what the attitude of religion is.

"Men are enslaved to vain forms and at the slightest difference engage in the fiercest quarrels. There is nothing so far-reaching in influencing the hearts of men as religion, and secular educators have begun to take notice of this fact. The responsibilities of religionists are going to be far greater than ever before, so it is binding on every one to realize what a great responsibility rests upon him. Failing to realize this, deterioration will succeed deterioration and corruption succeed corruption, until the rehabilitation of religion will become an impossibility. Why should I speak so despondingly of religion? Because in the life of man I consider nothing so important as faith. In fact faith is the final word when we would speak seriously of life. Religion is power, and if we would make sure of an objective by true religion everything must center on faith. In faith effort first has a meaning and new light is shed upon life. Let religionists clearly apprehend where they stand. I lectured on July 13 in the Imperial University on the dual Christianity so wished to publish my views hoping to be favored by the world's criticisms."

The Japan Advertiser comments as follows in conclusion:

"Mr. Saku is considered one of the Neo-Buddhists, and may be said to have few sympathizers. He might draw more weak Christians his way than Buddhists from their belief. His suggestion of putting Mary, Christ and the Supreme God in the mandara is gruesome. We wonder what name he would give Him. He would put the cross in the hand of the Hotoke as the symbol of militancy (*Katsuma mandara*). The astonishing thing about the whole

discussion is that Mr. Saku is logical and consistent as a Shingon believer in advocating this, and all his Shingon critics are inconsistent. Of course nearly all the other sects will strenuously oppose him."

PAN, THE ARCADIAN GOD.

To the Editor of The Open Court:

A propos your "Pan the Rustic" the following by W. H. Roscher in "The meaning of Pan" (*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, I, 1898) may be of interest to you. "At bottom myths are nothing but more or less faithful mirrorings of the *entire* ancient life, feeling and thinking. Nothing would be more onesided than to assume with former investigators that only certain phenomena of nature, as the storm, sun, moon, rainbow, rivers, winds, etc., or only the facts of the 'soul-cult' caused the origin of myths. The truth is rather that all human experiences, both of the outer and inner life, can become myths if they are attached to any divine or demonic personality or condense themselves into such. It only depends upon this, to determine the sphere of representations or experiences more exactly and to examine which have given to the respective god or demon his characteristic contents. In this respect hardly any god is more transparent than just the old Arcadian shepherd-god Pan, whose different functions almost without an exception are exhausted in the facts of ancient shepherd life, and whose name, related to Greek *πάω*, 'to pasture,' Latin *pasci*, *pastor*, *Pales* (a Roman shepherd divinity), Sanskrit, *gopas* (*go*, cow) 'cowherd,' clearly denotes 'the herder, pasturer,' as will hardly be doubted any more. Πάν is the Arcadian for *πάων*, present participle of *πάω*, just as the Arcadian 'Alkman,' 'Herman,' 'Lykan' answer to the forms 'Alkmaon,' 'Hermaon,' 'Lycaon.' 'Ἀλκμαν, Ἑρμαν, Λυκαν, = Ἀλκμαων, Ἑρμαων, Λυκαων."

Another interesting fact is what Roscher says of Πάν ἐφιάλτης, Pan "the onleaper." He brings this in connection with the ancient idea of the incubus, nightmare, the German "*Alp*," figuring greatly in the life of primitive people as a hairy demon, appearing during sleep, which idea, as Hermann (*Deutsche Mythologie*) suggests, the hairy skin covering during sleep may have indirectly contributed to the dreamer. Roscher gives a number of examples in this direction from ancient shepherd life.

In this connection I am reminded of the Hebrew שֵׁירִי (Seir, "the male goat"), goatlike hairy demons. That primitive mankind believed in such creatures as actual realities, there is no question. That Pan—as is also true of other deities and demons—had a good and ill will, there is also no question, just as German mythology speaks of good and bad "*Alpe*." Ancient shepherds attributed the sudden terror sometimes befalling a whole herd for some natural reason, to the ill will of Pan, who had consequently to be propitiated for the "panic terror" he had caused.

A. KAMPMEIER.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

CHRISTIANITY. An Interpretation. By S. D. McConnell, D.D., LL.D., D.C.L.
London, Longmans, 1912.

This book reflects the unrest of to-day, and it is remarkable that a man who has been rector in several Episcopalian churches would write so boldly

and frankly about the problems which confront Christian believers of to-day. He discusses problems such as "Are we still Christians?" He ventures to investigate the idea of salvation in a chapter headed "Immoral Salvation." He discusses the Christ of the gospels and the primitive Christ, the problem of body and soul, and the basis of immortality, not to speak of ecclesiastical history. Of special interest is his presentation of psychological problems, and here he formed a new word called "Immortability" by which he entitles the seventh chapter, pages 119 to 128. The following passage leads up to this question. He says (pages 115-116): "Does reason in man take on any new quality, in virtue of which every individual becomes immortal? The secret which we long to discover is this: Does the psychic life of an individual at any stage of evolution attain to such a high, stable, and independent existence of its own that it will be able to subsist in spite of the disintegration of the physical organism with which it is correlated? What are the conditions upon which a survival must depend? Are these conditions satisfied in the psychic life to be found in the lower animals? Are the conditions present in the case of every individual of the race which we call Man? Or is the possibility of individual immortality only reached at a point more or less defined in the progress of man himself? In fine, is man *immortal*, or is he only *immortable*?"

In reading over the chapter on "Immortability" we do not find a definite answer. Perhaps the author comes as near to it in the following passage as anywhere: "The considerations which would establish immortality for all men, in virtue of the qualities which they possess as men, are equally valid for many of the lower animals. The point at which we will probably have to look for immortality is not at that which separates man from the brute, but at that which separates between one kind of man and all the rest. The story is told of a distinguished Frenchman, who, to the long argument of a friend against the possibility of a future life, replied, 'You say you are not immortal? Very probably you are not; but I am.' This is much more than a smart repartee. It is the solution of a problem otherwise insoluble." Dr. McConnell holds out a hope for the future of the race. He says (page 128): "One thing science knows quite well; that is, that nature does not hesitate a moment to change or to reverse methods which she has used through long stretches of time whenever she has something to gain by such reversal.".... "The inexorable forces of gravitation and chemical affinity had their own way in the universe for an eternity, until they were arrested and turned about in the interest of life. Overproduction, and the survival of the fittest held their ruthless sway until they were reversed in the interest of affection. The supremacy of the race at the expense of the individual we may expect to continue just until something in the individual comes to be of more importance than that law, and no longer." K

THE EVOLUTION OF ANIMAL INTELLIGENCE. By S. J. Holmes, Ph.D. New York: Holt, 1911. Pp. 296. Price \$2.00.

An investigation of animal intelligence has been carried on vigorously by many specialists, and Prof. S. J. Holmes of the University of Wisconsin has here collected the results in this field. He says in his preface: "It has

been our aim to give a fairly clear conception of the activities upon which intelligence is based, to show how intelligence is related to these activities, and to sketch the general course of the evolution of intelligence in the animal kingdom. No effort has been made to deal with all the classes of animals in which intelligence is manifested, and some groups which were not essential to the development of our theme have received little attention."

The chapters in his book treat the following subjects: Reflex Action, The Tropisms, The Behavior of Protozoa, Instinct, The Evolution of Instinct, The Non-Intelligent Modifications of Behavior, Pleasure, Pain and the Beginnings of Intelligence, Primitive Types of Intelligence in Crustaceans and Molluscs, Intelligence in Insects, Intelligence in the Lower Vertebrates, The Intelligence of Mammals, The Mental Life of Apes and Monkeys. κ

GENIE INDIVIDUEL ET CONTRAINTE SOCIALE (Bibl. de Sociologie internationale), Paris: Giard et Briere, 1912.

How much individual genius depends upon social activity and society itself on the genius of the individuals is the question investigated in this volume; and it is a question both of psychology and of sociology at the same time. As soon as we try to pursue it we find it alive and present in all our discussions, whether they have to do with theory or with practice. The author of this book does not pretend to have exhausted the study of the relations between individual psychology and collective psychology so called. He limits himself to the consideration of those relations in the three domains of science, ethics and esthetics. Hence the work is composed of three separate studies entitled (1) Inventions and Social Changes, (2) Ethics and Legal Actions, (3) Arts and Crafts. In a somewhat extensive conclusion the author proclaims the supremacy of unconsciousness and instinct in their relation to the excessive individualist tendencies which they seem to contradict. ρ

Oran Catellev, and for all we know the name may be a pseudonym, has written a *Book Without a Name* which is the presentation of a new religion which he calls "Naturism, or the Religion of Science." The author introduces himself as of pure British but mixed race, Welsh, English, Irish and Scotch. He came to the United States and tells of his experiences in the religious field, Christian Science in Boston, Dowicemism in Chicago, etc., while in Dixie Land he found a wonderful indifference, especially in money affairs. There is much humor in these expositions but also a certain crudity, especially in his criticisms of the ideas of God, soul, and world, prayer and other religious conceptions. He concludes his book by a comparison of the naturist's faith and the old druidism, and he hopes to see the old Stonehenge put into service again as a sanctum where flowers should be offered on the deserted altar in festivals in which Celt, Saxon, Gaul and Teuton might meet in discontinuance of their struggles to cut each other's throats. No place of publication is mentioned in the book, but the American edition is issued from the Norwood Press of Norwood, Mass., and the English publisher is said to be David Nutt of London. The price is 3s. 6d. or 85 cents. κ

Domat

Mon pere L'est servie de ce corps
De devant prout son ouvrage
des le à venir



portrai de Mr pascal fait par mon pere

BLAISE PASCAL.

From a contemporary drawing by Domat (See page 766).

Frontispiece to the Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

**Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.**

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AN ANCIENT EGYPTIAN MECHANICAL PROBLEM.

PAPYRUS ANASTASI I.

About 1300 B. C.

BY F. M. BARBER.

SO far as I am aware this is the only ancient Egyptian Papyrus that has ever been found which makes even a remote reference to the apparatus used or methods employed in the installation of their gigantic monuments, and even here the account is so fragmentary as to seem at first sight merely to excite curiosity rather than to offer a satisfactory solution.

The papyrus was first partly translated by M. Chabas about 1870 and his interpretation of the portion referring to mechanical processes, when put into English from the French of his book is as follows (pages 48 to 51):

"Par. 11 of the papyrus, page 13, line 4, to page 14, line 8.

"I announce to thee the order of thy Royal Lord: how thou his Royal Scribe shalt go with the grand monuments of the Horus, Lord of the two worlds; because thou art a skilful scribe who art at the head of a troop. There was made a passage of 230 cubits [402.5 feet, assuming that the royal cubit of 21 inches was used] by 55 cubits [96.2 feet] in 120 *rokata* full of timbers and fascines; 60 cubits [105 feet] high at its summit; its interior of 30 cubits [52.5 feet] by two times 15; its lodge (seat, balcony) is 5 cubits [8.7 feet]. The Military Intendant prepared the base. The scribes were installed everywhere....

"Answer me about your affair of the base: see that what you

need is before you as well as thy of 30 cubits [52.5 feet] by 7 cubits [12.2 feet]

"Let there be made a new obelisk, sculptured [or cut] in the name of the Lord Royal, of 110 cubits [192.5 feet] in height, including the base of 10 cubits [17.5 feet]. The periphery of its foot will be 7 cubits [12.2 feet] on each side: that it may go (*qu'il aille*) by two times of the side of the head of 2 cubits [3.5 feet]

"Thou hast placed me as chief of those who haul it

"Par. 13 of the papyrus, page 16, line 5, to page 17, line 2.

"Thou sayest I need the great box which is filled with sand with the colossus of the Lord Royal thy master which was brought from the red mountain. It is of 30 cubits [52.5 feet] extended on the ground, by 20 cubits [35 feet], divided into 10 compartments full of sand of the sand pits: the width or inside measure (*travers*) of the compartments forms 44 cubits [77 feet]. They are 50 cubits [87.5 feet] high in all. Thou wast ordered by him who was present, the king, to see that each man worked during six hours. That suited them, but they lost courage to exert themselves; the time had not arrived. Thou didst give food to the troops; they took their repast and the colossus was installed in its place. The heart of the king regarded it with satisfaction."

M. Chabas in his reflections on the subject concludes that both the "passage" and the "box" were inclined planes; but he frankly says that he cannot explain the combination of figures and makes no attempt to demonstrate them. He simply discusses the abnormal dimensions of the obelisk, the extraordinary flatness of the pyramidon and the circumference of it, and he concludes that the obelisk measures 4 cubits on each side of the head, since "a right line drawn along the center of one side from the middle of the base would arrive at 2 cubits from each angle of the summit. It appears to me that this is a forced construction of the expression *qu'il aille* and that the wording really means that the head measures 2 cubits less than the base or 5 cubits. This is the proportional taper of the Karnak obelisk and nearly that of most others. The height of 100 cubits [175 feet] M. Chabas thinks not unreasonable and quotes an inscription at the temple of El-Assassifat Thebes which mentions "two obelisks of 108 cubits [189 feet] high entirely covered with gold."

In 1871 M. de Saulcy in a letter to M. Prisse d'Aresnes published by the *Revue archéologique* in 1873 endeavors to demonstrate by mathematical calculations and drawings that the "passage" was an inclined plane as M. Chabas thought. The unknown word *rokata*

he assumes to mean a caisson measuring $30 \times 20 \times 5$ cubits filled with timbers, fascines, etc., and the entire inclined plane to be composed of 120 of these caissons. The plane has a roadway 30 cubits wide up the middle of it with a "rebord" or log or rail 5 cubits high and 15 cubits wide on each side of the road.

With regard to the "grand coffre," however, he thinks that it was really a huge box, habitually used in such work, as high as the highest point of the road-way up the inclined plane and composed of 10 compartments or caissons each $30 \times 20 \times 5$ cubits and the *travers* of 44 cubits he construes to mean the inside measure round the compartment, and the outside measure being $30 + 20 = 50$ gives 6 cubits for the 4 sides or $1\frac{1}{2}$ cubits = 32 inches for the thickness of each side of the box. These caissons were placed one on top of the other, the lower one surrounding the pedestal and the whole filled with sand.

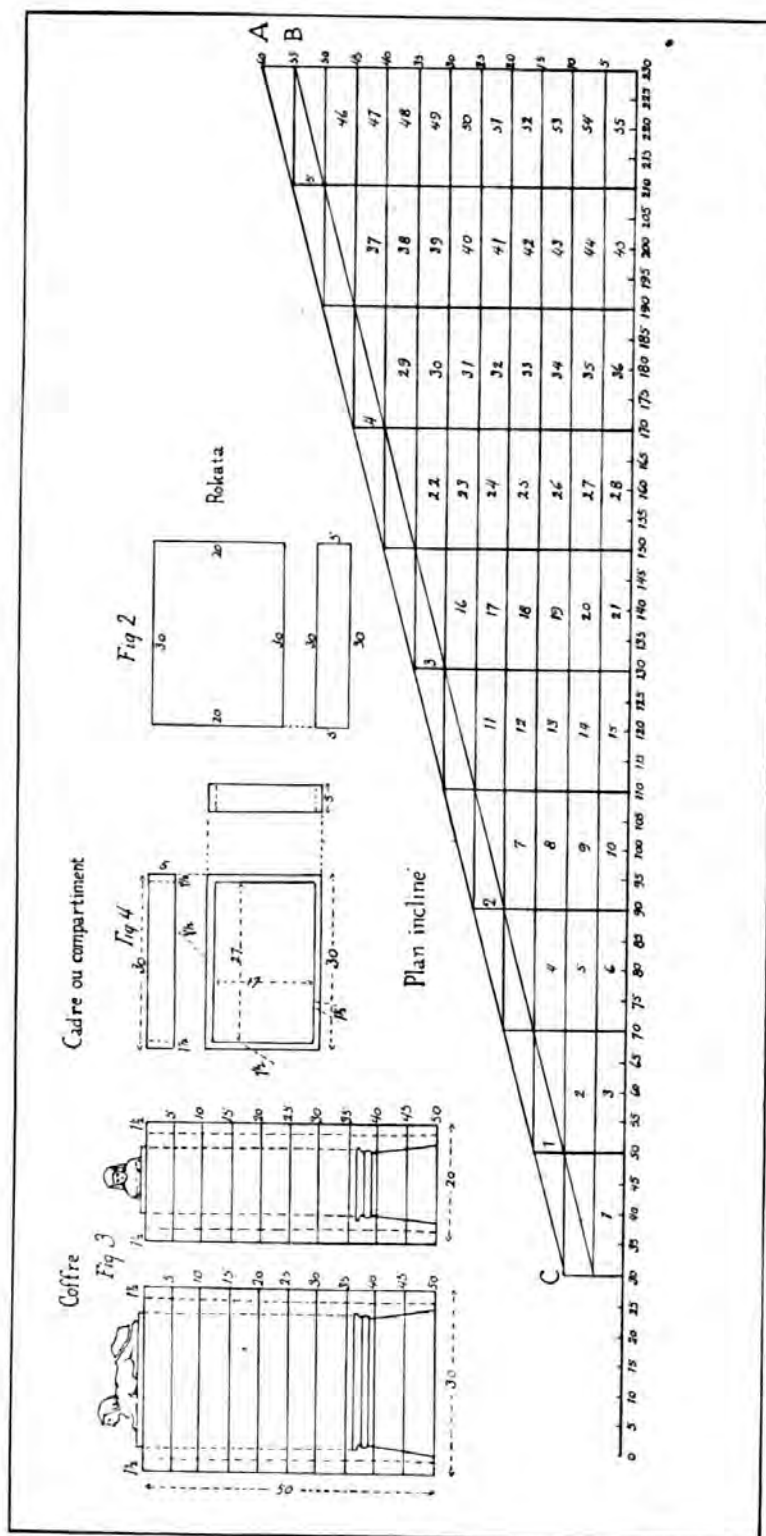
He supposed that the huge stone monument was dragged up the incline by means of capstans until it reached the middle of the surface of the upper caisson of the sand-box, the sand was then thrown out of the upper caisson by native baskets, allowing the monument to settle to the next caisson when the sides of the upper caisson were removed, and so on in succession until the monument rested on the pedestal as shown in the figure.

In the case of an obelisk he thinks it was to be hauled up the incline until the heel rested over the upper caisson, and then the sand was allowed to run out at the level of the pedestal until the obelisk tilted about the center of gravity and sank in a *vertical* position to the pedestal; but he does not attempt to demonstrate it, which would be extremely difficult.

The illustration from the *Revue archéologique* of 1873 shows M. de Saulcy's ideas regarding the placing of a sphynx. There are several objections to be made to it, the most obvious being that it would be unnecessary labor to drag a colossus up to a height of nearly 100 feet merely to lower it again by means of a box of sand to a pedestal whose height is less than 20 feet. This objection is so important that it is useless to discuss the others.

M. de Saulcy however is extremely modest in claiming any great degree of merit for his demonstration and says that it is merely an attempt to elucidate in a plausible manner one of the most curious documents that have come down to us and which had so much puzzled the original translator.

In 1902, having through the kindness of M. Capart of the Museum of Brussels become aware of the existence of the work of



M. DE SAULCY'S INTERPRETATION.
Reproduced from the *Revue archéologique*, 1873, Plate IX.

M. Chabas and M. de Saulcy, I studied them and concluded that a mistake had been made by M. de Saulcy in considering that the colossus and the obelisk were separate monuments; that in reality all the mechanical matter in the papyrus referred to the obelisk alone; but if this was true, the height of the box must be approximately equal to the combined height of the center of gravity of the obelisk and the height of the pedestal. This I found to be the case. The height of the center of gravity is 41 cubits, the height of the pedestal is 10 cubits and that of the box is 50 cubits.

In order however to learn if a more recent translation of the papyrus would throw additional light on the subject, I wrote to Professor Erman, director of the Egyptian Museum of Berlin, who in 1903 kindly sent me the following which is here translated from the German.

"The passages are no more intelligible to me than they were to M. Chabas and Professor Brugsch, or even less so. The technical terms employed therein are wanting, and besides Papyrus Anastasi I is very badly written and full of mistakes. In the first place the question is that the addressed person (the whole book is meant ironically) should have large monuments transported by his soldiers. A slope is made of 730 cubits, 55 cubits in width of 120 *Rgt* full of reeds and beams of a height of 50 cubits at the head, the middle of 30 cubits, the . . . of 15 cubits, the seat of 5 cubits. They deliberate with the military officers about the want of bricks, while all the scribes are assembled without one among them understanding anything about it. They love you and say, 'You are a skilful scribe, my friend! answer me about the want of bricks. See the terraces are before you, each one with its *Rgt* of 30 cubits with the width of 7 cubits.'

"*Št*? can also mean 'passage' as in the rock tomb; but the signification of 'ramp' is sure. . . .

"*Rgt* is a chanaanite foreign word of unknown signification. . . .

"Terrace is quite uncertain according as the word is differently determined. Here I should propose a word like dimension.

"The meaning of the paragraph seems to me to be that for transporting the monuments which are to be brought up somewhere the usual inclined plane is to be made of bricks. Then the scribes tell the officer the measures of the inclined plane and ask him (he understands nothing about it) to tell them how many bricks are necessary.

"In the second paragraph I understand still less.

"'Empty the box which is loaded with sand under the monument of your master that has been brought out of the red mountain.

It measures 20 cubits if it is stretched on the ground, width 20 cubits passover[?] with 20 *Šmm* full of sand of the beach. The *Z:j* its? *Šmm* are 44 cubits in width, they are all 50 cubits high.'

"What follows concerns the people who will not work so long or something like it. . . .

"*Šmm* is written as if it were a building.

"*Z:j* is unknown thus written.

"I think it is a question of sand cases such as Barsanti and Borchardt have shown recently."

Since 1903 I have been unable to give further attention to this interesting subject on account of official duties; but in the interval I believe that nothing has been discovered in Egypt or elsewhere which simplifies the problem.

Professor Erman's translation however confirms me in the opinion that the erection of an obelisk and not of a colossus is contemplated in the papyrus, because where M. Chabas and M. de Saulcy use the word *colosse* which M. de Saulcy interprets as a sphinx, Professor Erman uses the word *Denkmal*, a memorial monument, which would apply to an obelisk.

It will be noted that the dimensions given by the two translators differ somewhat. The length and height of the inclined plane M. Chabas gives as 230 cubits and 60 cubits while Professor Erman give 730 cubits and 50 cubits. This is important as it changes the slope from 1 in 4 to 1 in 14, which is very much more favorable and makes the plane the same height as the sand-box. The size of the box M. Chabas gives as 30×20×50 cubits while Professor Erman makes it 20×20×50 cubits. Neither box is long enough as I will show later. M. Chabas calls the *Šmm* "compartments" and says there are 10 of them. Professor Erman gives 20, which would be the most favorable for handling. The differences noted are simply indicative of the difficulty of accurate translation and do not alter the general meaning which is the same in both translations.

Most important of all: Professor Erman says that the last paragraph reads: "Empty the box which is loaded with sand under the monument of your master," which confirms M. de Saulcy's theory in a surprising manner.

Professor Erman's mention of Professor Borchardt and Signor Barsanti refers to the curious discovery of Sig. Barsanti in 1900 of the unoccupied rock tomb of the surgeon Psamtik at Saqqara (about 500 B. C.) and described by M. Capart of the Museum of Brussels in the *Annales de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles* in 1901 and by Professor Borchardt in the *Centralblatt der Bauverwaltung Ber-*

lin, Aug. 9, 1902. It is so important a proof of how sand was actually used in lowering heavy weights that I give the details.

In this tomb was found an empty sarcophagus with its 17-ton cover resting on blocking sufficiently high above it to admit the mummy sidewise. This cover was furnished with four projections, two on each side, which fitted into vertical grooves in the sides of the tomb chamber. The vertical grooves connected at the bottom with horizontal grooves which in turn connected with a cavity in the floor under the sarcophagus. Immediately under the projections of the cover were cylindrical wooden plugs, the remainder of the grooves and the connecting cavity being filled with sand. After the mummy had been placed in the sarcophagus, the blocking was removed, leaving the cover resting on the wooden plugs. A workman then went under the sarcophagus and gradually removed the sand from the cavity, thus permitting the sand under the plugs to flow into the cavity until the cover descended to its final resting place on top of the sarcophagus. Occupied tombs were afterwards found with cover and plugs in place.

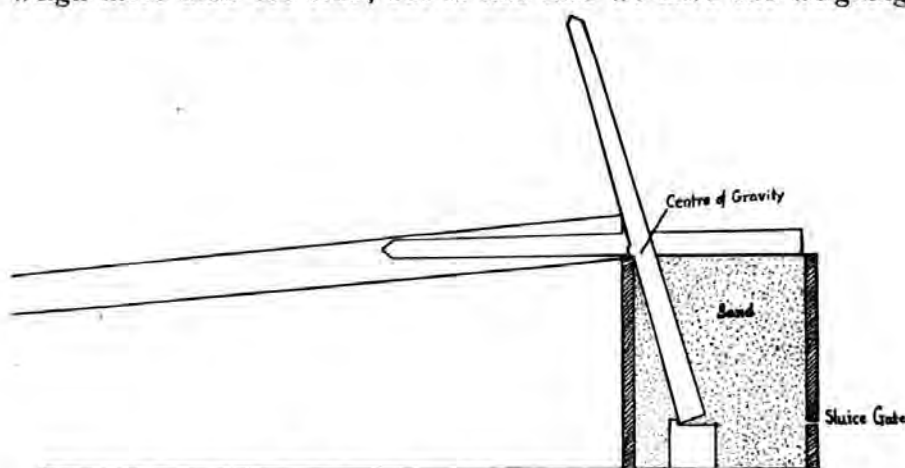
Professor Borchardt says that "this is the oldest instance of the use of sand-boxes which are now often utilized for gradually sinking and transferring heavy weights." This is quite true. In 1908 they were used at the launching of the cruiser *Blücher* at Kiel, the weight of the ship being transferred from the blocking to the launching ways by the use of cast iron boxes 22×16×16 inches in which oak plugs were loosely fitted. The boxes were half filled with burned molding sand which under pressure flowed out of holes in the middle of each side at the bottom, like heavy oil and flowed freely unless it caught and piled up on the bed timbers so as to rise to the level of the holes.

It is curious that Sig. Barsanti's discovery shows that the Egyptians were applying the sand-box method 500 years B. C. with weights of 17 tons while the Papyrus Anastasi I would indicate that it was being applied 800 years before that with weights of 1447 tons.

It has always interested mechanical minds to conjecture how the ancient Egyptians could have raised their obelisks considering the very primitive mechanical appliances to which they are supposed to have been limited, for no pictures or detailed descriptions have ever been found. The most plausible supposition is that it was done by dragging the heel to the top of the pedestal and lifting the head by means of ropes leading over an adjacent wall, the operation being assisted by levers and blocking under the head, and in 1905 Professor Borchardt in his *Baugeschichte des Ammonstempels von Karnak*,

proves conclusively that the grooves now found in the pedestals of dismantled obelisks were used for wooden chocks to prevent the heel from slipping under these circumstances. It is true that M. Choisy in his *Ancient Egyptian Mechanics* shows by a series of line drawings, an obelisk at the top of an inclined plane pivoting itself automatically about its center of gravity with nothing whatever to support its larger end, and no explanation in the text; but it is needless to say that without the most modern appliances of heavy steel straps, trunnions, frames, movable girders, jacks, etc., etc., such as were used in mounting the obelisks in London and New York, such an operation would be impossible.

No obelisk that exists or whose remains have been found would weigh more than 400 tons; but in this case we have one weighing



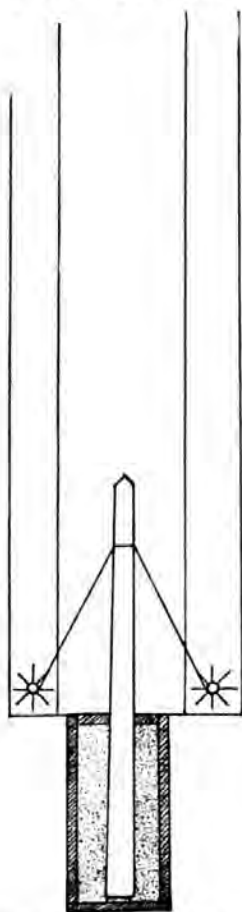
PIVOTING THE OBELISK ABOUT ITS CENTER OF GRAVITY—SIDE VIEW.

1447 tons and it seems idle to consider ropes leading over walls, or levers and blocking in mounting it.

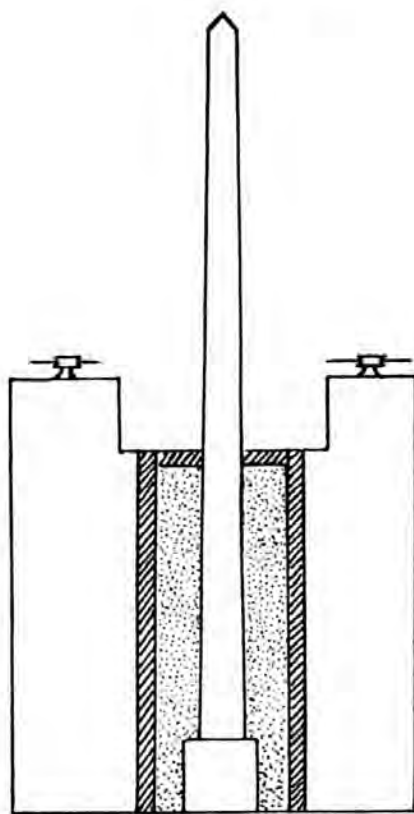
I once made a calculation¹ to ascertain how many men would be required to drag the Karnak obelisk which weighs 374 tons. It proved to be 5585 men harnessed in double rank to four drag ropes and covering a space of 1400 feet. The obelisk of the papyrus would therefore require 21,600 men, and they would cover a space on the road for over a mile. Nobody could drill such a body of men to pull together. Capstans must therefore have been employed. The *sakiya* or geared wheel and water buckets worked by cattle embodies the principle of the capstan, and Wilkinson and most other Egyptologists suppose it to have been introduced into Egypt at the time of the Persian invasion B. C. 527; but its principle must have been

¹ See Barber, *The Mechanical Triumphs of the Ancient Egyptians*. London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1900.

used at least as early as the time of the Papyrus Anastasi I. By its use the obelisk was hauled up and projected on top of the sand-box as shown in the illustrations, where I have used Professor Erman's total height of 50 cubits which corresponds to the height of the road bed of M. de Saulcy. There must have been also a solid wide border or ledge on each side and higher than the road bed, not only for mounting the capstans, but in order to be able to wedge the obelisk



THE OBELISK ON THE CAISSON.
Vertical view.



THE OBELISK ON ITS PEDESTAL.
Front view.

back into position in case it got out of line in coming up the incline.

The height of the pedestal is 10 cubits and that of the center of gravity of the obelisk is 41 cubits from its base; together they are equal to 51 cubits which is one cubit more than the height of the box as given both by M. Chabas and Professor Erman.

The size of the box according to M. Chabas is 30×20×50 cubits; but according to my calculation and illustration it should be at least

40×20×50 in order that the obelisk may swing about its center of gravity. It is possible that the measure 44 of the "Šmm full of sand" has something to do with this dimension, and Professor Erman says it is written as if it were a building.

The box would be carefully caulked and would contain 11,000 tons of sand exclusive of the space occupied by the pedestal which weighs 461 tons. I have taken the weights of granite and sand from Haswell's *American Tables*, the former as 166 pounds per cubic foot and the latter as 120. Perhaps Egyptian sand and granite may be nearer alike. The nearer they are the less would be the tendency of the obelisk to slide as it approached the perpendicular, though any such small tendency could be overcome by leaving at the quarry a small projection on the obelisk nearly under the center of gravity, which would be cut off afterwards. The box would be strongly buttressed to prevent its bursting, and there would be lashings about the pivoting point of the obelisk; but the illustrations are only intended to show the principles involved and all superfluities are omitted.

The obelisk would at all times during its pivoting be steadied by rope guys from the head and heel, and I have placed the pedestal (with a projection to be cut off) at such a point that the obelisk when reaching it would rest on the edge of the heel and there would be a space of 5 or 6 inches at the opposite edge to clear the sand out before bringing it to the vertical by means of the guys. Very likely the edge would be splintered on account of the immense weight resting on it and it would necessarily pivot on this edge when coming to the vertical. Probably it would jump an inch or two just when it reached an upright position; but nearly all obelisks *are* splintered at the base, and Professor Borchardt's careful measurements show that they nearly all have jumped.

It is obvious that with so crude a method as this for mounting an obelisk without modern appliances to ensure accuracy—although it is very ingenious—the Egyptian engineers would be in great difficulties about landing the obelisk on the pedestal. They would be careful to pivot it at such a point that the heel would *not* come below the upper surface of the pedestal—such an error would be irreparable. They would more likely err in the other direction, i. e., the heel would perhaps arrive slightly above the pedestal. To meet this difficulty I have provided a small projection (afterward cut off) above the inner edge of the pedestal. If the error was still greater the upper edge of the inclined plane and the box would be cut away and the obelisk at great risk allowed to slide.

If my demonstration of this ancient problem is correct, the operation could be suspended at any time by simply closing the sluice gates. This is possibly what was done in order to rest and refresh the troops before the time arrived to run out the last of the sand and tilt the obelisk to the vertical when every man would be required.

* * *

Since sending this article to the publishers, I have seen Prof. A. H. Gardiner's learned and interesting *Papyrus Anastasi I*.² It is the most complete translation of this exceedingly difficult document that has ever been made, but it throws little additional light on the obscurities of the mechanical problem. The only material change in the data is that he makes 100 *šmm* or compartments in the sand-box instead of the 20 of Professor Erman or the 10 of M. Chabas and this would make the sections of M. de Saulcy easier to handle. Professor Gardiner adheres to the idea of his predecessors that the colossus is a statue to be erected quite distinct from the obelisk to be transported, though his more complete translation shows that they both came from the same quarry which is an additional argument in favor of my idea that they are one and the same monument. He works out and illustrates both the inclined plane and the obelisk in the most satisfactory manner; but he does not attempt to demonstrate the working of the sand-box or to illustrate it either in connection with the colossus as does M. de Saulcy or with the obelisk as in my article.

Professor Gardiner's translation however brings out a side issue which is curious. He says that the transportation of the obelisk is in the form of a problem in which, the dimensions being known, the scribe is asked to estimate the number of men required to drag the obelisk. This being the case perhaps they did not use capstans; but if so they must have massed the men more solidly than in 4 double ranks or 8 abreast, which I took because it is the number shown in the famous picture of the transport of a colossus on a sledge on the wall of a tomb at El Berreh, B. C. 2466. Now if instead of 8 abreast, the men were placed 72 abreast occupying the entire width of the road of 55 cubits (allowing 16 inches to each man), the whole 21,600 would form a column 300 men long; and supposing each man to be 12 inches thick and the rows of men 24 inches apart, they would cover a space of 900 feet on the road. An ordinary man working 8 hours per day can pull or push with a force of 30 pounds, so that were these 21,600 men attached to 36 drag

² J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipsic, 1911.

ropes or put into some kind of a strong wheeled frame measuring 96 feet wide by 900 feet long (slightly larger than the deck measurement of the Titanic) and furnished with cross spars, the force would be sufficient to drag the 1447 ton obelisk mounted on a sledge from the quarry to the foot of the inclined plane, and putting the frame behind the obelisk they could push it up the inclined plane and on top of the sand-box. Besides this number of men, if there were 58 spars lashed across the obelisk with 25 men on each side, 2500 men more could be added to the force. Were all these men drilled to push or pull together and by means of whips urged to exert themselves as was customary in those days, it would be possible to transport the obelisk without capstans. It seems more probable, however, that capstans were used on the inclined plane at least.

To drag an object on a sledge on a level or on any grade up to 1 in 10 a force of $\frac{1}{5}$ to $\frac{1}{6}$ its weight is required. I have allowed a little more than $\frac{1}{6}$ as the Egyptians are small men.

THE NEW MORALITY.

BY F. W. ORDE WARD.

THE present day seems remarkable, among other things, for a silent revolution, undermining both character and conduct, which apparently attracts but little or no attention. We have, in short, a process of appreciation and depreciation affecting our new and old standards of morality. Not that we possess any new ethic expressly formulated. Yet obedience to the ancient rule or prescription stands condemned as out of fashion and *inconvenable*. That which used to be considered a virtue now finds itself smiled at or just sneered away. Appeal lies to the most untrustworthy of all guides—namely to public opinion, which perpetually veers or shifts with every shadow and each passing gust of popular belief or favor.

"Our oracle says," Plato tells us, "that when a man of brass and iron guards the state it will be destroyed." No longer do we meet with references to the ultimate tribunal, or the best and highest—or, to continue the metaphor, to the leaders of gold and silver, but to working methods or practical measures, to immediate profit or the present situation. Utilitarian principles govern us first and foremost, *il faut vivre*. Phocylides with his famous precept, "As soon as a man has a livelihood he should practise virtue," should be in great esteem now. At any rate, his advice appears to be almost universally followed.

Morality, long divorced from religion, has become local and limited, temporary and formal, a mere hebdomadal confession. The working code, if code it can be called, ignores ethical sanctions and proceeds by accommodation and compromise. That which is expedient, not the right and the good, sways men's minds and dictates their deeds. In actual business and the rough competitions of everyday life, nobody thinks of moral vindication or what hand put the clock of creation on and directs it now. The regulating power resides in the varying syntheses of society. Causes have been rele-

gated to the background, and we agree to take things as they are and facts as we find them.

Origins, when we come to positive action, do not trouble and do not even concern us. They belong to the playground of poets or the arena of metaphysical debate. Men of affairs forget that unmoral work has no meaning and no value and no vitality, and by its very shortcomings challenges some supreme authority and indeed thereby infers its existence. Just as there is no finality possible in the Buddhist Karma, it implies and virtually reposes on the presence of God behind and beyond, to give it any real contents. We want our labor of thought or act to be more and not less moralized, and to be baptized into the spirit of Christ. And the Buddhist, with his perpetual recombination of the five great elements or Skandhas does not, as he imagines, create individuality, he only states and re-states it in his particular terms. Force, such as he postulates, needs something more—namely, the informing fire of personification, to clothe it with substance and real significance. Nothing personal can come from the impersonal. We cannot get out of any thing more than that which is in it.

Commercial coarsening of estimates and standards retards and does not advance the progressive interests of mankind. On the forward march of civilization so called we drop at our peril the moral sanctions, in exchange for miserable substitutes and transitory expedients. If we revise our judgments, as we must from time to time, we dare not palter with the first principles and live from day to day by the aid of a vague and variable casuistry in a state of constant flux. The minor morals, if we may use the expression, of the customs and courtesies change and will change, but not the ultimate.

Plato, in the Republic, talks about "our present system of medicine which may be said to educate disease." And when a society begins to grow corrupt, and despises the virile virtues and masculine morality, it draws perilously near to this fatal decline. The lower and more feminine excellences, the softnesses and sweetnesses of life, the decadent dignities of false honor and fallacious philanthropy, which relieves itself from genuine service by words of calculated kindness and a sympathy weighed out in pecuniary scales, all these have usurped the throne of the hardier and more heroic morals. It seems so much easier and more effective to be charitable by proxy and to pay other persons to do our own work. We think here at any rate, but we think wrongly, *qui facit per alium facit per se*. This may be good law, but it is bad gospel. There are some charities which cannot be relegated to servants or intermediaries, in which

man should meet man and heart meet heart. There is only one kind of true love, but there are a thousand different copies of it.

In the Upanishads, we find wisdom gradually superseding goodness, and it was from the Upanishads that Buddhism with its sublime selfishness was directly derived. The doctrine of the mere "will to live" seems absolutely impotent to save a soul, for we want the far higher and more Christlike principle the "will to love." And this necessarily means the subordination of self to others. We at the present day seem to put Wisdom (of a squalid mercenary type) before Goodness, and often couple with it hedonistic (but not really Hellenic) form of physiolatry.

Lao-tsu, one of the very greatest philosophers who ever lived, said that propriety (or the mere varnish of virtue) was the beginning of moral decay. And we find that natural result and the truth of his words in the externalities of Confucianism. In the observance of mere social forms and conventions, as representations of morality, we have a forlorn attempt to crystallize the fleeting and a sort of cultivated corruption. It is the rebellion of the particular and impermanent against the law of the universal and permanent.

Socrates, as expounded by Plato, kept always protesting against this, in his search for general principles. Something like tropism, or the action of mere external causes, appears to determine much of our transient morality. The growth proceeds rather from without than from within—the true process of evolution. It possesses, so to speak, no median plane or plane of symmetry. We meet with analogies and makeshifts and desperate expedients and no sort of system. Haphazard provisions, asymmetrical departures confront us everywhere.

Conscience, or as some might prefer to express it, the racial memory or inheritance of organized instincts—the mind, that is to say, on its moral side—acts as a kind of receiver or sorting-house in which definite changes and exchanges and interchanges occur, as the good and evil are gradually sifted and separated from each other. Here we have nothing casual or speculative. The external distinctions of right and wrong adjust themselves and stand in eternal antagonism. We find ethical as well as chemical biogens. These seem to operate as enzymes, and by mere presence break up the complex materials introduced into the mind by the senses, and form fresh stable moral compounds. As against this natural growth, set the whims of a moment, a wave of mere impressionism, touching the surface alone of society and generating a superficial response in some artificial propriety, which has within it and behind it no real fundamental sanction. Morality, like musical instruments, requires occa-

sional retuning and keying up again to the concert pitch. From generation to generation we must consider our ways, take stock of our ethical state, and see exactly where we stand; because, in course of time, old standards become materialized by popular use, toned down, watered, alloyed, debased, sophisticated, and excused and explained away into bare consuetudinal arrangements, without any root in reality or the nature of things.

Now biologists seem pretty well agreed that a purely physical elucidation does not cover all the facts of all the movements in the simplest unicellular organisms. And so convenience or fashion, or passing moods, will never explain or construct the humblest ethic. We must go infinitely deeper and farther and reckon with the cosmic pulse of the Christ principle and the everlasting forces. When a society grows utterly effete and degraded, revolution comes to the aid of evolution and the moral biogens set to work and begin immediately to divide and re-adjust and recombine and organize the imperishable elements and the old facts with a new face.

The Keltic creed declares, "It ought to be, it must be, it is." But we say, "It is, and therefore it ought to be and must be." But the new morality makes the wish enough, and proceeds to clothe it with the authority and power of some brief and squalid reaction, while maintaining perhaps outward observances and a proper appearance. And what is this but an unconscious tribute to the eternal truths?

It may be questioned here if the Reformation, by proclaiming the principles of rationalism, did not effect more than a breach in visible unity. Dislocation of establishments suggests, if it does not create, dislocation of the sanctities. Anyhow, when we attempt to explain the whole by the part, we are launched at once on the shallows of a vulgar empiricism. The Reformation had to come in the inevitable course of things, but it possessed the defects of its qualities, and in the hands of imperfect instruments it achieved but imperfect results, and was associated with many evils and led to much loose thinking and worse living. *Corruptio optimi pessima*. And it may be now that, from this great event, rationalists and irrationalists of society alike imagine themselves competent no less than free to revise their religions and ethical standards at their pleasure.

The well-known mistake contained in the marriage service of an unhappy edition of the Prayer-Book—namely "*so long as ye both shall like*"—expresses a good deal of so-called morality in our days. The personal factor, the caprice of a fashionable community or indi-

vidual, make and break commandments as they choose. *Cela saute aux yeux.*

Some professors may and will, no doubt, still consider the ego but a convenient and compendious expression which cannot be accepted in any scientific sense. And yet *consensus omnium* resists. And that seems good enough to live by—the fact, that, whatever we say, we act on the universal belief, the existence of a responsible *ego*, or soul. As the French girl explained about ghosts, *Je ne les crois pas mais je les crains!*

We need not be so rude as Boyle, when he abused “the sooty Empirics having their eyes darkened and their brains troubled with the smoak of their own Furnaces.” The soul never was or will be the mere reflex or culmination of certain physical stimuli and cerebral vibrations. The denial of the truth often proves stronger than any affirmation. For whence comes the negation and the ability to pronounce judgment? Can it conceivably arise from the most lightly organized result of purely physical factors? We want just now a modern Socrates. Eucken we have and honor, Bergson we know and value, but we need at the present day a more practical philosopher, to meet false science and bad morality on their own grounds and expose the underlying fallacies that can only pave the road to ruin and spiritual bankruptcy. For an unsound ethics means an unsound religion and an unsound life. We cannot separate the two, religion and ethics, they stand or fall together.

Our moral conceptions insensibly color all we say and do, affect our national conduct and influence our international relations. We find gaps in the elements which even the genius of Mendeljeff could not bridge. For instance, between “molybdenum” and “ruthenium,” between “tungsten” and “osmium,” and between “bismuth” and “radium.” But woe to any nation that permits the least sort of discontinuity between its religion and morality, or its religion and its life. We are fast filling up the blanks left by the immortal Mendeljeff, just because we know exactly or at least approximately, what the missing element should be. It has been predicted that the gap between “molybdenum” and “ruthenium,” for instance, will be supplied by a homologue of “manganese.” But in the spiritual world of which we speak, there are no faults, no breaks, no *lacunae*. Here we find no periodic law, but the Eternal and the Absolute, on which the being of God himself lies. For the divine character and conduct can be nothing less than moral like ours in kind at any rate—if not in degree. Hence alone becomes possible the transformation of the human into the divine.

"Until philosophers are kings—cities will never have rest from their evils." Plato always knew well what he was talking about and at that day he could not easily have said more, even in the light of that large teaching which made Socrates (essentially a Christodidact) a saviour of the human race. But when he declared, "Dialectic and dialectic alone, goes directly to the first principle, and is the only science which does away with hypotheses in order to make her ground secure," he spoke well and wisely of course but not so well or wisely. We now should be rather disposed to put it differently. And we would maintain that the Christophoroi are the sole kings, and Christ himself is the First Principle and the Divine Dialectic, by which we reach it. Plato has priceless jewels of thought scattered about his writings, like the code of holiness in Lev. xvii. 26. And like the Old Testament, his philosophy offers us no literary unit, but simply the deeper unity of spirit. He foresaw other redeemers of the race, who would count all things but loss for the excellency of the epignosis or higher knowledge consummated in none but Christ—the knowledge that is life eternal.

The divorce between profession and practice obtained then as now—men (the very wisest) knew not of what spirit they were. All that is good or true or beautiful is ultimately some function or power of Christ. In Him morality and religion are one and the same. No yawning gulfs, no unlit intervals, no unmapped country of debatable land divide the two. And that which He professed He practised. Whatever it was that He touched, so to express it, He transmuted and glorified under the spell of Love.

The "valency" of every one and everything was the capacity to combine, the ability for intimate association. Just as in the cosmos, the phenomena we observe, physical and mental, are but so many transformations of energy, in like manner Christ cared for nothing but the transvaluations of Love.

Clerk Maxwell called the universe an organized system of credit, or the transfer of energy from one body to another—the transfer or payment being work. Now, whatever protoplasm may be, in the soul or spiritual area we meet with ceaseless vital and moral exchanges. We have ethical action and reaction, and the process perpetually goes on which builds up the character or soul. But, unless the response of the ego to the environment be faithful and conscientious, unless the external conduct truly and adequately interprets the life within, spiritual decay commences. A house divided against itself cannot stand. When life passes from the unconscious to the conscious, from the automatic to the volitional and deliberate, any false

transmission of the heart's reports must be fatal. To get the desired moral result or the efficient balance there must be a correspondence between the two factors. We find ourselves given to ourselves and others for others, as moral agents and spiritual personalities with definite accountabilities. And we dare not betray our trust. If anything could kill the soul, surely it would be the refusal to respond truly to its divine solicitations.

Life of every kind, physical, mental, moral, consists of energy in action, energy bearing fruits—producing and reproducing for ever and ever—and the highest is the capacity for doing work, good work, Christly work. The afferent and efferent forces must cooperate harmoniously. It seems utterly unreasonable to think there may be schism in the ethical area, while we do all we can to prevent it in the body. Our congenital instincts, whether “fixed chains and impulsive acts,” or “compound reflex actions,” or “inherited motor responses,” or “racial memories,” forbid such suicidal conduct as regards our physical home. But we appear to consider ourselves at liberty to treat lightly and contradictorily our noblest faculties. Hence the present depreciation of the supreme moral currency as outgrown sentiment or something quite quixotic and impossible.

Nothing just now seems to be taken seriously, and perhaps least of all the sacred. Carlyle's gospel of earnestness and enthusiasm to the vast majority, whether they are pleasure-seekers or profit-seekers, remains a dead letter. Morality, if it deserves the name, has degenerated (so far as practice goes) to something rudimentary like the pseudopodia of the Rhizopods, whose nervous system commences externally, and not internally. It resembles rather a degraded surface adhesion, and looks like the anachronism of some lingering survival—a patch of egg shell on the agnostic chicken's back. It means little or nothing, and possesses no working value. In the organized hypocrisy of the fashionable world in which dress and deportment and scandal count most, truth and honor and purity too frequently are openly ridiculed as out of date, the property of prigs and the valuables of pedants, that may or may not include deans and dowagers, young children and servants. Look at the marriage tie, the bond of union not merely for the family but for the nation. It is often but a shield for vice, a respectable shadow for intrigue. Disunited couples, according full licence to each other, consent to deceive and be deceived. People want to be amused, and not to serve others or God, or to live. We read, that when Tetramiti become exhausted, two old and fruitful ones fuse into one strong organism. And so, it may be, society will be saved from

below, and regeneration will arise from a revolutionary democratic blending of the weak and robust elements.

Not only is the letter of Christ's teaching explicitly or implicitly ignored or denied or ridiculed, but also the spirit. He told us not to take offence—resist not evil. But the modern code resists everything except temptation. Joseph Hall has well put our attitude towards wrongs real or imaginary. "A small injury shall go as it comes; a great injury may dine or sup with me; but none at all shall lodge with me." Napoleon even who paid little homage to truth said, "*En politique il ne faut pas être trop menteur.*" But in war and business nowadays the ordinary soldier or commercialist might fairly indorse the French girl's alleged invariable confession, "*J'ai toujours menti.*" We seem returning to something immeasurably inferior to ethnic morality—truthfulness and honor when it is convenient or pays, and hard lying when straightforwardness seems inconvenient, or does not pay. Such an occasional or intermittent attack of rectitude has more to do with disease than ethics, and requires the assistance of the doctor and not the divine. It is easy to entertain conscientious scruples when profitable. Australian natives have no numerals above three, and modern ethics appears quite as limited, and gives the effect of being bounded by the Rule of Three, like the "physiological arc" of senses, brains, muscles.

One might almost conjecture, as an intelligent visitor from another inhabited planet would, modern morality and modern society had not yet traveled beyond the rudimentary stage of conscious matter—conscientious matter being yet to come. The danger seems to be, that practical ethics, or ethics of the gutter, in which the right yields precedence to the expedient, will eventually be the confessed creed of the world, and we shall then have a rediscoverer of the truth, as Watt and Stevenson rediscovered the value of steam power discovered by Hero in Egypt twenty-three centuries ago.

We must never forget that light conceals far more than it reveals, and knowledge obscures in the very act of unfolding. Till we have grown accustomed to a sudden influx of new light, we feel blinded and not benefited by the unexpected apocalypse. To see at first is not necessarily to understand, nor to reveal, to explain. And so the light of science just at present with its dazzling triumphs has darkened the mind, and tends to exalt the material above the moral. Spiritual powers, ethical excellencies, become soon thereby dwarfed and overshadowed. We must still *fight the good fight of faith and lay hold upon eternal life*. But we shall never be able to do so, by throwing overboard our old moral sanctions.

Mr. A. C. Benson, in his exquisite book *The Silent Isle*, says of Christ's teaching that he told us "to live like birds and flowers." Yes, no doubt, but he also and no less commands us to "agonize." What is worth having at all, is worth fighting for. If we once allow the foundations to be undermined and morality becomes a question of casuistry or a matter of opportunism to be decided by the immediate moment's gain, if we relegate chivalry and the higher choice to a limbo of dead or dying antiquities or to the Utopia of mere speculators or to materials for poetry and romance, and conduct our lives without any reference to Christ and heterotelic interests, we simply reject our safeguards and possess no longer the first and last defence of all. There are no securities like moral securities, and no bulwarks like simple faith. Reason and will are worthless unless moralized so that the ethical element predominates. And the eternal ἀρετή and αἰδώς still form the cheap bulwarks of nations, better than a fleet of dreadnaughts or a million bayonets.

EARLY CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN JAPAN AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON ITS ART.¹

BY OSCAR MÜNSTERBERG.

CHRISTIAN missionaries of the sixteenth century, and especially the Jesuits, were to a great extent eminent artists and scholars. Schools and universities, hospitals and philanthropic institutions which to-day are carried on under the direction of the state and commonwealth were then in the hands of ecclesiastical orders. Of course the spread of the Christian faith remained the first and noblest task, but the assimilation of technical and intellectual knowledge was practised with equal energy. Their powerful influence on less civilized nations rested in great part on these serviceable attainments and activities.

The fundamental success of the missionaries in far-away Japan was not attained solely by teaching a new faith to those of another religion but also by healing the sick and by the teachings of practical science. To this may be added also the protection by the armed Portuguese mercantile ships with their cannons, and especially the material benefits which accrued to individual princes by the commerce with Europeans across the seas. These visible effects bear testimony to the spiritual superiority of the foreign barbarians from the south, and established in prince and people a confidence based upon admiration. Profitable commercial relations and instruction in better military equipment changed foes into friends. In many principalities they were granted far-reaching privileges.

In 1549 the Jesuit Xavier landed in Japan on his own responsibility, and began the work of Christian baptism in that precarious but fertile field. He was followed by energetic and highly gifted brethren of the same order. Their unselfish industry was recognized by high and low, and the strange figures in their somber black habits

¹ Translated by Lydia G. Robinson, from "Die Darstellung von Europäern in der japanischen Kunst" in the *Orientalisches Archiv*.

became in many places an odd but welcome sight in the highly colored picture of Japan city life. Later, in 1581, Dominicans, Augustinians and Franciscans came also to the island empire. The monks accentuated with proud consciousness their conspicuous costume, and in 1593 the Franciscans who came on a political errand as representatives of the king of Spain refused to put on the silken garments offered them. According to the regulation of their order they appeared with bare feet and uncovered heads in their coarse habits and rope girdles before Hideyoshi who received the strangers



CHRISTIAN TEMPLE WITH JESUITS.

in all his dignity surrounded by the fabulous splendor of eastern Asiatic court life.

In the first place, peculiar political conditions favored the extension of Christianity on the island. The emperor had lost his power, and the government was virtually in the hands of two hundred and sixty more or less independent nobles as in the feudal times of Europe. Civil wars raged throughout the empire. Each prince sought with envious eyes to gain and keep his own advantage. Therefore in the south where there were excellent natural harbors some of the minor barons greeted with joy the arrival of the Portu-

guese merchants. The long-ranged firearms seemed to them first to be witchcraft but were quickly recognized as welcome aid in time of war, so that by 1556 almost all the cities were provided with firearms. The exchange of the ships' merchandise for precious metals and native products was a great advantage to the barons who were in the midst of war and had no money. But where the Europeans had not come there arose envy and enmity.

The Jesuits had the same experience as the merchants. As countrymen of the Portuguese they gained permission in many principalities to travel from place to place, to preach and to build churches. The first prince to be baptized was the baron (*daimio*) of Omura, baptized at Kyushu in the south of the island. Other princes became hostile to the new faith partly from envy and partly for material advantage.

Hideyoshi, the Napoleon of Japan, who had advanced from the ranks to the position of imperial commander-in-chief, besieged all independent nobles and conquered them with a strong hand in the name of the emperor. He was favorably inclined to commerce and the missionaries. In 1570 there are said to have been two hundred thousand Christians. In 1585 the princes of Bungo and Arima sent their sons to Rome where great solemnities were celebrated by the Jesuits. In 1596 the first Catholic bishop of Japan was solemnly received by Hideyoshi. At the time of the unfortunate expedition to Korea the command was divided between two generals, one of whom was a Christian and commanded the southern troops who represented the most Christian part of the realm.

There was no intrinsic connection between church and commerce, but only a more external, mutual support. Matters were different when Portugal became united to Spain. The Spaniards conquered the Philippines in 1564, and organized a regular maritime commerce with Spanish Central America and with China. The country around Manila was plundered and entirely impoverished according to the custom of the Conquistadores of that day, but the trade with Macao which the Portuguese established in 1557 as well as that with the Moluccas and Mexico brought great returns. At first Augustinian monks accompanied the Spaniards, soon afterwards Dominicans and Franciscans, and later still the Jesuits.

Necessities of life were brought from Japan to the Philippine Islands but otherwise the maritime commerce belonged solely to Portugal.

Hideyoshi desired to safeguard his dominion from internal dissension by foreign expeditions and planned the conquest of Korea

and China. A Christian apostate, Faranda Kiyemon, directed his attention to the natural wealth of the Philippine Islands and pointed out that they were defended by a very small force, so that their conquest would be easily achieved. Thereupon in 1592, through the agency of the above-mentioned Faranda, Hideyoshi ordered the Spanish governor-general Gomez Perez de la Marinas to recognize him as sovereign or he would take the Philippines by force of arms. The governor sent Franciscan monks to Japan to negotiate, and they were successful in concluding a treaty. Commerce from Japan to the Philippines as well as free navigation to Japan was preserved, and a military offensive and defensive alliance was guaranteed in case of war with a third party. At the same time the Franciscans built a Christian church in the capital city Meaco, the Kyoto of to-day, and in 1594 this church was dedicated. A second cloister followed soon in Okasa.

The Portuguese carried on a profitable trade as peaceful commercial people, and the clever Jesuits taught and made converts on their own responsibility with tactful deference to the customs and traditions of the Japanese, whereas on the other hand the Spaniards stood for political power and opened the first official intercourse of Japan with a European country.

The Franciscan monks were tolerated as ambassadors of the king. Overestimating the safety of their position, they preached in public places under the very walls of the imperial palace and instituted great religious processions, whereas the Jesuits had shown much greater foresight and prudence and had exercised their greatest activity in the several counties but not in the imperial capital which was the center of the Shinto and Buddhist sects.

In 1596 the Spanish brig San Felipe,² heavily laden with merchandise and passengers on the way from the Philippines to America, was driven out of its course by a storm. Its rudder was lost and the captain Don Mathia de Landecho was compelled to decide upon a landing in Japan in order to make the necessary repairs in his boat. In the harbor of Hirado the repairs were authorized by the local officials, but the water was not deep enough and the boat ran

² De Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Philipinas dirigidos a Don Christoval Gomez de Sandoval y Rogas, Duque de Cea*, por el Doctor Antonio de Morga, Alcalde del Crimende la Real Audiencia de la Uueva Espana, Consultor del Santo Officio de la Inquisicion, Mexici ad Indos, Anno 1609.

This exceedingly rare book was published in 1886 in an English translation by the Hakluyt Society in London: A. de Morga, *The Philippine Islands, Moluccas, Siam, Cambodia, Japan and China at the Close of the Sixteenth Century*, translated from the Spanish by the Hon. H. E. J. Stanley.—A new edition of the Spanish text was published by José Rizal in 1890 at Paris. I have used the English edition, pp. 75 ff.

aground. The merchandise had to be unloaded and brought to shore. The Spaniards were kindly received, but the permission of the central authorities had to be obtained before the ship could be repaired. The captain at once sent an embassy with rich gifts to Hideyoshi. A Franciscan and an Augustinian who had dwelt in that country for some time and had come on board the ship to offer assistance accompanied the embassy as mediators. The monks who had formerly come as ambassadors from the King of Spain were living in Meaco, the present Kyoto. In opposition to the Jesuits, who claimed a monopoly in Japan on the basis of a papal edict of the year 1585, these monks had limited themselves to the erection of a monastery and hospital in the capital.

Hideyoshi refused at first to admit the embassy, and because of the Japanese official report of the great treasures of the ship demanded the confiscation of the goods and the imprisonment of all the foreigners until the necessary investigations could be made. All the efforts of the Franciscan prelates only strengthened Hideyoshi's distrust. Moreover, Francisco de Landa, the pilot of the ship, wished to impress the Japanese with the power of the Spanish king and pointed out on the ship's chart how the dominion of Spain extended over the whole world. To the question how such results could be possible with so few warriors he gave the very naive explanation that first monks were sent into foreign lands and then the Spanish soldiers gained support from the baptized natives.

This information was conveyed to Hideyoshi with the result that all the monks of the embassy were condemned to death as spies without further investigation. Six Spanish Franciscan monks and seventeen native assistants, including also from some misunderstanding three Japanese Jesuits, were taken prisoners and crucified on February 5, 1597, on a hill near Nagasaki.³

³ *Auss befelch Herrn Francisci Teglij Gubernators, und general Obristens der Philippinischen Inseln, um welcher kürztlich angezeigt wird, welcher Gestalt sechs geistliche Brüder auss Hispania, dess Ordens S. Fransisci von der Obsernantz sambt andern 20 newlich von ihnen bekehrten Japonesern im Königreich Japon den 14 Martij dess verschinen 1597 Jars umb dess christlichen Glaubens willen seyn gecreutziget worden und durch die Gnaden Gottes die seligste Marter Cron erlangt haben. Auss Spanischer in die Welsch, jetzund aber auch in die Teutsch Sprach verwendt. Gedruckt zu München, bey Adam Berg. Cum licentia Superiorum; Anno 1599 (2 Holzschnitte).*

In this account March 14 is given as the day of the crucifixion, while Morga (published 1609, see note 2) places it on February 5. This last date seems to be more correct, for Morga (Hakluyt edition, p. 81-82) prints a letter which was written as a farewell greeting to him from some monks, and in this we read: "On the way to crucifixion January 28, 1597." In the church of St. Michael in Munich in the middle isle to the left there is an oil painting representing the martyrdom of three Japanese Jesuits beatified in 1627, and

The rest of the Spaniards were allowed to return unmolested to Manila on Portuguese and Japanese trade vessels where they brought the first news of the affair in May. The fear that a general persecution of Christians would follow was not confirmed. The wrath of Hideyoshi was directed only against the political mission of the monks and not against the Europeans as such so long as they simply carried on trade or practised their religion. We can not speak of an actual persecution of Christians at that time. This view is further confirmed by later developments.

The Spaniards never thought of seeking revenge for those who were slain nor of breaking their relations with Japan. On the contrary the governor Francisco Tello de Guzmán strove to save as much as possible of the ship and its cargo, in value about a million. He determined to send an embassy with a letter to Hideyoshi in which he gave him some idea of his method of procedure and besought him to allow the repair of the ship and to give him back the ship's freight, its armament and rigging and the bodies of the crucified monks.

Captain Don Luis Navarrete Fajardo was selected to be the ambassador. Rich treasures of gold and silver, of swords and precious materials were sent along as gifts for Hideyoshi. An elephant too, "the like of which had not been seen before in Japan," accompanied the embassy. The fate of the elephant is not known. Rizal, the editor of the French reprint, adds in a note that it probably refers to one of the two elephants which had come to Manila a short time before as a gift of the king of Kambodja.

The Spanish ship landed at Nagasaki. Hideyoshi declared himself ready to receive the Spanish embassy and to accept the gifts, among which he was particularly desirous of seeing the elephant. The answer was absolutely satisfactory. All the property still in existence was given back, although, according to the coast regulations of Japan which also prevailed in Europe at that time, the shipwrecked vessel and its cargo became the property of the king of that district of the coast. At the same time Hideyoshi requested them not to send monks again but assured a friendly reception to any trade vessel. The embassy was sent back with gifts of lances and arms.

In this account the mention of the elephant is particularly interesting. There is a painting on a screen which represents an elephant among some Europeans and from this we can conclude with cer-

canonized in 1863. Besides this in the second chapel to the left there are three busts of the same men.

tainty (and Nachod was the first to point it out) that the scene represents the reception of the Spanish captain Don Luis Navarrete Fajardo by Hideyoshi in the year 1597....

After the death of Hideyoshi there arose new civil wars lasting until 1600, when after a bloody battle Jesayu of the Tokugawa tribe obtained complete control as imperial Shogun. To be sure the boy Hideyori was a ward of Jeyasu, but he had him besieged in his fortified castle in 1614 and slain.

Meanwhile commerce had greatly increased. The Dutch and the English, the Protestant enemies of the Catholic Spaniards and



THE SPANISH EMBASSY BEFORE HIDEYOSHI.

Painting on screen in the possession of Prince Ruprecht of Bavaria.

Portuguese, had entered into strong competition with them in eastern Asiatic cities. The former landed in Japan in 1609 and the latter three years later. They found strong support in William Adams, the English pilot of a stranded Dutch ship who had been driven to Japan with thirteen men and had become ship-builder in the service of the Japanese court.

Christians were treated very differently in different places. Religion was the private affair of the ruling *daimio*. It therefore happened that one thing would be permitted in certain districts which was forbidden in others. Matters became especially confused when

a new ruler came into power who represented different views from those of his predecessors. In general it was a favorable time for the spread of Christianity. In 1604 the Jesuits numbered 123 members, two colleges, two chief houses, one novitiate, and twenty communities. There were Dominicans in Satsuma, Augustinians in Bungo and Franciscans in the capital. There are said to have been as many as seven hundred and fifty thousand Christians at that time.

Date Masamune, a single *dainio* and not a representative of the central government, sent the ambassador Hasekura Rokuyemon by way of Mexico to Rome in 1613 under the guidance of the Franciscan Sotelus. His portrait painted in oil hangs in the Palazzo Borghese at Rome. There is a copper engraving of this picture as a frontispiece of a book by Sotelus entitled *Relation und gründlicher Bericht von des Königreichs Voxu im Japonischen Keyserthumb Gottseeliger Bekehrung und dessentwegen aussgefertigter Ambasciada an Pabstliche Heiligkeit gen Rom usw.*, 1615. While in the west the Asiatics were treated with ceremonial pomp and pride as signs of the victory of the holy faith in the east, matters had at the same time assumed a very different appearance in Japan. In 1614 appeared the first edict against the Christians.

There was little question of deep religious feeling among the few Asiatic Christians. In many local districts the missionaries were tolerated as brethren of the merchants, and the more so since Japan was always tolerant and looked upon religion as a private matter. The Jesuit Pasius in 1605 quoted a very pertinent remark of the Prince of Fingo, Higo of Kyushu: "It makes very little difference whether or not the common people have any faith and law or what it may be."

Christendom utilized many dissatisfied elements as spiritual and religious arms in the battle against the existing government. Thus it came that many Christians joined the side of Hideyori and fought against Jeyasu in the above-mentioned struggle for Osaka. On the other hand a patriotic party arose at court that intrigued against all Europeans. Fear was felt lest with their knowledge of warfare and of the construction of fortifications, and with their use of fire-arms, they might be of service to the revolutionary foes. The result of these political conditions was a law which banished all European priests from the island. There were many who really emigrated, but a large number remained hidden in the country. This law, however, did not have reference to all Christians, for merchants continued to be tolerated as before.

The successors of Jeyasu took energetic measures against the Christians in order to strengthen the dominion and perfect the unified condition of the country on the basis of the traditional world-conception. About this time began the real persecution of the Christians and with it the limitation of foreign commerce to certain localities. A Spanish embassy was refused a hearing in 1624 and intercourse was abruptly broken off. The Portuguese were compelled to confine their commerce to the little island of Dezima until they were finally driven out in 1639. The English gave up their colony of their own accord in 1623, and only the Dutch were able to pursue a limited trade under very undignified conditions upon the little island of Dezima. They were forbidden to set foot in the interior or to land at any other harbor. Only the governor was allowed to attend court with the greatest pomp but under strict surveillance in order to deliver the customary gifts. This state of things lasted until within the nineteenth century.

The persecution of the Christians was at first carried on mildly enough and was directed only against the natives, but in spite of the prohibition European monks continued to be smuggled into the country, and even the Jesuits admitted that the excessive zeal of individual monks increased the persecution. Finally the government interdicted the entrance of European books, and the notorious edict of 1636 forbade even a Japanese to leave his country under pain of death and placed a reward of from 200 to 500 silver pieces for information against a priest. Even the transmission of letters of Europeans was made punishable by death.

In Arima, once governed by a Christian prince who had occasioned the embassy to Rome, the new ruler renounced the faith of his fathers and took energetic action against the many adherents of the Christian doctrine. His successor oppressed the people so that they arose in rebellion against his tyranny. Without any participation on the part of European priests Masudo Shiro, the leader of the peasants' revolt, became converted to Christianity. It was not a struggle on behalf of the Christian religion, but the leaders employed that faith, which had continued to thrive in silence, as a slogan against the central power. The cross was the symbol used in opposition to the sun of the Mikado.

Conquest was a difficult matter since the rebels entrenched themselves skilfully in the mountain fastness of Hara. The peculiar conditions brought it about that even the Dutch with their warships were compelled to give aid to the imperial army against the Christians until the Japanese barons themselves looked upon the

assistance of the foreign barbarians as a disgrace and disclaimed it. Finally starvation forced the fortress to surrender and then there followed a frightful slaughter. About thirty thousand Christians are reported to have been slain in this uprising of Shimabara.

* * *

European soldiers and merchants with their doublets and hose, pointed daggers and round hats, the monks in their long robes, the gigantic ships with their firearms and other wonderful objects aroused the curiosity of people and princes in Japan in the sixteenth century just as the Asiatics in their gorgeous wide-skirted garments did in Europe. Artists in Japan as in Europe took pleasure in portraying the interesting foreign figures.

The pictures of Europeans which the Japanese made in the days when foreigners were welcome, were for the most part either destroyed in the persecution of the Christians which followed, or else fell into ruin unheeded in the following centuries of political exclusiveness and contempt. Only a few contemporary paintings bear witness to that great time when Japan played its part in the intercourse of the world.

Most of the pictures which have come down to us are painted on large screens which the Japanese were fond of using in their spacious rooms to form secluded niches or for protection from curious eyes. The screen (*biyobu*) is an essentially Japanese article of furniture. Its decoration supplies a background in appropriate vein for family and court scenes, for joyous and sad experiences. The choice of the screens in a house was adapted to the occasion through the language of symbolism. When not in use they were folded up and stored away in commodious art rooms.

In the Musée Guimet there are photographs from the Tokyo museum which represent a series still extant in Japan of this sort of screens adorned with figures of Europeans. Japanese publications show copies of some of those in the imperial collection.

The Musée Guimet possesses an original piece of art, a duplicate of which in the form of a screen is to be found in the Victoria and Albert Museum in Room 75, and a third genuine copy was acquired in Japan by his royal highness Prince Ruprecht of Bavaria. These three paintings now in Europe are shown by dates or coats of arms to belong to the end of the sixteenth century.

All these pictures are examples of the style of the Tosa school. The historical setting is painted in water colors on silk or paper in narrative style with strong emphasis on the outlined silhouettes and with color surfaces. It corresponds to the eastern Asiatic concep-

tion that accidental secondary objects should not be regarded in their petty realistic details, but the fundamental thought should be expressed in the most concise form possible, omitting all unessential by-play in which they included even shadows and all light and shadow effects. Therefore the Asiatic can often entirely disregard foreground and all accessories, placing the silhouettes of the figures directly upon a background of neutral gold or some solid color. Nevertheless when there are to be spectators besides the leading personages or when a background is needed, these can be included either because it seems necessary for the meaning of the picture



CHRISTIAN TEMPLE.

that some indication of the locality be given, or because esthetic requirements demand that the empty spaces be filled out in color.

Much has been written on the perspective of the Japanese. This is not the place to enter into it more fully, but in order to understand their style of painting it is necessary to have some knowledge of the law which applies to it. The eastern Asiatic observes objects in three ways. The Tosa artist does not give the picture as an excerpt from life with unified lighting and perspective, but groups together the separate motives he observes and thus constructs a picture which, without reference to the entire truth in nature, gives expression

clearly and concisely to the meaning perceived in the whole. His aim is always to present the significance of the form of expression in rhythmic series of lines.

The environment in which an action takes place—in so far as it is given at all—is represented in a bird's-eye view. Thus we look down from above upon the roofs of houses, but at the same time see far into the temple or the shops. Hence a second point of sight is also chosen which is much lower in position. Likewise the persons in the picture are not seen from above, because then they would appear foreshortened *à la* Tiepolo, but from in front, as the painter



DEPARTURE OF THE SPANIARDS FOR THE COAST.

saw them daily on the street and as they were impressed upon his mind in an established formula. The human figures taken from nature are set like separate pictures into the environment which has been painted from the perspective of a bird's-eye view.

It follows from this sort of composition that there would be no perspective diminution of figures at short distances. On the contrary we even find that in the temple the Jesuit at the altar is painted as the largest figure, the priest is smaller, and the congregation in the foreground are the smallest of all.

In this circumstance we learn the third point of view, the subordination of figures by difference in size. The eye of the beholder

is intended to fall first upon the central figure, and not until afterwards upon the important secondary figures drawn in correspondingly diminished size, and finally upon the least important figures in the picture. Line and color contribute to this successive perception in place of the artistic grasp of the whole picture at one time.

Separate scenes which in our books we separate by different pages are separated on the long scrolls by neutral pieces for which clouds in gold or colors as well as rocks or neutral landscapes are preferably chosen. In paintings on large surfaces and on screens this juxtaposition led to that peculiar arrangement of group pic-



WEDDING OF NAPOLEON AND JOSEPHINE.*

tures which, as we have described, must be looked upon one at a time. This mode of representation was extensively practised in the days of antiquity, and may have been an artistic continuation of the technique of rock reliefs. Pompeian pictures of Roman art show a similar division of space. "Every picture is arranged in a so-called continuous presentation, that is to say, we are not given at one time only one moment in the story on a stage arranged for it exclusively, but the same continuous scenery serves for the arrangement of different incidents."⁴

* This and the following illustrations are taken from Sladen and Lorimer, *More Queer Things About Japan*.

⁴ W. Weisbach, *Impressionismus*, 1910, p. 16.

It is important for us to realize that under the influence of the Jesuits about 1600 a European school of oil painting originated which gave due consideration to the values of light and shade in plastic roundness of objects, and that the persecution of Christians in 1637 so completely exterminated this new artistic tendency that it has exerted no influence whatever upon Japanese schools of art.

A kind of oil painting,⁵ called *midaso* by the Japanese and restorable by the use of oxide of zinc, was employed as early as the sixth century following Chinese models. In the next century



BURNING THE ENGLISH AMBASSADOR.

nothing more is said of this technique; it was entirely superseded by fluid water colors. The same fate befell the technique of the Jesuits.

Not until two hundred years later was European oil painting introduced again through the medium of the Dutch by Shibata Kōkan who died in 1818.⁶ It is generally known that at the beginning of the nineteenth century European perspective appeared in color prints in Japanese compositions as well as in copies of European prints. A very free mingling of the Japanese and European style in repre-

⁵ Kokka, No. 182. Münsterberg, *Chinesische Kunstgeschichte*, Vol. I, p. 155, Figs. 114-118.

⁶ Two landscapes, with low horizons and diminishing perspectives are reproduced in *Kokka*, No. 219.

senting Europeans was attained in this period which was not second in absurdity to the representation of Asiatics in Europe at the time of the Chinese vogue. As an example I have chosen some illustrations of the life of Napoleon and Alexander the Great.⁷

Ever since the middle of the eighteenth century there have been in Japan isolated ambitious scholars who managed under the greatest difficulties secretly to attain some information of the European world through the medium of the Dutch language. Until modern



NAPOLEON'S FUNERAL CORTEGE IN PARIS.

times a journey into foreign countries was as strongly forbidden the Japanese as it was forbidden the Hollanders to leave Desimas except at specified times to bear tribute to the Shogun. The medical knowledge which procured the monks their great following was especially admired. For the first time since the Jesuit period a European work, a Dutch anatomical atlas, was translated into Japanese in 1849.

The brief biographies of Napoleon, Peter the Great, Alexander

⁷ Douglas Sladen and Norma Lorimer, *More Queer Things About Japan*, London, 1904, 133: A Japanese history of Napoleon with lives of Peter the Great, Alexander the Great and Aristotle. Written by a Japanese in the first half of the nineteenth century. With illustrations by a native artist.

the Great and Aristotle are a ridiculous confusion of truth, misinterpretation, and fiction in text and illustrations. The preface of the Japanese author on the other hand is genuinely Asiatic, showing the lack of any objective comparison with other nations. "Napoleon," says he, "repeatedly dominated the European countries, with the exception of England. He created new laws, supported all branches of science, and helped the poor, but at the same time allowed himself to be guilty of very cruel deeds. Perhaps he was the greatest hero who ever lived in occidental countries, but there is as great a difference between his deeds and his ethics in comparison with the heroes of our own history as between the hog and the lion."!



THE SIEGE OF MOSCOW.

The arms on the banners are interchanged.

The pictures are not copied from European models and are purely Japanese inventions, but as models for landscapes, costumes and armor they utilize old pictures of the Portuguese of the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries which may have been hidden in some palace. Composition and landscape, style and technique, faces and movements are partly Japanese, and the meaning is interpreted as the Japanese imagination has portrayed it. The roasting of the ambassador over the open fire is characteristic of the ethical code of the "Asiatic lion," whereas European heroes would never have disposed of ambassadors in this way. The form of the hearse we

recognize from Japanese processions and the wedding ceremony also corresponds to Asiatic customs. In the siege of Moscow the standards are exchanged, so that the Russian general is outside the fortification and the French within. Napoleon with fettered hands at St. Helena is likewise genuinely Japanese and is apparently copied from a European drawing of some very different scene. Just as European painters characterize the Chinese of all periods by the queue although it was not introduced until 1764, so to the Japanese the armor of the seventeenth century is the distinguishing mark of the European of all lands and times.



ENGLISH SOLDIERS GUARDING NAPOLEON ON ST. HELENA.

Diogenes and Alexander wear costumes which correspond to the allegories with which we have become familiar in the Jesuit prints of about 1590. The manner of the conception is very amusing. A favorite artistic subject in eastern Asia is the philosopher on the mountain top who gazes down into the remote valley in meditation. The narrative style of eastern Asia demands that not only the landscape itself be represented but also the persons connected with it, who must therefore be drawn from behind or in profile since the landscape can not be in the foreground. Thus the back of Diogenes is seen as he looks out into the distance illumined by the beams of the sun. Since Alexander is supposed to step in between him and

the sun, we have Alexander in the nonsensical position behind Diogenes, where his shadow is not visible.

* * *

We see that in the nineteenth century also the Japanese were familiar with European art and knew how to apply it when they wished. However, they regarded western art as of no more value than European ethics which they despised. Their highest ideal for the representation of human beings was a kind of line painting once universal throughout the world, which is in a certain sense two-dimensional and originated in frescoes, always emphasizing the rhythmic filling out of surfaces.



DIOGENES AND ALEXANDER.

The plastic three-dimensional painting of light and shade, whose realistic perfection is best characterized by the legend of the birds picking at the painted grapes of Apelles, never penetrated as far as Asia. In Europe this latter conception existed side by side with the earlier and after the Renaissance became the dominant one, but in Japan we find the other style exclusively down to the present day. Only in the representation of Europeans was European art given a partial consideration so that a mixed style existed which remained without any significance for all other artistic efforts of the island empire.

THE KINDRED OF JESUS AND THE BABYLON OF REVELATION.

BY WILLIAM BENJAMIN SMITH.

Once more—alas, how soon!—returned from

“Annihilating all that’s made
To a green thought in a green shade,”

I hasten to pay due meed of attention to the midsummer night’s dreams in *The Open Court* of August. In Mr. Kampmeier’s article the tides of battle no longer surge and sway around “James the Brother of the Lord,” but rather about “my,” “thy,” “his brethren.” He is quite right in chiding neglect of these personages, and still more in saying, “Dr. Smith has hardly grazed the question of the brotherhood of James, etc.” The direct treatment given *this* matter could hardly be called “grazing” even in Texas. As to the “other brothers of Jesus,” it is granted they were not heavily touched. As even historicists in general set little or no store by them, it seemed scarcely worth while. However, “simply to make the story completer,” let us to the testimony.

In the beginning a word of amendment. Mr. Kampmeier denies that “brothers of the Lord” is “New Testament phraseology,” yet he admits of course that it is “the phraseology of Paul.” Well, Paul is held responsible for some 29 percent of the New Testament, and it was Paul’s usage concerning James that we were talking about. He adds that the “Gospels speak of the brothers of Jesus.” Where? The reader will not find the phrase in the New Testament, though he seek it diligently with tears. True, he will find “my,” “thy,” “his brethren,” where the reference is certainly to Jesus, but here it is a question of “phraseology,” and the phrase “brethren of Jesus” is not in the New Testament.

“I know what say the fathers wise,—
The Book itself before me lies,”

as well as the books of lexicographers not so wise, who talk learnedly about many things and boldly put down "the brethren of Jesus" in quotation as from the Gospels, but without warrant. None of this has been forgotten, and surely Mr. Kampmeier must recall that I have discussed the words ascribed to Jesus about "my brethren." But it still remains true that "the brethren of Jesus" is *not a New Testament phrase*. If such a form of speech were found embedded in the oldest strata of the New Testament, it *might* point back to some primitive conception concerning the Jesus; but no such form is found, and the phrases "my," "thy," "his brethren," though certainly used by the Evangelists about the Jesus, and equivalent in their designation, are not nearly equivalent, in fact have no force at all, in evidencing an early idea concerning Jesus himself. *They are all late inventions of the editors of the Gospels.*

For consider the passages singly and collectively. Here is the census:

"My brethren"—Matt. xii. 48-50; xxviii. 10; Mark iii. 33-35; Luke viii. 21; John xx. 17.

"Thy brethren"—Matt. xii. 47; Mark iii. 32; Luke viii. 20.

"His brethren"—Matt. xii. 46; xiii. 55; Mark iii. 31; Luke viii. 19; John ii. 12; vii. 3, 5, 10; Acts i. 14.

To these we may add:

"Mother of Jesus"—Matt. i. 18; ii. 11, 13, 14, 20, 21; xii. 46-50; xiii. 55; Mark iii. 31-35; Luke i. 43; ii. 33, 34, 48, 51; viii. 19-21; John ii. 1, 3, 5, 12; vi. 42; xix. 25, 26; Acts i. 14.

"Sisters," my, thy, his, etc.—Matt. xii. 50; xiii. 56; Mark iii. 32, 35; vi. 3; John xix. 25.

The Pauline passages, 1 Cor. ix. 5, Gal. i. 19, have been sufficiently considered.

Now as to Matt. xxviii. 10, John xx. 17, there is no doubt; no one denies that the reference is to the disciples. Here at least is something sure and certain, and withal highly important.

The other references fall readily into groups. In Matt. i and ii, there are six mentions of his "mother," in Luke i and ii there are five. These eleven may all be dismissed at once; they argue not for but against the historicity; for these four chapters are obviously and admittedly late accessions to the Gospels, merely preparing the way for the extravagances of the Gospels of the Infancy, with no claim to authenticity, but extremely valuable only as showing the direction and tendency of the literary development, which was firmly set towards purely imaginative biography.

The like may be said of the passages in John. They are all

late, with no place in the earlier synoptic Gospels, with no reasonable pretension to historic character, but are part and parcel of John's striving for vivid dramatic depiction, and are just as authentic as the "sign" at Cana, at the pool of Beth Hesda, and at the tomb of Lazarus. This is clearly seen in xix. 25, 26, where John assembles three Marys at the foot of the Cross; his mother Mary, his mother's sister Mary, wife of Clopas, and Mary Magdalene. We may be sure that the Magdalene is only the symbol of pagandom saved from the seven demons of idolatry, and the reader may be left to estimate the likelihood that his mother Mary would have a sister Mary.

Similarly as to the reference in Acts i. 14. The whole chapter is notoriously late, and the verse serves only to illustrate the conspicuous fact that "his mother" and "his brethren" are especial favorites of fancy in the third and following generations.

Next comes the celebrated passage Mark iii. 33-35, with its parallels, Matt. xii. 48-50, Luke viii. 19-21, the essence of which is that "his brethren" "stand without" and wish to speak with him, but he looks round on his *disciples* and says, "Behold my mother and my brethren!" It seems strange that any historicist should call this passage to witness, for it seems especially designed to guard against any such false material interpretations of the phrase in question. "Mother and brethren" are plainly the Jewish polity and people, who "stand without" (from that day to this) and decline to enter into the kingdom. In at least six other New Testament verses this term "without" is used in the same technical sense to denote those *not* in the new religious society (Mark iv. 11; Luke xiii. 25; 1 Cor. v. 12, 13; Col. iv. 5; 1 Thess. iv. 12; also Rev. xxii. 15). Since the Jesus-cult was largely Jewish in origin and spirit, it was perfectly natural to speak of the Jewish church and people as "his mother" and "his brethren"; this usage, however, the passage is intended to correct and to spiritualize.

We have said enough of the so-called "pre-histories" in the first two chapters of Matthew and of Luke. For these pious imaginations (innocent and even beautiful enough, when properly understood) their authors would be the last to claim any standing before the bar of criticism. Mutually contradictory and exclusive, they form no part of the earlier Gospels to which (in revision) they have been prefixed. We can not then have the least interest in any inferences whether correct or incorrect from the terms "first-born," "first-begotten," found therein. Moreover, these are old and highly respectable gnostic and theosophic epithets of the Logos or other primal emanation of the Deity, and had originally no more reference

to any man of Nazareth than the adjective Theodore (God-given) had to Mr. Roosevelt.

On the fragments of extra-canonical gospels surely Mr. Kampmeier can not mean to lay any stress. The one from that According to Hebrews, "Behold, etc.," in a thoroughly symbolic connection ("When Jesus was baptized, a fire was seen above the water"), seems evidently a pious fiction to explain or vivify the synoptic account of the baptism. Though this gospel may have contained much old material, as does Matthew, yet this particular passage is no more original than the many universally recognized late accessions to our First Gospel. Similar remarks apply to the fragment from the Ebionitic gospel: it is merely a brief form of the Mark-Matthew statement to be discussed presently. But when Mr. Kampmeier thinks that the evidence from "these apocryphal gospels becomes stronger when we remember that their readers, Jewish Christians, rejected the miraculous birth of Jesus and considered him the son of Joseph and Mary," at least one of his readers must fail to follow his reasoning; such facts would seem to point directly the other way. As to the general leaning of this Gospel of Hebrews itself, any conclusions based on such meager remains of its 2200 lines might appear to be dubious: however, there is one passage that seems plain and explicit: "Even now my mother the Holy Spirit took me by one of my hairs and bore me up unto the great Mount Tabor." Here "his mother" is unequivocally declared to be the Holy Spirit (Hebrew words for *spirit*, *soul* are feminine or only rarely masculine), and the speaker Jesus is represented not as a human but as a divine being. Here also we seem to discover the germ of the whole story of his being cast out into the wilderness by the Spirit and being tempted by the devil.

The story quoted by Eusebius (in the 4th century) as from Hegesippus (in the latter half of the 2d century) appears scarcely worthy of notice. Mr. Kampmeier himself does not seem to credit it, and the dates are quite enough to deprive it of any weight. To descend below the middle of the second century for witnesses to alleged events at the beginning of the first, is far worse than to hunt for spring violets amid the frosts of November.

Thus far, then, the testimony adduced by Mr. Kampmeier, at the first touch and breath of analysis, has

"Slipt into ashes and is found no more."

There remains, however, one passage, the only one that ever deserved any notice (Mark vi. 1-6; Matt. xiii. 54, 58; Luke iv. 16-30), the

ostensible record of a rejection at Nazareth, and this it is a pleasure to consider carefully.

First, then, let us suppose there was nothing in the passage itself to determine whether the account was primitive, the incident historic, or the account late, the incident invented. What then would be the evidential or logical bearing on this instance of the various other instances already examined? This question is important. Suppose here is a bag containing balls, either black or white, it is not known which nor how many of each. Before the first ball is drawn out, a bystander would say the chances were even. If the first ball happens to be black, he will still think the chances nearly equal. But if the second and third come out also black, he will begin to bet on the black, giving heavier odds as the number of blacks increases. His judgment is instinctive, following the line of least resistance; he could not justify himself logically without invoking the calculus of probabilities. This would tell him that after b black and w white balls have been drawn and laid aside, the chances that the next ball will be black or white are $(b+1)/(b+w+2)$ and $(w+1)/(b+w+2)$ respectively. So that if there have been no whites, the chance of a black is $(b+1)/(b+2)$ and of a white only $1/(b+2)$; the odds in favor of the next ball being black are $b+1$ to 1, and plainly increase as b increases.

Let us apply this common sense (for mathematics is only common sense etherealized) to the case in hand. There are many passages that ascribe kinsfolk to Jesus. Are they early, or late? primary or secondary? We examine a large number and find that they all bear unmistakable marks of being late, many of them even very late. Not one gives any token of being original or primitive. Now comes still another. Before any examination, what is the antecedent probability? The answer is already given. If there are 19 such passages already considered, then the chances are 20 to 1 that the new is of the same kind, that it also is late and invented; and every additional instance of such late passages merely strengthens the probability that all are late.

It has seemed good to dwell on this instance as typical of many. In studying the New Testament we frequently meet with some class of facts, some of which imperatively demand a certain kind of interpretation, while others may apparently be interpreted either that way or some widely different way. It now appears that we are by no means logically free to choose which interpretation we please in these latter cases. The antecedent probability greatly favors the one proved form of interpretation as against the other merely prob-

lematic form. Moreover, we are morally bound to go with this prevailing likelihood and interpret the others as we have already been constrained to interpret some, unless we are *compelled* to change the mode of interpretation. Such is the exact mathematical meaning and value of Occam's Razor: *Entia non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem*.

Hence in approaching the passage we find the scale already heavily weighted with probability against Mr. Kampmeier's interpretation. It will require very grave considerations to bring the beam back even to a level. Are there any such? So far as can be seen, there are none whatever. What one touch of nature can you detect in any of these verses to suggest that here we are dealing with undoctored history? Is it the omission of father in the mention of the kinsfolk? Volkmar indeed infers hence that Mary was a widow, but the omission is easily understood from purely dogmatic considerations: the writer had the virginal birth in mind and was not disposed to harm the young dogma. Is it the names of the brethren? But they are merely the commonest Jewish names, as if one should say the brothers of Jim were Tom, Dick and Harry. As such they lay obvious to any fabulist. Confidently, then, one may affirm there is nothing in the text that calls for a literal historical construction. On the contrary, there is much that wars against it and favors a figurative exposition:

1. The word "fatherland" (*πατρίδα*) is very suspicious. Why did not the writer say city, village, or Nazareth, if such was his meaning? The word is emphatic in this incident, occurring seven times, but elsewhere not in the Gospels, only in Acts xviii. 27, Heb. xi. 14.¹ Remember, too, that according to the literal construction Jesus had been scarcely a half-day's journey away from Nazareth, he had been wandering round among the neighboring towns, along the lake shores of Galilee. If a man should go to visit districts less than 40 miles away, his return would hardly be spoken of anywhere at any time as "coming into his fatherland."

2. The temper of his fellow-citizens seems strange and unnatural. They reject him for no better reason than that they know him and his family! How unlikely! And because he is a carpenter (or carpenter's son)! This is almost incredible. In that age and clime the clefts did not yawn between the classes of society as in the Occident now. That a man was a carpenter formed no reason

¹The case is indeed much stronger. In Acts *πατρίδα* is no longer read, but "Achaia" instead, while in Hebrews the reference is to the "better" fatherland, the spiritual, the "heavenly."

why he should not be a prophet. The greatest of prophets, the greatest of kings, had been called from the humblest stations in life. A man did not need a Ph. D., nor a D. D., nor even a modest A. B., to commend him as teacher or leader. "His art is true who of his nature hath knowledge," thought Pindar, and undoubtedly so thought the Galileans. The objection of the people seems highly inapposite and improbable.

3. But how about the famous proverb, that a prophet is not without honor, etc.? As a matter of fact, it is the exact reverse of the truth. Certainly there is enough and to spare of envy and jealousy among our neighbors, yet history attests unequivocally that it is precisely among these neighbors that reformers and prophets have found their first, their warmest, their most faithful adherents. Witness Mohammed, Luther, Savonarola, Lazzaretti, and whom you will. Even in political conventions it is accounted strange and fatal if the home-delegation does not support the "favorite son" first, last, and all the time. One may affirm, then, with little fear of gainsaying, that any such man as the supposed "historic Jesus" would have found his most ready and ardent followers precisely among his fellows of Nazareth. The arrant swindler may indeed be discovered at home and may wisely cry,

"To-morrow to fresh woods and pastures new,"

but the pure and sterling character does not have to run away to find recognition. The proverb becomes intelligible only when referred to the rejection of the Jesus-cult by the Jews and its acceptance by the Gentiles.

4. The anhistoricity of the incident and of the saying comes clearly into light on comparing the Mark-Matthean with the Lucan account (Luke iv. 16-30). It is vain to imagine (with the harmonists) two essays and two rejections at Nazareth, equally vain to attempt a reconciliation of the two recitals. The truth is that Luke has treated his material with perfect freedom, justly feeling that it was no question of historic fact but of edifying doctrine, and has produced a picture in which the Mark-Matthean original is unmistakable and yet transformed beyond possible identification. Notice, too, the strange phrase with which he closes his recasting: The citizens, enraged about practically nothing, cast him (the Jesus) out of the city and lead him to the brow of the mount on which their city is built, in order to hurl him down headlong; "but he, traversing through the midst of them, marched on!" Is it not clear that this is *not history*? Does not any open eye see that the people having

"led him up to the brow of the mount" would not let him escape? that the "traversing through the midst of them" is not intelligible as the deed of a man but only as the deed of a God? If this account were found in a "Sacred Book of the East," or in fact anywhere but in the New Testament, would the judgment of the critic falter? Remember too that the same queer word "traverse" is used in Acts x. 38 to describe the activity of the Jesus, and that it is the pet term of Basilides to denote the outward earthward process of the Jesus (or Sonship) through the enveloping aeons, and consider the discussion in *Ecce Deus* (pp. 85-87). Furthermore, if Luke had felt that he was dealing with a bit of sacred history, it seems hardly possible that he would have allowed himself such unheard-of liberties.

5. Lastly, consider the term *carpenter*. Perhaps some one may think to detect herein a trace of local color, an unobtrusive detail, manifestly historical! So must he think who speaks of "the naive recitals of Mark." But let such a one recall that the word is wanting in the Sinaitic Syriac in Matthew xiii. 55—in the same oldest manuscript alas! the leaf is lost that contained Mark v. 26-vi. 5, but the absence of the word from Matthew shows clearly enough that it was an addition, an afterthought. Moreover, the Aramaic *nesar* means "to saw," and the cognate participle or noun would mean "carpenter." Indeed, according to Buhl, Halévy explains Nazareth as a city named from its inhabitants, "of carpenters" (*n'sereth*). We need not accept this explanation to perceive that there is a close connection in sound between the Semitic terms. The stems differ only almost imperceptibly in the middle sibilant, *n-s-r* and *n-s-r*. In the ordinary Syriac the term both in Mark vi. 3 and Matt. xiii. 55 is *nagara*, as also in the Sinaitic at Matt. xiii. 55 (which also means artist and savant). The stems differ only in the middle consonant and it may very well be that the *n-s-r* was used in the original and afterwards changed to *n-g-r*. In any case, there seems to be here nothing but a play on words, on the similarity of sound in *nagar* or *nasar* (carpenter) and *našar* (as in Nazaree, Nazareth); much as if one should say of a Parisian, Is not he a parasite (Parisite)? Such puns were favorites with the Semites, even in solemn discourse. So, in Amos viii. 1, 2, we read: "Thus the Lord Jahveh showed me and lo! a basket of figs (*kayiz*). And he said, What seest thou, Amos? And I said, A basket of figs (*kayiz*). Then said Jahveh unto me, Come is the end (*kez*) upon my people Israel." Here the whole point lies in the play upon the words *kayiz* (figs) and *kez* (end)—as if it were in English: "What seest thou? And I said, A basket of clothes. Then Jehovah said unto me, Come is

the close to my people Israel."—Now such punning is very easy to understand as an act of reflection, as the ingenuity of some third party, but it is very hard to understand as proceeding from the citizens of Nazareth.

It is unnecessary to carry this analysis further. It must now be plain that not only is there no special reason for regarding the fatherland incident as historic, but there is a noteworthy combination of marks that indicate the contrary—so many and such various indications that our judgment can no longer hesitate. A conservative calculation would show that there is surely not one chance in a hundred, not to say a thousand, that the incident is to be taken in a literal or historic sense. It appears to be only a variation on the familiar theme of the rejection of the Jesus-cult by the Jews, among whom it originated and should have found (one might have supposed) its most devoted adherents. Concerning the incident of the alleged attempted arrest of Jesus by his kinsmen, sufficient has been said in *Ecce Deus* (pp. 190-192).

Herewith then the case seems closed against the kinsmen of Jesus, understood as blood-relations. Undoubtedly very many able and learned men will long continue to reject these conclusions, but the rejection will rest on sentimental rather than on logical bases. Similarly even such a scholar as Burkitt now comes valiantly forward to rescue the authenticity of the Josephine testimony (Ant. 18, 3, 3)! The real significance of such daring adventures lies not at all in themselves, but in their clear testimony to the necessity felt by the critics, of maintaining the traditional lines of defense even at these admittedly indefensible points, lest surrender here should ultimately entail surrender everywhere else. It was this feeling that so enraged the lamb-like Weinel at any even the most unavoidable concessions to *Der vorchristliche Jesus* and betrayed him into the excesses that saner German theologians now publicly regret.

* * *

A theory is tested by its ability to set in order and render intelligible large bodies of facts otherwise hard or impossible to understand and to systematize. In proportion as they are numerous, and especially in proportion as they are various and widely separated, the theory is valuable and the probability of its correctness is high. When there remain no facts within its range that it does not thus ordinate and make comprehensible, the theory may be called at least virtually true; we have no means to distinguish it from a theory really true.

It is by this test that the symbolic theory of Gospel interpretation must be proved, that it has actually been tried in *Ecce Deus*. The literary-historical facts of the New Testament and of early Christianity are immensely numerous. It is seen at once that this theory explains with perfect and surprising clearness large classes of these facts, and every additional explanation is an additional corroboration of the theory. This is not the place for any extended exhibit of such details, but it may be well to give one further illustration of the explanatory power of the new view, an illustration that might have been used in the *Ecce Deus* had its great significance been more distinctly recognized.¹

In Revelation (xiv. 6, 7) an angel flying in midheaven proclaims with mighty voice unto all the inhabitants of earth, and to every nation and tribe and tongue and people, an Eternal Gospel: "Fear God and give Him glory...and worship Him that made heaven and earth." A child must see that this is monotheism pure and simple, nothing more and nothing less. "The hour of judgment" (crisis) that is come is merely the hour of the final overthrow of all forms of idolatry and of the establishment of the universal worship of the One true God. "And another, a second angel followed, saying to them with mighty voice, Fallen, fallen is Babylon the Great, who hath drenched all the nations with the wrath-wine of her fornication" (xiv. 8). This last word must refer either literally to sexual immorality or figuratively to idolatry. The first is nonsense. No matter what "Babylon" may be, it is absurd to suppose that sexual irregularity was *the* sin of the old world and that the seer in a vision intensely religious denounces Babylon's destruction for this one vice. It must be then that the word means idolatry, false worship of false gods, as so frequently, even prevailingly in the Old Testament (as is proved in *Ecce Deus*), and as alone comports with

¹ It is encouraging to note that the necessity both of a thoroughgoing symbolic interpretation of the Gospels, synoptic as well as Johannine, and of understanding Protochristianity as an aggressive monotheism is now conceded explicitly and in terms by the most representative and authoritative theological journals in Germany. Witness such pronouncements as the following: "Above all, however, it is the demonstration of the originally esoteric character of Christianity and of the consequent demand for a much more comprehensive symbolic explanation of the Gospels, in which the permanent importance of Smith's great work lies."—*Theologischer Jahresbericht*, 1912, pp. 339-341.

"This symbolic interpretation of the Gospels serves Smith to demonstrate his view of the essence of Protochristianity: that it was a protest against idolatry, a crusade for monotheism. This is in the first place demonstrated from 'the general movement of thought in the apologists'—beyond doubt correctly."—*Theologische Literaturzeitung*, August 31, 1912, cols. 553-555.

But when these two focal contentions of *Ecce Deus* are conceded, what is there left that is worth fighting for?

the first angel's proclamation of the Eternal Gospel of monotheism. Hereby, then, "Babylon" is determined in meaning. It is not Rome nor Romanism. Neither could be said to have drenched all the nations with the wrath-wine of idol-worship. Babylon must mean polytheism, the whole system of pagan religion, against which and which alone the insurrection of Protochristianity was sharply pointed. The "crisis" proclaimed by the first angel, the Eternal Gospel of monotheism, must involve the utter ruin of this Babylon of polytheism, hence the second angel is a logical necessity.

In the seventeenth chapter we read much about this same Babylon, figured as a woman richly arrayed and on her forehead her name written, declaring her to be the mother of harlots and of the abominations of the earth, while she herself sits upon many waters, the many peoples of the earth. All of this fits perfectly with the interpretation just given, and with no other interpretation of this "mystery." It is true that in xvii. 18 "the woman" is said to be "the great city that hath kingship over the kings of the earth." But this verse sits very loose in its context, fastened neither before nor after, and has all the appearance of an insertion. In any case, "the great city" need not mean Rome but may very naturally denote the whole religious polity dominating the pagan world.

Of course, this interpretation will not please such as think that by "city" the seer must mean a mass of brick and mortar, an assemblage of lamp-posts and cobble-stones, and forget that Augustine wrote of the City of God, and Coulanges of the ancient religion under the title of "The Ancient City," and that the seer himself speaks of the new order of things as the new Jerusalem; they fancy that the seven mountains on which the woman sitteth are the seven hills of Rome! though the seer himself says "they are seven kings," that is, the whole government polity of the earth. Our exegesis will satisfy none such, neither Catholic nor Protestant, neither liberal nor conservative, not even Gunkel and Zimmern and Jensen, who see in all this powerful yet grotesque imagery a recrudescence of the elemental strife of primal Time, as it raged in the imagination of Mesopotamia. And it may very well be that the drapery of thought was in large measure an heirloom from those distant days and regions. What of it? The modern poet frames his ideas in the far-descended speech of Homer and Isaiah, but they are none the less born of to-day and related to present conditions. It makes no difference how far the Apocalypticist may have reached his hand into the dark backward and abysm of time to pluck thence his phrases and figures; his thought was the thought of his age, and his vision

was filled with the religious and spiritual conditions and tendencies of the early Roman Empire. Very likely he conceived of Rome as the highest expression of polytheism; very likely he conceived of the Jews as pre-eminently the people of God, and the representatives of monotheism: but none of this wars against the obvious fact that his tremendous fancies body forth the overthrow of idolatry and the world-wide establishment of the true worship of the true God.

Neither need we be surprised at occasional or even frequent contradictions; for the visions of such seers, or even of one such seer, would scarcely be self-consistent, and the book itself has undergone both compilation and revision. Indeed, the whole exposition in xvii. 7-18 reads like a rather feeble interpolation.

Minute interpretation of the details of these visions may very well be and remain impossible or at least uncertain. Perhaps the authors themselves attached no definite meaning to many of their images, but used them merely rhetorically, to amplify and vivify descriptions. But of the general idea, and of the significance of the great central figure of Babylon, the woman that sitteth upon seven mounts and many waters, the mother of idolatries and abominations of the earth, there can no longer remain any reasonable doubt: She is the polytheism of the Roman Empire, against which the primitive Christian crusade was so directly aimed.

COMMENTS BY MR. KAMPMEIER.

Dr. Smith has taken so much space with his rhetorical slashes against my "midsummer night's dreams," as he terms my article, with side-thrusts against Burkitt, whose belief in the Josephus passage on Christ I do not share, and against "sentimental bases" (example given "the lamblike Weinel"), while I am devoid of all sentimentalism and a dry logician in the debated question, that I cannot claim much space for comments of my own, especially since he has a long addendum on matter in no connection with the discussed point. I would wish my opponent would restrain himself a little more and follow my example and not jump over to so many other things which have nothing to do with discussed points. But since he has dragged in so much other matter, I will also try to answer that as shortly as I can.

1. I am glad that Dr. Smith admits "that reference is certainly made to Jesus," when speaking of "his brothers" in the Gospel passages I cited. So I was right when saying the Gospels speak of the brothers of Jesus. Of course my opponent means the brothers

of his assumed God "Jesus" and I the brothers of the man Jesus. But in the point of grammatical and logical construction we agree.

2. In regard to the word "without" (ἐξω) in the passage Mark iii. 33 etc. and parallels, the facts are these. Jesus goes with his disciples (verse 19) into a house. "And again a great crowd came together so that they could not even eat." Then comes the verse telling of the family of Jesus going out to get him (verse 21). Verse 31, after the discussion between the scribes and Jesus, takes up the thread again left in verse 21 and says: "Then came his brothers and mother and standing outside they sent to him [of course a messenger, mentioned in Matt. xii. 48] to call him." The phrase "standing outside" or "without" surely here means "outside the house." Dr. Smith will also admit this. Of course I mean a house in the common sense of the word; what kind of a house my opponent means, I do not know, perhaps some symbol or allegory.

Now comes a medley hard to understand. According to Dr. Smith the mother and brothers of Jesus outside of the house are the Jewish church and people. Jesus inside of the house is the Saviour-Protector God, assumed by my opponent, the God of monotheism, to be preached to the pagan world but already believed in by the Jewish church. At least so have we been taught since our childhood, that the Jews believed in one only God. Nevertheless according to Dr. Smith's view those outside the house are at the same time the mother and brothers of his assumed God and again not, while those inside *are* the brothers of that God. Perhaps I do not understand all this, because I have become so to say immune against the disease of allegorizing and symbolism, having tasted so much of that of the Jewish and Christian Church Fathers and Philo on the Old Testament, that this new inoculation-method of allegorizing the whole New Testament does not "take" with me. I prefer the historical-critical method of interpreting both the Old and New Testament and do not desire to go back to the allegorizing method practised by the Church Fathers.

3. Although the first two chapters of Matthew and Luke are mythical according to the style of antiquity which told the same story of the conception of Plato as of Jesus, and of Ariston's wife as of Joseph's while Plutarch (*Numa*, 4) like Luke believed that the spirit of a God can impregnate a woman, the writer of the first chapter of Matthew was not therefore compelled to write of Jesus that he was Mary's firstborn son if this had not been the case. He had good reasons for doing so. By the way, the end of the genealogy in Matthew in the Syrian translation of that Gospel discovered some

years ago by Mrs. Lewis reads: "Joseph, to whom Mary the virgin was betrothed, begat Jesus, called the Messias."

4. That the Gospel of the Hebrews makes the Holy Spirit (feminine in Hebrew) the mother of Jesus I have mentioned in my article "Nazareth, Nazorean and Jesus," *Open Court*, May, 1910. But this means according to Semitic expression nothing more than that Jesus was a son of God spiritually only, not physically. Compare the Semitic-gnostic expression, "A son of the spirit." This is also Paul's view.

5. If the names of the brothers of Jesus in the Gospels are "merely the commonest Jewish names" (which no one disputes) was not the name "Jesus" just as common among the Jews, as "Tom, Dick and Harry," to use Dr. Smith's language? Josephus alone gives a whole row of Jesuses in his works. It is peculiar that the originators of the assumed Jesus-God made use of such a common name in order to spread a pure spiritual monotheism. It seems to me they could have made a better choice, if we meet such exalted ideas of God as in Aratus and Epimenides among the pagans, that Acts xvii does not refrain from citing them.

6. There is nothing suspicious whatever about the word *patris*, translated in the English version "fatherland." The word *patris* is also used in an adjectival way by Greek classical writers in such compositions as *patris ge*, *patris polis* as alone like *patra*. Nor would it be wrong, when speaking of any one's native town, for instance Chicago, to say: "Chicago is his home." The same applies to the German *Heimat*. It does not necessarily imply the whole native country. It can as well refer only to one's native town.

7. It is new to me that the townsmen of Jesus rejected him simply because he was a carpenter and because they knew his family. —As to reformers not finding any hearing with their nearest relatives, I will only mention Mohammed, whom his uncle Abu Lahab called a fool, while his adoptive father, Abu Talib, though he never ceased to protect him for the honor of his family, never professed any belief in Mohammed's words. Also other relatives scorned him. And why did he leave Mecca?

8. No one has yet disputed that Christianity opened a crusade against polytheism and idolatry in connection with its gospel of salvation. But if its only object was to spread monotheism and to destroy idolatry, why then did it not pursue a more straightforward path, without veiling this its only purpose in language so symbolical and allegorical, that no one could understand it? The Synoptics in their zeal to show that the non-acceptance of Jesus as the Messiah

by the Jewish people as a whole was due to a divine predestination, have very clumsily imputed to Jesus that he spoke many of his parables in such a way that they could not understand them, in order to be hardened. But if all that the whole New Testament teaches is nothing but symbolism, allegory, parable, veiling the purpose of spreading monotheism, this is a greater riddle still. I cannot comprehend how polytheism could ever have understood what the New Testament writers were driving at with their jargon.

9. Rev. xvii. 9 reads: "The seven heads (i.e., of the scarlet beast carrying the woman) are seven mountains, on which the woman sits." I fear no twistings of Dr. Smith will ever convince any unprejudiced critical student of the Apocalypse, that that book does not point to contemporary history, nor that other things in it must be spiritualized. When St. Augustine wrote his "City of God" the time had long passed when Jews and Jewish Christians believed realistically in a new Jerusalem coming bodily down from heaven. For proofs I can direct any one to strong realistic passages in rabbinical and other Jewish literature. Early Christianity was a strange mixture of spiritualism and realism. It would have been unnatural and unhistorical, had it been otherwise.

By declaring further whole passages interpolations in Revelation, Dr. Smith only follows his old convenient method of declaring everything interpolated in Biblical and profane writers which does not suit his theory.

THE TREATMENT OF SPIES.

BY THE EDITOR.

CHRISTMAS is the feast of general rejoicing, and so a year ago even in the grim old citadel of the Silesian fortress of Glatz the Prussian officers and sentinels were dreaming of the family circles at home where children were eagerly awaiting their father's return from duty, while one of the prisoners, M. Lux, a French spy, the gallant captain of a French artillery regiment, proposed to elude the watchfulness of his jailers, and with the cleverness of an adroit burglar actually succeeded in making his escape. He had prepared his flight by filing his bars during unobserved hours in previous days and in the darkness of night leapt down into the court, slipped quietly along the gloomy walks of the citadel, climbed the outer wall and jumped into the moat from which he could easily find his way into the open field. Before his absence could be detected, he had taken a night train from the nearest suburban station and reached unhindered the Austrian frontier, which is not very far from Glatz. On Austrian ground he was safe. He left the train and telegraphed for money. His friends responded promptly, and he continued his trip without molestation *via* Italy to France, where he joined his family and was jubilantly greeted by his comrades and friends.

The world outside of Germany naturally sympathized with the daring French officer. He had shown his ability in espionage by reporting observations especially of the German balloon service, and perhaps also in other fields. His enterprises might have been taken as a tribute to the superiority of German intelligence, for he confessed by his very deeds that the French could learn from the Germans; but the German authorities did not see his labors in this light, and when he escaped from Glatz they were greatly chagrined and decided to prevent the recurrence of such events.

Thus it came about that results of his gallant deeds proved

sad for one of his fellow prisoners, an English officer, also a spy, who had shared his room in the fortress of Glatz. This son of Albion had apparently known nothing of the plans of his friend, in fact he had been absent at the time of the Frenchman's escape, nevertheless he had to pay the penalty.

The German system of supervision is commonly, and perhaps rightly, supposed to be the most careful in the world. The reliability of German sentinels and the sense of duty of German soldiers is well known. Their discipline is unexcelled, and yet here a prisoner deemed extraordinarily dangerous found no difficulty in making his escape. Feeling that they had become the laughing-stock of the world just as a short time previously in the case of the famous Captain of Köpenick, they at once resorted to drastic measures in venting their wrath on other prisoners, and first of all on the poor British officer who like Captain Lux had been condemned to pass several years as a captive in a fortress.

So far it has been customary to consider espionage as a political offense which does not involve any dishonesty. On the contrary it has always been considered as a patriotic service in the interest of the spy's own country. It is true the spy takes his chances, and in times of war he may be shot, but such is the case with every soldier in battle, and there is no disgrace in sacrificing one's life for one's country.

This view prevails commonly among all civilized nations and corresponds to the natural feelings of mankind, but the Prussian government changed it at once in the moment of its chagrin. The British officer was degraded, clothed in the suit of a convict, and treated as a common criminal. This fate, hard though it was, was sharpened however by the attitude which the comrades of the British officer took. Seeing him degraded they expelled him from their ranks, for in their opinion a convict could no longer be treated as a brother officer. As soon as he had been clothed in the convict's dress, he was thereby deemed to be disgraced and could no longer be tolerated in the British army. This incredible attitude of British officers towards the shame put on a man by way of punishment, and not by any criminal act, made the British officer in prison so despondent that he attempted suicide. His life had become worthless to him since he was deemed to have lost his honor, and he had to be constantly watched by his jailers to prevent him from ending his own life.

Soon afterwards a German spy was caught in England, and it would have been quite natural if the English judges had retaliated,

and though they did not in that case, the result might have been—and possibly it will still come about—that all over the world spies will henceforth be treated as common criminals.

Some optimists who do not know human nature believe that this will stop espionage all over the world, and they think that it would be better if spies would discontinue their nefarious work, but this is not probable. The information concerning the progress of foreign armies will always be valuable to the ministry of war, and as in war time the death penalty does not frighten spies from risking their lives for their country, so this change of view will make no difference. The result will be that even if the comrades of the spy who has been caught will disown him, the people as a whole will glory in him as a hero who suffers for his country the infamy of degradation. After all the judges and jailers of these unfortunate people will be burdened in their consciences with the shame of having treated a gallant patriot, a man of extraordinary courage, as if he were a villainous wretch, and the old story will be repeated that the Saviour is crucified between thieves.

Now the question arises, How will governments protect themselves against spies? Since the military authorities of every country are naturally anxious to keep posted on the progress of their brothers in other countries they will be equally obliged to protect themselves against those errant knights whose services may become very dangerous. What would be the best to be done? Can they sufficiently protect themselves without becoming brutal and inhuman towards brave soldiers whose skill and bravery ought to be met but whose honor ought not to be touched, because their sense of honor may be, and commonly is, as high or even higher than that of their captors?

Germany's procedure in dealing with spies finds many sympathizers in military circles of different countries. A near and dear friend of the writer, a very able man and a good patriot who has become through his unusual talent a captain of industry, had served his country in his younger years by successfully extracting an important secret from a foreign expert in the manufacture of firearms, and yet he expressed himself in favor of shooting all spies, even if their espionage be committed in time of peace. He did not, however, look upon his own venture as the work of a spy. He did not use his eyes, he used his mind. He duped the enemy by appealing to the vanity of an inventor, and we do not doubt that if the story at the time had become known before this daring youth had passed the border to reach his own country again, he would have been con-

demned as a spy by court martial, and considering the work he did afterwards in the line of manufacture and invention, not only his own people but the whole world would have lost thereby.

It would be a pity to employ drastic measures to frighten spies to discontinue their work. On the other hand we can not tolerate espionage, though we may employ it ourselves. What shall we do? What would be fair and right?

Perhaps the best way to deal with spies would be that if they are caught in espionage they should be condemned by their judges to be tattooed on the face or forehead with the letter "S," which would do no harm to their person but would render them harmless wherever they made their appearance for the purpose of collecting military information. A man bearing the espionage tattoo would not be disgraced in the eyes of his compatriots; on the contrary the tattoo would serve as a distinction and a mark of honor, while to the sentinels of a foreign power it would indicate that they should keep an eye on him and not admit him where he can discover secrets of consequence.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE OLD MORALITY.

A Few Remarks on Mr. Ward's "New Morality."

BY THE EDITOR.

The Rev. F. W. Orde Ward, a retired rector of the Church of England and well known for his literary labors, contributes to this number an article on "The New Morality" which is a criticism of the changing ethical notions and makes a plea for the old standards. We sympathize with his efforts, for as our readers may be fully aware, though we advocate the most radical philosophy, we are conscious of being more conservative than many spokesmen of orthodox or other conservative parties. Like Mr. Orde Ward, we cannot accept the utilitarian principle in ethics and believe that though minor moral prescriptions may change there are ultimate principles which will always remain the same, and will be the same in any domain where life develops.

We further insist on the inseparable character of religion and morals; or, in other words, our moral convictions depend on our conception of the universe. If our conception of the universe changes, our morals will change with it. Thus Socrates is right when he insists on a search for general principles.

We do not agree with Mr. Orde Ward, however, when he decries the "sublime selfishness of Buddhism," and contrasts with it "the far higher and Christlike principle, the will to love." There have been noble souls in both Christianity and Buddhism, and there have been hypocrites also in all the religions of the world. Further we deny "that nothing personal can come from the impersonal," and also "that we cannot get out anything more than what is in it." The truth is that all artistic work consists in the ability to create something new which is at the same time something greater, better, more serviceable, and more beautiful. You may say that a beautiful picture originates in and presupposes the mind of the artist, but is not the artist himself the product of an evolution which did not contain his genius? The problem of consciousness is the same. The earth was void of life and yet life originated; the lower life was void of mentality and yet man originated. Primitive man is a savage and from out the conditions of savage life spring civilization and its leaders, and the divine heroes of thought and teachers of morality such as Lao-tze, Buddha, Christ.

There are many such particulars in which we would take issue with Mr. Orde Ward, but upon the whole we believe in a conservatism and have as much to criticize in our leaders of liberal thought. In fact we believe that the future development, philosophical as well as ethical, will come about by a combination of the two parties, the progressives and the liberals on the one

hand and the conservative, yea even orthodox on the other. Mr. Orde Ward belongs to the latter party and we welcome his contribution to our columns.

Mr. Orde Ward notices the rise of a new morality, and certainly new ideals concerning behavior and the interrelations of men are dawning upon mankind. In certain ways our moral notions are becoming stricter; in other respects they are broadening and becoming more lenient. Our sense of responsibility is decidedly more keen and more delicate than ever before while our sympathy with human failings of all kinds, a tendency to excuse, without for that reason to palliate, is increasing. And yet it is a great mistake to say that we are entering upon an absolutely new period of moral conceptions. A close investigation will show that ultimately our fundamental notions remain the same and will as ever be based upon our notions of truth, justice and honesty. The most radical changes which are taking place are due to a change in world-conception. The old dualistic ethics of asceticism with its negative virtues is gradually giving way to a positive morality of active virtues according to which it is not the one who fulfils the several commandments, Thou shalt not, that is to be praised, but he most nearly attains the ideal who best accomplishes the great tasks of life.

Thus the new morality is practically the old and will be recognized as such, yea, it is the very same morality which was recognized in ancient Greece. It is *virtue*, i. e., manhood and humaneness. They have not lost by having been tempered during the Christian period of mankind by the Christian virtues of restraint, self-control and abstinence.

RACE PREJUDICE.

In a brief note in the July number we cited the widespread unity of Islam extending its sympathy to the struggling brethren in Africa from every quarter of the globe. The Tokyo *Islamic Fraternity*, although it purports to be "An organ devoted to promoting fraternal feeling among the followers of Islam and those of other sister religions," apparently thinks Christianity does not deserve to be among the number of these "sister religions," at least at present. A recent number contains an editorial entitled "Christian Combination Against Islam." Germany is made an exception to the "Combination," and the author lays it to England's mortal dread of Germany that she "invited France into Morocco, Italy into Tripoli and Russia into Persia."

It may sometimes be well to see ourselves as others see us, and we quote the concluding paragraphs of this same article.

"It is a curious thing that the Christian humanitarian sentiments come to the fore only when Christians happen to suffer—nay sometimes even when they do not suffer, but they are reported to have suffered with the object of ruining the good name of a Muslim government. But when the Muslims become victims of injustice, tyranny and cruelty, the Christian sympathy is not aroused. Think of the silence of the European press and public opinion over the terrible deeds perpetrated by France in Morocco, by Italy in Tripoli, and by Russia at Tabriz, Resht and Meshhed, and then, of their making the welkin ring with the imaginary Turkish atrocities in Albania and Macedonia! Knowing full well that the Young Turks were doing what lies in their power to remove all causes of complaint, in spite of unusual difficulties that they were meeting in the way of reforms, and in spite of the war in Tripoli, the

foremost men of Great Britain presented a memorial to his Imperial Majesty the Sultan, and to the presidents of both the Chambers of the Ottoman Parliament on the grievances of the subject races of Turkey. That wonderful document is as follows: "The historic sympathy of the English people with the Ottoman empire in the past was alienated by the like evils, and the English people were convinced that no amelioration in the lot of the Turkish subject peoples lay in any other direction than in the gradual disintegration of the Ottoman empire. The repetition of these evils will, unless arrested, alienate once again, and we fear irrevocably, the sympathy which the Turkish Revolution had awakened amongst us. . . . We speak in no spirit of self-righteousness; we had hoped that Turkey's great example would serve not only to ameliorate the lot of her own people, but to fortify the ideals of ours: She may save herself by her exertions, and oriental civilization by her example. She has yet a unique opportunity of convincing the West that Orientals have been unjustly believed incapable of constitutional government. Sadly must we confess, however, that this belief will be confirmed if the great experiment of Turkish constitutionalism should fail."

"Never before was a document forged with greater disregard of truth and of international courtesy! We are, however, of opinion that spiritual agencies are at work to prepare the East to come to its own heritage, and that the West will have yet many disappointments in store for believing to the contrary."

For further self-examination of our Occidental complacency we quote from the *Japan Advertiser* the following comments from their point of view of our boasted Christian progress:

"While Buckle was writing his History of Civilization the Crimean War was raging and people's minds were much disturbed by the horrible reports spread abroad. Buckle apologized for the war by saying that civilized countries were defending themselves against the aggression of a half-civilized country, but that it was a cause for rejoicing that there would be no more wars between civilized countries. These words had scarcely been uttered when war broke out between civilized France and Austria-Hungary and Lombardy was snatched from the latter. Then followed in quick succession the Prusso-Austrian attack on Denmark with the loss of Schleswig-Holstein to the latter. Later came the Franco-Prussian, Spanish-American, and South African Wars, all of which were waged by civilized countries.

"Moreover, in the latter part of the nineteenth century there was a revival of the old greed for annexing colonies. This aggression of the civilized countries was on such a stupendous scale that it left the half-civilized and barbarous countries at the mercy of the aggressors.

"Since 1860 the white race has added 10,000,000 square miles to its possession, with a population of no less than 130,000,000. If the outcome of the Turco-Italian war results in an Italian victory, then another million of population with 400,000 square miles of territory will have fallen into the hands of the white race. This being the case who can justly say the yellow race is aggressive? Is not the white race itself the aggressor?

"When aggression has for its object the development of a country and the advancement of the happiness of its people it is not to be condemned. Rather is it to be praised. Has this spirit guided the nations in their aggression? Historians declare that Spain in fifty years, while she was subjugating America, massacred at least 10,000,000 natives and that in Mexico alone 4,000,000 per-

ished. The conquest of other colonies in every part of the world is only a repetition of this procedure. A common custom of colonizers has been to furnish one tribe of natives with firearms and set them upon another until both are destroyed one by the other. In this way the Maoris of New Zealand have become almost extinct. In the 70's the English drove 200,000 Kaffirs from their homes and seized their lands and property. This is not all. When the officials representing Leopold II, impose taxes on the natives of Congo and they fail to pay, they are punished by having their hands and feet dismembered. Is it not a well-known fact that the Americans, who advocate the principle of equality, lynch the uneducated negroes who commit crimes? According to the census of 1909 forty per cent of the population of the twelve Southern States were negroes. The sum of \$32,000,000 was appropriated for primary school education, but only \$4,000,000 went to negro schools,—that is, only 12½ per cent of the total.

"If you wish to know how the nations of India are faring under English rule you would do well to read the labor leader Keir Hardie's confession. No one, on reading this, can suppress his indignation at the cruelty of the English. The same practices are common wherever the white man rules subject races.

"The subject races are not the only sufferers at the hands of the white man. Independent races who are highly civilized are sufferers. South Africa, Australia, and Canada possess unbounded, undeveloped wealth. The progress of agriculture in Canada during the last fifty years has been marvelous. Now only 20,000,000 acres are under cultivation, while it is estimated that the north-west alone could produce 1,600,000,000 bushels of wheat. These several colonies are doing all in their power to induce settlers to come to their shores, but the increase of population at home is not rapid and they cannot accomplish their wish. In many places they live lonely lives, and are confronted by wild beasts. Not only do they refuse a landing to the yellow races but will not allow them to fish on their shores. They had better themselves practise equal opportunity before urging it upon us.

"We are a peace loving people but can we be expected to endure these indignities long? If the white races do not lie when they say they love peace, let them return what ought to be returned to their brother and welcome with a handshake to the places where welcome should be extended those worthy of welcome. Failing to do this is equivalent to telling us we must be content with occupying a lower place than they. Who will lend an ear to such selfish peace-reasoning? What virtue is there in being white? How can it be called a crime to be colored? All his peace-reasoning is as 'sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal' unless the white man can divest himself of the race prejudice."

A PASCAL BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Albert Maire, the librarian of the Sorbonne, has published a complete bibliography of the scientific labors of Blaise Pascal (*L'œuvre scientifique de Blaise Pascal*), including also a bibliography of his works, which will be helpful to all who take an interest in this most prominent mathematician. The book is prefaced by Pierre Duhem, professor at the University of Bordeaux, and published by the Librairie Scientifique A. Hermann, 6 rue de la Sorbonne, 1912. It contains as frontispiece a most interesting portrait of Pascal, drawn in red chalk by Domat on the cover of a book in his library, and again reproduced as the frontispiece of this number of *The Open Court*.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

CHANGING AMERICA: STUDIES IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY. By *Edward Alsworth Ross*. New York: Century Company, 1912. Pp. 236. Price \$1.20.

Prof. Edward A. Ross, of the University of Wisconsin, after writing of *The Changing Chinese*, now publishes a book about *Changing America*, in which he treats the subject in eleven chapters, most of which are intensely interesting and well written. The first one is an "Outlook for Plain Folk," a general survey on the democratic trend of to-day, the help from science and art, the promise of more leisure, etc. After the second chapter, entitled "The World-Wide Advance of Democracy," Professor Ross devotes two chapters to the falling birth rate and the increase of divorce. He looks upon the theory of Malthus as still unrefuted and does not see in the restriction of the birth rate a bad sign either of morality or of general social conditions. On the contrary he finds one of its causes in the higher appreciation of women, citing here, not without some severity, the words of Luther: "If a woman becomes weary or at last dead from bearing, that matters not; let her then die from bearing, she is there to do it." The increased tendency towards divorce is not necessarily a sure proof of moral decay, and our author thinks that the statistics are misrepresented and their significance distorted, that in fact the number of divorce cases is greatly exaggerated by sensationalism. The fifth chapter is devoted to wage-earning women, and in this he calls attention to the damage done to homes and children. In "Commercialism Rampant" the ruthless exploitation commonly employed is criticized and some remedies offered. As to the press, Professor Ross criticizes less the sensational tone of the newspaper than the suppression of important news. The editor-owner has become supplanted by the capitalist-owner, which changes the newspaper into a protector of what in a newspaper office has been humorously called "The Sacred Cows," the business interests of the newspaper owner. According to our author the hope of the country lies in the masculinity of the Middle West (discussed in the remaining four chapters). K

HERDER ALS FAUST. Von *Günther Jacoby*. Leipsic: Felix Meiner, 1911. Pp. 485. Price 7 marks.

The author, formerly lecturer in philosophy at the University of Greifswald, and at present traveling in this country, proposes in this voluminous work the thesis that Herder is the prototype of Goethe's "Faust," and in his exposition he claims that Herder's influence on Goethe was even more extensive than it appears in "Faust."

In going over the several chapters of this interesting book, the reader is surprised to find a great many parallels with the world-conception of Faust, and that his opinions have been uttered with great definiteness by Herder. We can not doubt that the friendship with Herder greatly enlarged Goethe's views, and Herder's way of thinking is obviously echoed in Faust's several utterances—his views of science, of the narrowness of conventional education which ruins the student's originality, and above all also in Faust's so-called "confession of faith." Here are the same words, the same terms used as they appear in Herder's writings. It is also noteworthy that Goethe's friendship with Herder falls at the time in which he wrote the first part of Faust.

Dr. Jacoby's work deserves a careful consideration and study even though we may not quite agree with him that Herder was indeed the prototype of Faust, on account of the difference in the two characters, and this is after all more important than all the several coincidences.

In his Introduction Dr. Jacoby says: "That it so happened that Goethe could represent Herder's experiences more beautifully and profoundly than Herder himself is strange enough, but is sufficiently explained to him who knows how powerfully the figure of Herder affected Goethe's inmost soul at the time of the conception of Faust, and how Goethe strove to imitate and transform the nature of Herder in himself exactly at the time when he was contemplating the composition of "Faust." Goethe has so represented the figure of Herder in Faust as to make it appear the prototype of the truest and noblest humanity. He did not select, however, what was small in Herder, his foibles and failings; he selected the great, the superhuman in him. This figure represented the portrait of a saint, of a priest, which Goethe had formed of him in the intimate connection of their lives at Strassburg and in the years following. Faust was not the Herder whom we know from the usual biographies of the nineteenth century, but he represents the likeness of Herder which the young Goethe himself had depicted from direct association and in the attitude of deepest reverence." Dr. Jacoby admits that critics will say that Goethe used many sources for Faust and not Herder alone; that Faust is Faust, and Herder is Herder; that the author should have said "features of Herder are richly traced in Faust" which has often been recognized before. Yea, one might even grant that the young Herder has something of Faust in him, but that Herder should be Faust himself is considered a bold statement in face of the many sources from which Goethe drew his material." "And yet," adds Dr. Jacoby, "this book contends that Herder is Goethe's Faust, the Faust of the first part up to his appearance in Auerbach's Cellar," and the assertion is based upon the statement that not only are there many coincidences in words and thoughts, but Faust's very external and internal experiences were identically those of Herder. K

THE BURDEN OF POVERTY: WHAT TO DO. By *Charles F. Dole*. (The Art of Life Series). New York: Huebsch, 1912. Pp. 124. Price 50c net

In this small volume the author undertakes first to call attention to the nature and immensity of the problem of poverty; next, to consider what specially new form it takes in modern times; then, to analyze the causes which bring about the burden of poverty, and to raise the question whether, on the whole, anything more than the amelioration of this ancient evil is to be expected. He then discusses whether there is any considerable permanent margin of profit which now goes unjustly to the few; how important this margin is, and how far, if transferred where it belongs, it can be made available as a means of relief of chronic poverty. Lastly, he makes suggestions as to the principles upon which mankind, and especially its leaders, must act in grappling with the problem of the poor, aiming in general to take a common-sense view of the subject.

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